THE

# WESTMINSTER

# Review.

MARCH — JUNE, 1844.

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"Legitimæ inquisitionis vera norma est, ut nihil veniat in practicam, cujus non fit etiam doctrina aliqua et theoria."—BACON, *De [illegible]*

"Those who have not thoroughly examined to the bottom all their own tenets, must confess they are unfit to prescribe to others, and are unreasonable in imposing that as truth on other men's belief which they themselves have not searched into, nor weighed the arguments of probability on which they should receive or reject it."—LOCKE, *Essay on Human Understanding.*

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1. An Inquiry into the Currency Principle; the Connexion of the Currency with Prices, and the Expediency of a Separation of Issue from Banking. By Thomas Tooke, Esq., F.R.S. Longman, 1844 . . . . . . 579
2. An Inquiry into the Practical Working of the Proposed Arrangements for the Renewal of the Charter of the Bank of England, and the Regulation of the Currency. With a Refutation of the Fallacies advanced by Mr Tooke. By R. Torrens, Esq., F.R.S. Smith, Elder, and Co., 1844 . . . . . . . . . . ib.

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THE

# WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

D.C. MITTAR & BROTHERS

ART. I.—*Macbeth.* Knight's Cabinet Edition of Shakspere. No. XXX. Saturday, 12th August, 1843.

WE select for notice this most perfect, as well as neatest and cheapest, of the cabinet editions that have yet appeared of *Shakespeare's own* 'Macbeth,' because, amongst all the beautiful and valuable Shakespearian reprints which its publisher has given to the world, this is the one which, taken altogether, most strikingly illustrates the degree in which not only our theatrical interpretation, but our literary criticism of the great dramatic artist, with all their tendency to improvement in recent years, are still behind the results produced by the zeal and ability which have been exerted in facilitating general access to the pure *text* of his plays. On the one hand, such very serious moral considerations are involved in forming a right estimate of each of the two leading characters in this peculiarly romantic and terrific tragedy, and of their mutual relation; while, on the other, so much critical misconception has been circulated respecting them, and so much theatrical misrepresentation still daily falsifies them to the apprehension of the auditor; that, in "these time-bettering days," we might reasonably have expected to see a popular edition of 'Macbeth,' prepared, in other respects, with so much care and diligence, come forth accompanied by some editorial indication, at least, of that gross perversion of its most essential meaning, which critic and actor have so long concurred to fix in the public mind. No such indication, however, appears in the "Introductory Remarks" to the edition of this play issued at the very recent date above specified. Nor is this at all owing to the great abridgment which its editor's illustrative matter has undergone for the purpose of this cheaper publication. On turning to the 'Pictorial Shakspere' (Part XXXI, April 1842), we find him telling us, in the Supplementary Notice to 'Macbeth:'—

"To analyse the conduct of the plot, to exhibit the obvious and the latent features of the characters, to point out the proprieties and the splendours of the poetical language,—these are duties which, however agreeable they may be to ourselves, are scarcely demanded

by the nature of the subject; and they have been so often attempted, that there is manifest danger of being trite and wearisome if we should enter into this wide field. We shall, therefore, apply ourselves as strictly as possible to an inquiry into the nature of that poetical Art by which the horrors of this great tragedy are confined within the limits of pleasurable emotion."

And in the course of this examination, the writer, incidentally, yet very fully, expresses his concurrence in those established critical views respecting the characters and the moral of this drama, which we feel that such important reasons call upon us to controvert.

It is remarkable enough that, while it has been usual to judge, we think too harshly, regarding the moral dignity of a character such as Hamlet's for instance, a kind of sympathy has been got up for Macbeth, and a sort of admiration for his partner in iniquity, such as, we are well persuaded, the dramatist himself never intended to awaken. Misled in this direction, Hazlitt, for example, tells us, in the course of his rapid parallel between the character of Macbeth and that of Richard the Third:—"Macbeth is full of 'the milk of human kindness,' is frank, sociable, generous. He is tempted to the commission of guilt by golden opportunities, by the instigations of his wife, and by prophetic warnings. Fate and metaphysical aid conspire against his virtue and his loyalty." Let us proceed to examine, by the very sufficient light of Shakespeare's text, and by that alone, how far this view of Macbeth's character is just, on the one hand, towards the hero himself and to the other leading personages of the drama,—on the other, to the poet's own fame, whether as a dramatist or a moralist.

'Macbeth' is inspired by the very genius of the tempest. This drama shows us the gathering, the discharge, and the dispelling of a domestic and political storm, which takes its peculiar hue from the individual character of the hero. It is not in the spirit of mischief that animates the "weird sisters," nor in the passionate and strong-willed ambition of Lady Macbeth, that we find the main-spring of this tragedy, but in the disproportioned though poetically-tempered soul of Macbeth himself. A character like his, of narrow selfishness, with a most irritable fancy, must produce, even in ordinary circumstances, an excess of morbid apprehensiveness; which, however, as we see in him, is not inconsistent with the greatest physical courage, but generates of necessity the most entire moral cowardice. When, therefore, a man like this, ill enough qualified even for the honest and straightforward transactions of life, is tempted and induced to snatch at an ambitious object by the commission of

one great sanguinary crime, the new and false position in which he finds himself by his very success will but startle and exasperate him to escape, as Macbeth says, from "horrible imaginings," by the perpetration of greater and greater actual horrors, till inevitable destruction comes upon him, amidst universal execration. Such, briefly, are the story and the moral of 'Macbeth.' The passionate ambition and indomitable will of his lady, though agents indispensable to urge such a man to the one decisive act which is to compromise him in his own opinion and that of the world, are by no means primary springs of the dramatic action. Nor do the weird sisters themselves do more than aid collaterally in impelling a man, the inherent evil of whose nature has pre-disposed him to take their equivocal suggestions in the most mischievous sense. And, finally, the very thunder-cloud which, from the beginning almost to the ending, wraps this fearful tragedy in physical darkness and lurid glare, does but reflect and harmonize with the moral blackness of the piece. Such is the magic power of creative genius—such the unerring instinct of sovereign art!

The very starting-point for an inquiry into the real, inherent, and habitual nature of Macbeth himself, independent of those particular circumstances which form the action of the play, lies manifestly, though the critics have commonly overlooked it, in the question,—With whom does the scheme of usurping the Scottish crown by the murder of Duncan actually originate? We sometimes find Lady Macbeth talked of as if she were the first contriver of the plot and suggester of the assassination; but this notion is refuted, not only by implication, in the whole tenor of the piece, but most explicitly by that particular passage where the lady, exerting "the valour of her tongue" to fortify her husband's wavering purpose, answers his objection—

> "I dare do all that may become a man;
> Who dares do more, is none;"—

by saying

> "What beast was it, then,
> *That made you break this enterprise to me?*
> ——————— Nor time nor place
> Did then adhere, *and yet you would make both,*" &c.

More commonly, however, the *Witches* (as we find the "weird sisters" pertinaciously miscalled by all sorts of players and of critics) have borne the imputation of being the first to put this piece of mischief in the hero's mind. Thus, for instance, Hazlitt, in the account of this play from which we have already made one quotation, adopts Lamb's view of the relation between

Macbeth and the *witches*, as expressed in one of the notes to his 'Specimens of Early Dramatic Poetry.' "Shakespeare's witches," says Lamb, speaking of them in comparison with those of Middleton (that is, comparing two things between which there is neither affinity nor analogy), "originate deeds of blood, and begin bad impulses to men. From the moment that their eyes first meet with Macbeth's, he is spell-bound. That meeting sways his destiny. He can never break the fascination." Yet the prophetic words in which the attainment of royalty is promised him contain not the remotest hint as to the means by which he is to arrive at it. They are simply—

> "All hail, Macbeth! that shalt be king hereafter;"—

an announcement which, it is plain, should have rather inclined a man who was *not* already harbouring a scheme of guilty ambition, to wait quietly the course of events, saying to himself, as even Macbeth observes, while ruminating on this prediction,—

> "If chance will have me king, why, chance may crown me,
> Without my stir."

So that, according to Macbeth's own admission, the words of the weird sisters on this occasion convey anything rather than an incitement to murder to the mind of a man who is not meditating it already. "This supernatural soliciting" is only made such to the mind of Macbeth by the fact that he is already occupied with a purpose of assassination. This is the true answer to the question which he here puts to himself:—

> "*Why* do I yield to that suggestion
> Whose horrid image doth unfix my hair,
> And make my seated heart knock at my ribs,
> Against the use of nature? Present fears
> Are less than horrible imaginings:
> *My thought, whose murder yet is but fantastical,*
> Shakes so my single state of man, that function
> Is smothered in surmise; and nothing is,
> But what is not."

How, then, does Macbeth really stand before us at the very opening of the drama? We see in him a near kinsman of "the gracious Duncan," occupying the highest place in the favour and confidence of his king and relative,—a warrior of the greatest prowess, employed in suppressing a dangerous rebellion and repelling a foreign invader, aided also by the treachery of that thane of Cawdor whose forfeited honours the grateful king bestows on his successful general. Yet all the while this man, so actively engaged in putting down other traitors, cherishes

against his king, kinsman, and benefactor, a purpose of tenfold blacker treason than any of those against which he has been defending him,—the purpose, not suggested to him by any one, but gratuitously and deliberately formed within his own breast, of murdering his royal kinsman with his own hand, in order, by that means, to usurp his crown. With every motive to loyalty and to gratitude, yet his lust of power is so eager and so inordinate, as to overcome every opposing consideration of honour, principle, and feeling. To understand aright the true spirit and moral of this great tragedy, it is most important that the reader or auditor should be well impressed at the outset with the conviction how bad a man, independently of all instigation from others, Macbeth must have been, to have once conceived such a design under such peculiar circumstances.

The first thing that strikes us in such a character is, the intense selfishness—the total absence both of sympathetic feeling and moral principle,—and the consequent incapability of remorse in the proper sense of the term. So far from finding any check to his design in the fact that the king bestows on him the forfeited title of the traitorous thane of Cawdor, as an especial mark of confidence in his loyalty, this only serves to whet his own villainous purpose. The dramatist has brought this forcibly home to us, by one of his master-strokes of skill, in the passage where he makes Macbeth first enter the king's presence at the very moment when the latter is reflecting upon the repentant end of the executed thane:—

"*Duncan.* There's no art
To find the mind's construction in the face;
He was a gentleman on whom I built
An absolute trust."

Then to Macbeth, as he enters:—

"O worthiest cousin!
The sin of my ingratitude even now
Was heavy on me. Thou art so far before,
That swiftest wing of recompense is slow
To overtake thee. Would thou hadst less deserved,
That the proportion both of thanks and payment
Might have been mine!—only I have left to say,
More is thy due than more than all can pay.
*Macb.* The service and the loyalty I owe,
In doing it, pays itself. Your highness' part
Is to receive our duties: and our duties
Are to your throne and state, children and servants;
Which do but what they should, by doing everything
Safe toward your love and honour.

*Dun.* Welcome hither:
I have begun to plant thee, and will labour
To make thee full of growing.
——————— From hence to Inverness,
And bind us further to you.
*Macb.* The rest is labour, which is not used for you:
I'll be myself the harbinger, and make joyful
The hearing of my wife with your approach;
So, humbly take my leave.
*Dun.* My worthy Cawdor!
*Macb.* (*aside*). Stars, hide your fires!
Let not light see my black and deep desires:
*The eye wink at the hand! yet let that be,*
*Which the eye fears, when it is done, to see.* [*Exit.*
*Dun.* True, worthy Banquo; he is full so valiant;
And in his commendations I am fed;
It is a banquet to me. Let us after him,
Whose care is gone before to bid us welcome:
It is a peerless kinsman."

Here, surely, is a depth of cold-blooded treachery which is truly immeasurable—seeing that the "peerless kinsman" is really gone before to "make joyful the hearing of his wife" with the news that they are to have immediately the wished-for opportunity of murdering their worthy kinsman and sovereign. It is from no "compunctious visiting of nature," but from sheer moral cowardice—from fear of retribution in this life—that we find Macbeth shrinking, at the last moment, from the commission of this enormous crime. This will be seen the more, the more attentively we consider his soliloquy:—

"If it were *done* when 'tis done, then 't were well
It were done quickly. If the assassination
Could trammel up the consequence, and catch,
With his surcease, success; that but this blow
Might be the be-all and the end-all here,
But here, upon this bank and shoal of time,—
We'd jump the life to come. But, in these cases,
We still have judgment here; that we but teach
Bloody instructions, which, being taught, return
To plague the inventor: this even-handed justice
Commends the ingredients of our poisoned chalice
To our own lips. He's here in double trust;
First, as I am his kinsman and his subject,
Strong both against the deed; then, as his host,
Who should against his murderer shut the door,
Not bare the knife myself. Besides, this Duncan
Hath borne his faculties so meek, hath been
So clear in his great office, that his virtues

> Will plead like angels, trumpet-tongued, against
> The deep damnation of his taking-off;
> And pity, like a naked new-born babe,
> Striding the blast, or heaven's cherubim horsed
> Upon the sightless coursers of the air,
> Shall blow the horrid deed in every eye,
> That tears shall drown the wind."

Again, to Lady Macbeth:

> "We will proceed no further in this business:
> He hath honoured me of late; and I have bought
> Golden opinions from all sorts of people,
> Which would be worn now in their newest gloss,
> Not cast aside so soon."

In all this we trace a most clear consciousness of the impossibility that he should find of masking his guilt from the public eye,—the odium which must consequently fall upon him in the opinions of men,—and the retribution which it would probably bring upon him. But here is no evidence of true moral repugnance—and as little of any religious scruple:—

> "We'd jump the life to come."

The dramatist, by this brief but significant parenthesis, has taken care to leave us in no doubt on a point so momentous towards forming a due estimate of the conduct of his hero. However, he feels, as we see, the dissuading motives of worldly prudence in all their force. But one devouring passion urges him on—the master-passion of his life—the lust of power:

> "I have no spur
> To prick the sides of my intent; but only
> Vaulting ambition, which o'erleaps its sell,
> And falls on t'other side."

Still, it should seem that the considerations of policy and safety regarding this life would ever have withheld him from the actual commission of the murder, had not the spirit of his wife come in to fortify his failing purpose. At all events, in the action of the drama it is her intervention, most decidedly, that terminates his irresolution, and urges him to the final perpetration of the crime which he himself had been the first to meditate. It therefore becomes necessary to consider Lady Macbeth's own character in its leading peculiarities.

It has been customary to talk of Lady Macbeth as of a woman in whom the love of power for its own sake not only predominates over, but almost excludes every human affection, every sympathetic feeling. But the more closely the dramatic development of this character is examined, the more fallacious, we believe,

this view of the matter will be found. Had Shakespeare intended so to represent her, he would probably have made her the first contriver of the assassination scheme. For our own part, we regard the very passage which has commonly been quoted as decisive that personal and merely selfish ambition is her all-absorbing motive, as proving in reality quite the contrary. It is true that even Coleridge* desires us to remark that, in her opening scene, "she evinces no womanly life, no wifely joy, at the return of her husband, no pleased terror at the thought of his past dangers." We must, however, beg to observe, that she shows what she knows to be far more gratifying to her husband at that moment, the most eager and passionate sympathy in the great master wish and purpose of his own mind. Has it ever been contended that Macbeth shows none of the natural and proper feelings of a husband, because their common scheme of murderous ambition forms the whole burden of his letter which she has been perusing just before their meeting? In this epistle, be it well observed, after announcing to her the twofold prediction of the weird sisters, and its partial fulfilment, he concludes: —"This have I thought good to deliver thee, my dearest partner of greatness; that thou mightest not lose the dues of rejoicing, by being ignorant of what greatness is promised thee. Lay it to thy heart, and farewell." Can anything more clearly denote a thorough union between this pair, in affection as well as ambition, than that single expression, *My dearest partner of greatness?* And, seeing that his last words to her had contained the injunction to lay their promised greatness to her heart as her chief subject of rejoicing, are not the first words that she addresses to him on their meeting the most natural, sympathetic, and even obedient response to the charge which he had given her?—

> "Great Glamis! worthy Cawdor!
> Greater than both, by the all-hail hereafter!
> Thy letters have transported me beyond
> This ignorant present, and I feel now
> The future in the instant!"

We do maintain that there is no less of affectionate than of ambitious feeling conveyed in these lines,—nay more, that it is her prospect of *his* exaltation, chiefly, that draws from her this burst of passionate anticipation, breathing almost a lover's ardour. Everything, we say, concurs to show that, primarily, she cherishes the scheme of criminal usurpation as *his* object—the attainment of which, she mistakenly believes, will render him happier as well as greater;—for it must be carefully borne in

* 'Literary Remains,' vol. ii, p. 244.

mind that, while Macbeth wavers as to the adoption of the means, his longing for the object itself is constant and increasing, so that his wife sees him growing daily more and more uneasy and restless under this unsatisfied craving. His own previous words and conduct, as laid before us in the first scenes of the drama, prove the truth of her own statement of the matter in her first soliloquy:—

> "Thou'dst have, great Glamis,
> That which cries, 'Thus thou must do, if thou have me;'
> And *that which rather thou dost fear to do*
> *Thou wishest should be undone.'*"

Her sense of the miserable state of his mind, between his strengthening desire and his increasing irresolution, is yet more forcibly unfolded in that subsequent scene where she says to him:—

> "Art thou afear'd
> To be the same in thine own act and valour,
> As thou art in desire? Would'st thou have that
> Which thou esteem'st the ornament of life,
> And live a coward in thine own esteem;
> Letting *I dare not* wait upon *I would*,
> Like the poor cat i' the adage?"

She is fully aware, indeed, of the moral guiltiness of her husband's design—that he "would wrongly win;" and of the suspicion which they are likely to incur, but the fear of which she repels by considering "What need we fear who knows it, when none can call our power to account?" Nor is she inaccessible to remorse. The very passionateness of her wicked invocation, "Come, come, you spirits," &c., is a proof of this. We have not here the language of a cold-blooded murderess—but the vehement effort of uncontrollable desire, to silence the "still, small voice" of her human and feminine conscience. This very violence results from the resistance of that very "milk of human kindness" in her own bosom, of which she fears the operation in her husband's breast:—

> "Stop up the access and passage to remorse,
> That no compunctious visitings of nature
> Shake my fell purpose, nor keep peace between
> The effect and it."

Of religious impressions, indeed, it should be carefully noted that she seems to have even less than her husband.

On the other hand, it is plain that she covets the crown for her husband even more eagerly than he desires it for himself. With as great or greater vehemence of passion than he, she has

none of his excitable imagination. Herein, we conceive, lies the second essential difference of character between them; from whence proceeds, by necessary consequence, that indomitable steadiness to a purpose on which her heart is once thoroughly bent, which so perfectly contrasts with the incurably fluctuating habit of mind in her husband. She covets for him, we say, "the golden round" more passionately even than he can covet it for himself; nay, more so, as it seems to us, than she would have coveted it for her own individual brows. Free from all the apprehensions conjured up by an irritable fancy—from all the "horrible imaginings" that beset Macbeth; her promptness of decision and fixedness of will are proportioned to her intensity of desire; so that, although he has been the first contriver of the scheme, she has been the first to resolve immovably that it shall be carried into effect. From this moment the position of Macbeth's mind, as regards his own design, is entirely changed. His freedom of action ceases, and her will becomes a *fate* to him. He cannot help himself; she swears him to the deed:—

> "Had I so sworn,
> As you have done to this."

He could have broken his promise to himself again and again, but he cannot break that oath to her, the keeping of which, she well knows, is but the fulfilment of his own increasing desire.

Still, fearing that "his nature" will shrink at the moment of execution, she determines to commit the murder with her own hand. Hence her invocation to the "spirits that tend on mortal thoughts," to "unsex" her, &c.; and hence that part of her reply to Macbeth's announcement of Duncan's visit:—

> "He that's coming
> Must be provided for: and you shall put
> This night's great business into *my* despatch;
> Which shall to all our nights and days to come
> Give solely sovereign sway and masterdom.
> ——————— Only look up clear;
> To alter favour ever is to fear:
> *Leave all the rest to me.*"

Yet, notwithstanding her invocation to the spirits of murder to fill her, "from the crown to the toe, top-full of direst cruelty;"—notwithstanding her assurance to Macbeth—

> "I have given suck; and know
> How tender 'tis to love the babe that milks me:
> I would, while it was smiling in my face,
> Have plucked my nipple from his boneless gums,
> And dashed the brains out, had I so sworn,
> As you have done to this;"—

yet we find her own hand shrinking at the last moment from the act which she had certainly sworn to herself to perform,—and that from one of those very "compunctious visitings of nature" which she had so awfully deprecated in herself,—awakened, too, by an image which, however tender, is less pathetic to her woman's contemplation than the one presented by that extreme case which her last-cited speech supposes:—

> "Had he not resembled
> My father as he slept, I had done 't."

So strong, after all, is "the milk of human kindness" against the fire of human passion and the iron of human will! And so the execution still devolves upon the wicked but irresolute hand of the original assassin, Macbeth himself.

And now it is that all his previous apprehensions of odium and of retribution rise up in his imagination against the deed, in more terribly vivid and concentrated array; to oppose which he feels within him no positive stimulant but that of pure ambition. This finally proves insufficient; and he falls back to the counter-resolve, "We will proceed no further in this business." But it is now too late: there is that immovably planted behind him which he more dreads to encounter than all the dangers and censures in the world beside—sarcastic reproof from the woman whom he loves, if he loves any human being,—and, which makes it most formidable of all, from the woman who, he knows, devotedly *loves him.* It is plain that he has no retreat; "the valour of her tongue" *must* prevail over "all that impedes him from the golden round." Her exordium is formidable enough:—

> "Was the hope drunk,
> Wherein you dressed yourself? hath it slept since?
> And wakes it now to look so green and pale
> At what it did so freely? From this time,
> *Such I account thy love.*"

Then comes the bitter imputation of moral cowardice:—

> "Art thou afear'd
> To be the same in thine own art and valour,
> As thou art in desire?" &c.

And his effort to repel the charge—

> "I dare do all that may become a man;
> Who dares do more, is none,—

only serves to bring upon him, most deservedly, the withering and resistless retort—

> "What *beast* was it, then,
> That *made you break this enterprise to me?*

When you durst do it, then you were a man;
And, to be more than what you were, you would
Be so much more the man. Nor time nor place
Did then adhere, and yet you would make both:
They have made themselves—and *that their fitness now*
*Does unmake you.*"

This unanswerable sarcasm upon his (a man's and a soldier's) irresolution, is driven home with tenfold force by the terrible illustration which she adds of her own (a woman's) inflexibility of will—"I have given suck," &c. No longer daring to hint at compunction, Macbeth now falls back upon his last remaining ground of objection, the possibility that their attempt may not succeed—

"If we should fail?"—

Her quiet reply, "We fail!" is every way most characteristic of the speaker,—expressing that moral firmness in herself which made her quite prepared to endure the consequences of failure; and, at the same time, conveying the most decisive rebuke of such moral cowardice in her husband as could make him recede from a purpose merely on account of the possibility of defeat—a possibility which, up to the very completion of their design, seems never to have been absent from her own mind, although she finds it necessary to banish it from that of her husband:—

"But screw your courage to the sticking-place,
And we'll *not* fail."

Up to this moment, let us observe, the precise mode of Duncan's assassination seems not to be determined on, but is now first proposed to the vacillating mind of Macbeth by his self-possessed lady:—

"When Duncan is asleep
(Whereto the rather shall his day's hard journey
Soundly invite him), his two chamberlains
Will I with wine and wassail so convince,
That memory, the warder of the brain,
Shall be a fume, and the receipt of reason
A limbeck only. When in swinish sleep
Their drenched natures lie, as in a death,
What cannot you and I perform upon
The unguarded Duncan? What not put upon
His spongy officers, who shall bear the guilt
Of our great quell?"

Macbeth receives this as a sort of blessed revelation, showing him the way out of his horrible perplexity. In admiration at his

wife's cool ingenuity, as contrasted with his own want of masculine resolution, he exclaims—

> "Bring forth men-children only!
> For thy undaunted mettle should compose
> Nothing but males."

Feeling now that he must do the deed, and do it that night, he catches eagerly at her suggestion of the mode, and hurries on to the act, in order to escape from his "horrible imaginings:"—

> "Will it not be received,
> When we have marked with blood those sleepy two
> Of his own chamber, and used their very daggers,
> That they have done it?
> *Lady M.* Who dares receive it other,
> As we shall make our griefs and clamour roar
> Upon his death?
> *Macb.* I am settled, and bend up
> Each corporal agent to this terrible feat."

Still, he expects to be supported, in the act of murder, by her personal participation:—"When *we* have marked with blood those sleepy two . . . . and used their very daggers," &c. But we learn, from her subsequent soliloquy, that when she had "drugged their possets," and "laid their daggers ready," her woman's nature shrunk at last from participation in the actual deed, finding or fancying that the sleeping king looked like her father, so that the sole performance of the assassination rests upon her husband. He has time, while waiting for the fatal summons which she is to give by striking on the bell, for one more "horrible imagining:"—

> "Is this a dagger which I see before me? &c.
> ——————— There's no such thing:
> It is the bloody business which informs
> Thus to mine eyes."

And no sooner is this vision dissipated, than his restless imagination runs on to picture most poetically the sublime horror of the present occasion:—

> "Now o'er the one half world
> Nature seems dead," &c.

The sound of the bell dismisses him from these horrible fancies, to that which, to his mind, is the less horrible fact:—

> "I go, and it is done," &c.

It is done, indeed. But the "horrible imaginings" of his anti-

cipation are trivial compared to those which instantly spring from his ruminations on the perpetrated act:—

"Methought I heard a voice cry, *Sleep no more,*" &c.

*Sleep no more.*—These brief words involve, we shall see, the whole history of our hero's subsequent career.

In proceeding to consider the second grand phasis in the mutual development of these remarkable characters, it is most important that we should not mistake the true nature of Macbeth's nervous perturbation while in the very act of consummating his first great crime.

The more closely we examine it, the more we shall find it to be devoid of all genuine compunction. This character, as we have said before, is one of intense selfishness, and is therefore incapable of any true moral repugnance to inflicting injury upon others: it shrinks only from encountering public odium and the retribution which that may produce. Once persuaded that these will be avoided, Macbeth falters not in proceeding to apply the dagger to the throat of his sleeping guest. But here comes the display of the other part of his character,—that extreme nervous irritability which, combined with active intellect, produces in him so much highly poetical rumination, and, at the same time, being unaccompanied with the slightest portion of self-command, subjects him to such signal moral cowardice. We feel bound the more earnestly to solicit the reader's attention to this distinction, since, though so clearly evident when once pointed out, it has escaped the penetration of some even of the most eminent critics. The poetry delivered by Macbeth, let us repeat, is not the poetry inspired by a glowing or even a feeling heart—it springs exclusively from a morbidly irritable fancy. We hesitate not to say, that his wife mistakes, when she apprehends that "the milk of human kindness" will prevent him from "catching the nearest way." The fact is that, until after the famous banquet scene, as we shall have to show in detail, she mistakes his character throughout. She judges of it too much from her own. Possessing generous feeling herself, she is susceptible of remorse. Full of self-control, and afflicted with no feverish imagination, she is dismayed by no vague apprehensions, no fantastic fears. Consequently, when her husband is withheld from his crime simply by that fear of contingent consequences which his fancy so infinitely exaggerates, she, little able to conceive of this, naturally ascribes his repugnance to that "milk of human kindness," those "compunctious visitings of nature," of which she *can* conceive.

This double opposition between the two characters is yet

more strikingly and admirably shown in the dialogue between them which immediately follows the murder. So soon as Macbeth finds himself, for the moment, safe from discovery, he lapses into his old habit of ill-timed rumination upon the nature and circumstances of the act he has just committed, which touch his fearful fancy vividly enough, but his heart not at all. So long as the effect of the immediate shock continues, he runs on, luxuriating, as it were, in the most poetical view of his own atrocity—the finest poetry that the fancy and the intellect can produce unaided by the heart, but not a jot more tending to affect his conduct for the future, or produce contrition for the past, than the ruminations of Hamlet, for instance, have power to stimulate his acts. On the other hand, it is interesting to see how Lady Macbeth takes to heart, as he delivers them, the considerations which merely serve as a sort of grave amusement to his imagination. Impressed with the erroneous notion, drawn from the consciousness within her own breast, that he suffers real remorse, she at first endeavours to divert him from his reflections by assuming a tone of cool indifference. To his first exclamation, "This is a sorry sight!" she answers, "A foolish thought, to say a sorry sight." And when he goes on—"There's one did laugh in his sleep, and one cried, 'Murder!'" she merely observes, "There are two lodged together." But when, still running on, he says,—

> "Listening their fear, I could not say, amen,
> When they did say, God bless us,"—

she, really touched by the words of compunction which he is only talking, is moved to say, "Consider it not so deeply." And when his runaway imagination, merely urged on by her attempts to check its career, has rejoined—

> "But wherefore could not I pronounce amen?
> I had most need of blessing, and amen
> Stuck in my throat,"—

his fancied and spoken remorse is felt by her so keenly as to make her exclaim—

> "These deeds must not be thought
> After these ways; so, *it will make us mad.*"

We shall find occasion, after a while, to revert to this remarkable presentiment of hers. Meanwhile, there is not really any danger that these ruminations will drive *Macbeth* mad. So soon as his inflamed imagination has exhausted its blaze, he will be cool and collected enough, until the next disturbing occasion sets it on fire again.

Through all the rest of this scene, however, he remains lost

in his profitless rumination, leaving the business but half executed, on the completion of which depends, not only the attainment of the object of his ambition, but even his escape from detection as the murderer. On the other hand, her consciousness of the imminent peril which hangs over them both, recals Lady Macbeth from that momentary access of compunction to all her self-possession. Finding her husband still "lost so poorly in his thoughts," quite beyond recovery, she snatches the daggers from his hands, with the famous exclamation, "Infirm of purpose!" And here, let us observe, is the point, above all others in this wonderful scene, which most strikingly illustrates the twofold contrast subsisting between these two characters. Macbeth, having no true remorse, shrinks not at the last moment from perpetrating the murder, though his nervous agitation will not let him contemplate for an instant the aspect of the murdered. Lady Macbeth, on the contrary, having real remorse, does recoil at the last moment from the very act to which she had been using such violent and continued efforts to work herself up; but, being totally free from her husband's irritability of fancy, can go deliberately to look upon the sanguinary work which her own hand had shrunk from performing.

The following scene shows us Macbeth when his paroxysm ensuing upon the act of murder has quite spent itself, and he is become quite himself again — that is, the cold-blooded, cowardly, and treacherous assassin. Let any one who may have been disposed, with most of the critics, to believe that Shakespeare has delineated Macbeth as a character originally remorseful, well consider that speech of most elaborate, refined, and cold-blooded hypocrisy in which, so speedily after his poetical whinings over his own atrocity in murdering Duncan, he alleges his motives for killing the two sleeping attendants:—

"*Macbeth.* O, yet I do repent me of my fury,
That I did kill them.
*Macduff.* Wherefore did you so?
*Macb.* Who can be wise, amazed, temperate and furious,
Loyal and neutral, in a moment? No man:
The expedition of my violent love
Outran the pauser, reason. Here lay Duncan,
His silver skin laced with his golden blood;
And his gashed stabs looked like a breach in nature,
For ruin's wasteful entrance: there the murderers,
Steeped in the colours of their trade, their daggers
Unmannerly breeched with gore. Who could refrain,
That had a heart to love, and in that heart
Courage to make his love known?"

No; a character like this, we cannot too often repeat, is one purely of the most cowardly selfishness and most remorseless treachery, which all its poetical excitability does but exasperate into the perpetration of more and more extravagant enormities.

How finely is the progressive development of such a character set before us in the course of the following act, in all that relates to the assassination of Banquo: and here, again, do we find the contrast between the moral natures of the husband and the wife brought out more completely than ever. The mind of Lady Macbeth, ever free from vague apprehensions of remote and contingent danger, seems oppressed only by the weight of conscious guilt; and fearful is the expression of that slow and cureless gnawing of the heart, which we find in her reflection, at the opening of the second scene, upon the state of her feelings under her newly-acquired royal dignity:—

> "Nought's had, all's spent,
> Where our desire is got without content:
> 'Tis safer to be that which we destroy,
> Than, by destruction, dwell in doubtful joy."

Here is truly the groaning of "a mind diseased"—the corroding of "a rooted sorrow."

Her very next words, addressed to her royal husband, whose presence she has requested apparently for this purpose, exhibit at once the continued mistake under which she supposes the gloom and abstraction which she observes in Macbeth to proceed from the like remorse, and the magnanimity with which, hiding her own suffering, she applies herself to solace his:—

> "How now, my lord? why do you keep alone,
> Of sorriest fancies your companions making,
> Using those thoughts which should indeed have died
> With them they think on? Things without remedy
> Should be without regard: what's done, is done."

Here is still the language of a heart fully occupied with the weight of guilt already incurred, and by no means contemplating a deliberate addition to its amount. But, alas! Macbeth's repentance for the crime committed has long been expended; his restless apprehensiveness is wholly occupied with the nearest danger that, he thinks, now threatens him; and to his exaggerating fancy the nearest danger ever seems close at hand. Most distinctly is this placed before us in his own soliloquy after parting with Banquo in the preceding scene—for he, like Hamlet, is a great soliloquist:—

> "To be thus, is nothing;
> But to be safely thus. Our fears in Banquo

Stick deep; and in his royalty of nature
Reigns that which would be feared: 'tis much he dares;
And to that dauntless temper of his mind,
He hath a wisdom that doth guide his valour
To act in safety. There is none but he
Whose being I do fear: and, under him,
My genius is rebuked; as, it is said,
Mark Antony's was by Cæsar."

So much for the moral cowardice which cannot resign itself to await some more definite cause of apprehension from a man than what is to be found in his habitual qualities, and in qualities, too, which are noble in themselves. Now, mark the intense selfishness implied in the following reflections:—

"He chid the sisters
When first they put the name of king upon me,
And bade them speak to him; then, prophet-like,
They hailed him father to a line of kings:
Upon my head they placed a fruitless crown,
And put a barren sceptre in my gripe,
Thence to be wrenched with an unlineal hand,
No son of mine succeeding. If it be so,
For Banquo's issue have I filed my mind;
For them the gracious Duncan have I murdered;
Put rancours in the vessel of my peace
Only for them; and mine eternal jewel
Given to the common enemy of man,
To make them kings, the seed of Banquo kings!—
Rather than so, come, fate, into the list,
And champion me to the utterance!"

What a depth, we say, of the blackest selfishness is here disclosed! It is not enough for Macbeth to have realized so speedily all the greatness that the weird sisters had promised him, by virtue, as he supposes, of preternatural knowledge, unless he can prevent the accomplishment of the prediction which, by virtue of the very same knowledge, they have made in favour of the race of Banquo after Macbeth's own time. His desire to prevent even this remote participation of Banquo's issue in the greatness for which he thinks himself partly indebted to this "metaphysical aid," is so infatuatedly headstrong as to make him absolutely, as he says, enter the lists against fate.

And now we behold all the difference between the irresolution of this man in prosecuting an act from which his nervous apprehensions operated to deter him, and the unshrinking, unrelenting procedure of the same character in pursuit of a murderous purpose to which his fears impel him. Sure enough now of his own resolution, Macbeth feels no need of his wife's encourage-

ment to keep him to his object of assassinating Banquo: he does not even lose time in communicating it to her, before he gives his instructions to the murderers; wherein we must observe, the cool, ingenious falsehood with which he excites the personal rancour of these desperados against his intended victim, exhibits the inherent blackness of this character no less forcibly than it is shown in the speech above quoted, describing his murder of Duncan's chamberlains.

So far, then, from being in that compunctious frame of mind which his wife supposes when addressing to him the words of expostulation already cited, he is in the diametrically opposite mood, eagerly anticipating the execution of his second treacherous murder, instead of being contrite for the former. Her imputation of remorse, therefore, he finds exceedingly importunate; and answers it in terms not at all corresponding, but intended, on the contrary, to prepare her for the disclosure of his present design against Banquo:—

> "We have scotched the snake, not killed it;
> She'll close, and be herself; whilst our poor malice
> Remains in danger of her former tooth."

Here is not a syllable of remorse, but the earnest expression of conscious insecurity in his present position. The drift of his discourse, however, is not yet apparent. He proceeds:—

> "But let
> The frame of things disjoint, both the worlds suffer,
> Ere we will eat our meal in fear, and sleep
> In the affliction of those terrible dreams
> That shake us nightly."

By dreams, indeed, they both are shaken; but Lady Macbeth's, as the dramatist most fully shows us afterwards, are exclusively dreams of remorse for the past; Macbeth's, of apprehension for the future. He continues:—

> "Better be with the dead,
> Whom we, to gain our place, have sent to peace,
> Than on the torture of the mind to lie
> In restless ecstacy. Duncan is in his grave;
> After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well;
> Treason has done his worst; nor steel, nor poison,
> Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing,
> Can touch him further!"

The lady's answer—

> "Come on,
> Gentle my lord, sleek o'er your rugged looks:
> Be bright and jovial 'mong your guests to-night,"—

shows us that she still has not the smallest glimpse of the real tendency of what he is saying to her, but supposes "the torture

of the mind" which he feels, is that same "compunctious visiting" which has made her exclaim to her own solitary heart—

> "'Tis safer to be that which we destroy,
> Than, by destruction, dwell in doubtful joy."

Macbeth returns to the charge: he seizes on her last words—

> "Be bright and jovial 'mong your guests to-night,"

in order to turn their conversation upon Banquo:—

> "So shall I, love; and so, I pray, be you:
> Let your remembrance apply to Banquo;
> Present him eminence both with eye and tongue."

Having thus fixed her attention upon the primary importance to their safety, of Banquo's dispositions towards them, he now ventures the first step in the disclosure of his fears:—

> "Unsafe the while that we
> Must lave our honours in these flattering streams;
> And make our faces vizards to our hearts,
> Disguising what they are."

Still his lady takes not the smallest hint of his purpose, but refers all his uneasiness to regret for what is already committed, simply rejoining, "You must leave this." Macbeth, according to his nature, irritated at finding her so inaccessible to his meaning, can no longer control himself, but exclains at once:—

> "O, full of scorpions is my mind, dear wife!
> Thou know'st that Banquo, and his Fleance, lives."

She simply answers,

> "But in them nature's copy's not eterne."

This line has been interpreted by some critics as a deliberate suggestion, on Lady Macbeth's part, of the murder of Banquo and his son. This, however, we believe, will not appear to any one who shall have gone through the whole context as we have now laid it before the reader. The natural and unstrained meaning of the words is, at most, nothing more than this, that Banquo and his son are not immortal. It is not she, but her husband, that draws the practical inference from this harmless proposition—

> "*There's* comfort yet; *they are assailable.*"

That "they are assailable" may be "comfort" indeed to him, but it is evidently none to her, notwithstanding that he proceeds:—

> "Then be thou jocund. Ere the bat hath flown
> His cloistered flight,—ere, to black Hecate's summons,
> The shard-borne beetle, with his drowsy hums,
> Hath rung night's yawning peal, there shall be done
> A deed of dreadful note."

Still provokingly unapprehensive of his meaning, she asks him anxiously, "What's to be done?" But he, after feeling the way so far, finding her so utterly indisposed to concur in his present scheme, *does not dare* to communicate it to her in plain terms, lest she should chide the fears that prompt him to this new and gratuitous enormity, by virtue of the very same spirit that had made her combat those which had withheld him from the one great crime which she had deemed necessary to his elevation. Thus, at least, by all that has preceded, are we led to interpret Macbeth's rejoinder—

> "Be innocent of the knowledge, dearest chuck,
> Till thou applaud the deed."

It is only through a misapprehension, which unjustly lowers the generosity of her character, and unduly exalts that of her husband, that so many critics have represented this passage as spoken by Macbeth out of a magnanimous desire to spare his wife all guilty participation in an act, which at the same time, they tell us, he believed would give her satisfaction. It is, in fact, but a new and signal instance of his moral cowardice. That, after his poetical invocation, "Come, seeling night," &c., she still sees not at all into his purpose, is evident from what he says at the end, "Thou marvell'st at my words," &c. And it is remarkable that, to the grand maxim with which he closes their dialogue,—

> "Things bad begun make strong themselves by ill,"

she answers not a word.

We come now to consider the great banquet scene, which presents to us Macbeth's abstracted frenzy at its culminating point. This we must examine in elaborate detail, since it involves the consideration of one of the grossest brutalities that still disfigure the acting of Shakespeare on his native stage.

In order to understand clearly the nature and meaning of the apparition of Banquo to the eyes of his murderer, we should revert to that very distinct indication of the most marked peculiarity of all in Macbeth's character which is given us from his own mouth in the scene where he first encounters the weird sisters. Here we are first made acquainted with that morbidly and uncontrollably excitable imagination in him, the workings of which amount to absolute hallucination of the senses:—

> "Why do I yield to that suggestion,
> *Whose horrid image doth unfix my hair,*
> *And make my seated heart knock at my ribs,*
> *Against the use of nature?* Present fears
> Are less than horrible imaginings:

> My thought, whose murder yet is but fantastical,
> Shakes so my single state of man, that *function*
> *Is smothered in surmise; and nothing is,*
> *But what is not?*
> *Banquo.* Look, how our partner's rapt."

"Nothing is, but what is not;" that is, the images presented to him by his excited imagination are so vivid as to banish from him all consciousness of the present scene—"function is smothered in surmise." The "horrid image," even in that vague and remote prospect, has such reality for him as to make his heart palpitate and his hair bristle on his head. No wonder, then, that when on the very point of realizing the murder hitherto but fancied, his vision should be beguiled by images yet more vivid and moving. He not only *sees* the air-drawn dagger which he tries to clutch—he *sees* the spots of blood make their appearance on it while he is gazing. But he immediately recognizes the illusion:—

> "There's no such thing:
> It is the bloody business which informs
> Thus to mine eyes."

He becomes clearly conscious that this apparition is neither more nor less than

> "A dagger of the mind; *a false creation,*
> *Proceeding from the heat-oppressed brain.*"

Nor are we aware that any manager has ever yet bethought himself of having an actual dagger suspended from the ceiling before the eyes of Macbeth's representative, by way of making this scene more intelligible to his audience.

So far, however, we have only had to consider Macbeth's horrors in anticipation of his first great crime. We come now to those of his retrospection; and here we find the disturbance of his senses to be equally great, and their hallucination equally decided—only, this time, it is his ears instead of his eyes that "are made the fools of the other senses:"—

> "Methought I heard a voice cry, *Sleep no more!*
> *Macbeth does murder sleep, the innocent sleep;*
> *Sleep, that knits up the ravell'd sleeve of care,*
> *The death of each day's life, sore labour's bath,*
> *Balm of hurt minds, great nature's second course,*
> *Chief nourisher in life's feast;—*
> *Lady M.* What do you mean?
> *Macb.* Still it cried, *Sleep no more!* to all the house;
> *Glamis hath murdered sleep; and therefore Cawdor*
> *Shall sleep no more, Macbeth shall sleep no more!*

> *Lady M.* Who was it that thus cried? Why, worthy thane,
> You do unbend your noble strength, to think
> So brainsickly of things."

When we consider how literally this fancied prediction of sleeplessness is fulfilled, as we hear from Lady Macbeth's own lips—"You lack the season of all natures, sleep," while the stimulus to "the heat-oppressed brain" goes on so fearfully accumulating, is it wonderful that the very peculiar combination of circumstances under which, at his royal banquet, he proposes the health of his second victim, should irresistibly force upon his vision another "false creation"—a Banquo "of the mind?" It would be absolutely inconsistent with all we have known of him before, that this should not be the case. He takes his seat at table in a state of the most anxiously excited, momentary expectation of receiving the news of that second assassination, which is to deliver him from "the affliction of those terrible dreams that shake him nightly"—to "cancel and tear to pieces that great bond which keeps him pale." The news is brought him, and immediately his horrors of the other class, those of retrospection upon his own treacherous and sanguinary deed, assail him with redoubled force. However, with his usual over-eagerness to obviate suspicion, he ventures upon one of his speeches of double-refined hypocritical profession:—

> "Here had we now our country's honour roofed,
> Were the graced person of our Banquo present,
> Whom may I rather challenge for unkindness
> Than pity for mischance!"

Here the speaker miscalculates his powers of self-command. The very violence which the framing of this piece of falsehood compels him to do to his imagination, makes the image of the horrid fact rush the more irresistibly upon his "heat-oppressed brain." It could hardly be otherwise than that the effort to say, "Were the graced person of our Banquo present," &c., must force upon his very eyes the aspect of his victim's person as he now vividly conceived it from the murderer's description, with severed throat, and "twenty trenched gashes on his head." The complete hallucination by which Macbeth takes his own "false creation" for a real, objective figure, apparent to all eyes, is but a repetition, under more aggravated excitement than ever, of what, we have seen, had taken place in him several times before, in the previous course of the drama. In like manner, the second apparition in the course of the banquet is produced to Macbeth's vision by a second violent effort of his tongue to con-

tradict his feelings and the fact, with yet more subtle falsehood than before:—

> "I drink to the general joy of the whole table,
> And to our dear friend Banquo, whom we miss;
> Would he were here!"

Again, we see, the apparition is no other than Macbeth's consciousness of the actual aspect of Banquo's corpse, as contrasted with the living Banquo whose presence he affects to desire:—

> "Thy bones are marrowless, thy blood is cold;
> Thou hast no speculation in those eyes
> Which thou dost glare with!"

How this public exhibition of his uncontrollable frenzy operates upon the state of Macbeth's fortunes, is admirably indicated in one of his own characteristic ruminations, at the end of his first paroxysm:—

> "Blood hath been shed ere now, i' the olden time,
> Ere human statute purged the gentle weal;
> Ay, and since too, murders have been performed,
> Too terrible for the ear: the times have been,
> That, when the brains were out, the man would die,
> And there an end: but now they rise again,
> With *twenty mortal murders on their crowns*,
> And push us from our stools. This is more strange
> Than such a murder is."

Herein we see expressed, at once, Macbeth's character and his destiny. Murderers before him had been able to keep their own counsel; but his feverish imagination does in effect raise his victim from under ground to push him from his stool, by letting the murder out through his own abstracted ravings. His lady has only just time to hurry out their guests, before he utters that concluding exclamation which does all but explicitly confess the fact of Banquo's assassination:—

> "It will have blood; they say, blood will have blood:
> Stones have been known to move, and trees to speak;
> Augurs, and understood relations, have,
> By magot-pies, and choughs, and rooks, brought forth
> The secret'st man of blood."

This second paroxysm over, his very consciousness that his loss of self-possession has betrayed him into awakening general suspicion, excites his apprehensions of danger from others to the utmost pitch of exaggeration. He had said of Banquo, before giving orders for his murder, "There is none but he, whose

being I do fear." But now, he not only speaks of Macduff as the next great object of his distrust,—

> "How sayst thou, that Macduff denies his person
> At our great bidding?"

but he has begun to suspect everybody:—

> "There's not a one of them, but in his house
> I keep a servant feed."

Now, since Macbeth's grand maxim of security is, to destroy everybody whom he does suspect, he no longer limits his views to individual assassinations, but is launched at once upon an ocean of sanguinary atrocity:—

> "*For mine own good,*
> *All causes shall give way;* I am in blood
> Stept in so far, that, should I wade no more,
> Returning were as tedious as go o'er:
> Strange things I have in head, that will to hand;
> Which must be acted ere they may be scanned."

The slaughter of Macduff's family in revenge for his own escape is only the first of these "strange things," the series of which is expressed in those words of Macduff to Malcolm:—

> "Each new morn,
> New widows howl; new orphans cry; new sorrows
> Strike heaven on the face, that it resounds
> As if it felt with Scotland, and yell'd out
> Like syllable of dolour;"—

and more particularly in those of Rosse to Macduff:—

> "Alas, poor country;
> Almost afraid to know itself! It cannot
> Be called our mother, but our grave: where nothing,
> But who knows nothing, is once seen to smile;
> Where sighs, and groans, and shrieks that rend the air,
> Are made, not marked; where violent sorrow seems
> A modern ecstacy; the dead man's knell
> Is there scarce ask'd for whom; and good men's lives
> Expire before the flowers in their caps,
> Dying or ere they sicken.
> *Macduff.* O, relation
> Too nice, and yet too true!"

And now comes the realization of Macbeth's own presentiment expressed in the soliloquy which precedes his final resolution to perpetrate the murder of Duncan:—

> "But, in these cases,
> We still have judgment here; that we but teach
> Bloody instructions, which, being taught, return

> To plague the inventor: this even-handed justice
> Commands the ingredients of our poison'd chalice
> To our own lips."

The fulfilment, in his own case, is thus expressed in the words of one of his revolted thanes:—

> "*Angus.* Now does he feel
> His secret murders sticking on his hands:
> Now minutely revolts upbraid his faith-breach;
> Those he commands, move only in command,
> Nothing in love: now does he feel his title
> Hang loose about him, like a giant's robe
> Upon a dwarfish thief;"—

while from abroad—

> "The English power is near, led on by Malcolm,
> His uncle Siward, and the good Macduff:
> Revenges burn in them; for their dear causes
> Would to the bleeding and the grim alarm
> Excite the mortified man."

Finding himself almost bereft of human support in his usurped dominion, Macbeth, in his purely selfish clinging to self-preservation, is now thrown, for exclusive alliance, upon his "metaphysical aid" implied in the predictions of the weird sisters. Here, therefore, it becomes necessary to consider the nature and operation of that preternatural agency, the use of which by the poet stamps this drama with so peculiar a character.

In a merely picturesque and poetical view, the weird sisters, with their anonymous personality, their nameless deeds, and their equivocal oracles,—with their wild, and withered, and lightning-blasted aspect, looking like something dropped from the thunder-cloud,—form, as it were, a harmonizing link between the moral blackness of the principal subject and the tempestuous heaven that lours over it. But far more important as well as interesting it is, to trace the great moral purpose designed and effected by the dramatist, in developing by this means, more fully and strikingly than could have been done by merely human machinery, the evil tendencies inherent in the individual nature of his hero.

The first indications that are given us of the character of these mysterious beings, in the *living and speaking* drama, which is what we must constantly endeavour to keep before our mind's eye in studying the works of Shakespeare, we find in the external figure under which they present themselves to the spectator, amid thunder and lightning, at the opening of the

piece. This figure, in all its essentials, is indicated by the words of Banquo on first beholding them :—

> " What are these,
> So wither'd, and so wild in their attire;
> That look not like the inhabitants o' the earth,
> And yet are on't ? Live you ? or are you aught
> That man may question ?—You seem to understand me,
> By each at once her choppy finger laying
> Upon her skinny lips. You should be women,
> And yet your beards forbid me to interpret
> That you are so."

We see at once that these are no human beings at all — no witches in the proper sense of the term—but spirits of darkness clothed under an anomalously human appearance. The aspect corresponding to these indications, prepares us, at the rising of the curtain, for the first utterance of their grotesque and mysterious language—

> " When shall we three meet again
> In thunder, lightning, or in rain ?"

wherein their essentially mischievous nature is denoted by their inseparable association with physical and material storm. The next words—

> " When the hurly-burly's done,
> When the battle's lost and won,"

begin to unfold to us the interest which these beings take in human discord and disaster.

> " Where the place ? Upon the heath.
> There to meet with Macbeth."

Here we have the first intimation of that spirit of wickedness existing in Macbeth which developes itself in the progress of the piece. From this first moment, the reader or auditor should be strictly on his guard against the ordinary critical error of regarding these beings as the originators of Macbeth's criminal purpose. Macbeth attracts their attention and excites their interest, through the sympathy which evil ever has with evil—because he already harbours a wicked design—because mischief is germinating in his breast, which their influence is capable of fomenting. It is most important, in order to judge aright of Shakespeare's metaphysical, moral, and religious meaning in this great composition, that we should not mistake him as having represented that spirits of darkness are here permitted absolutely and gratuitously to seduce his hero from a state of perfectly innocent intention. It is plain that such an error at the outset

vitiates and debases the moral to be drawn from the whole piece. Macbeth does not project the murder of Duncan because of his encounter with the weird sisters; the weird sisters encounter him because he has projected the murder—because they know him better than his royal master does, who tells us, "There is no art to find the mind's construction in the face." But these ministers of evil are privileged to see "the mind's construction" where human eye cannot penetrate—in the mind itself. They repair to the blasted heath because, as their mistress Hecate says afterwards of Macbeth, "something wicked this way comes."

> "I come, Graymalkin!—
> Paddock calls. Anon!"

Here we feel the connection of these beings with the world invisible and inaudible to mortal senses. It is only through these mysterious answers of theirs that we know anything of the other beings whom they name thus grotesquely, sufficiently indicating spirits of deformity akin to themselves, and like themselves rejoicing in that elemental disturbance into which they mingle as they vanish from our view:—

> "Fair is foul, and foul is fair:
> Hover through the fog and filthy air."

The more, let us observe, that the wild, uncouth rhymings of Shakespeare's weird sisters are examined, the more deeply significant will they be found—the more consistently expressive of that peculiar individuality which their creator has given them among the world of evil spirits. Not a word of merely random incoherence or unintelligibility, as would have been the case with any inferior artist. Thus, after the scene between king Duncan and the messengers from the field of battle, which acquaints us with Macbeth's position at the outset of the drama as a victorious warrior, suppressing a rebellion and repelling an invasion, the "sisters" meet at the appointed place upon the blasted heath, are allowed, before Macbeth's arrival, to disclose more particularly the character of their spiritual deformity, especially the one whose chief delight seems to be in sea-storm and shipwreck:—

> "A sailor's wife had chesnuts in her lap," &c.

It is in the evening of the same stormy day on which the weird sisters make their first appearance, that they meet the fellow-captains, Macbeth and Banquo, returning from their victory. We are strikingly reminded of this by the first words of Macbeth to his companion as they enter—

> "So foul and fair a day I have not seen;"

that is, fair in the success of their arms, and foul in its tempestuous weather. It is important to observe, that the expressions of enquiring surprise which escape from the chieftains on first beholding these apparitions, sufficiently show that Shakespeare conceived them as quite independent of anything which the superstition of the time in which the story is laid may be supposed to have imagined: they are as new and strange to the fancy as they are to the eyes of their beholders. It is instructive, also, to mark the first indications given us of the strong difference of character between Banquo and Macbeth, by the very different tone in which they address these novel personages. Banquo uses the language of cool and modest enquiry:—

> "Live you? or are you aught
> That man may question?" &c.

But Macbeth betrays at the very first his habit of selfish, headstrong wilfulness, and overbearing command:—

> "Speak, if you can. What are you?"

Banquo continues in the same reasonable and moderate strain towards beings whom he feels to be exempt from his control:—

> "I' the name of truth,
> Are ye fantastical, or that indeed
> Which outwardly ye show?"

It is not until they have already spoken to Macbeth that he requests them to speak to himself:—

> "My noble partner
> Ye greet with present grace, and great prediction
> Of noble having, and of royal hope,
> That he seems rapt withal; to me you speak not.
> If you can look into the seeds of time,
> And say which grain will grow, and which will not,
> Speak then to me, who neither beg nor fear
> Your favours nor your hate."

But Macbeth persists in *commanding* them to speak:—

> "Stay, you imperfect speakers, tell me more.
> ——————— Say, from whence
> You owe this strange intelligence? or why
> Upon this blasted heath you stop our way
> With such prophetic greeting? Speak, *I charge you.*"

Yet, when first addressed by Banquo, they had given a distinct sign that they were not accessible to human questioning:—

> "Live you? or are you aught
> That man may question?—You seem to understand me,
> *By each at once her choppy finger laying*
> *Upon her skinny lips.*"

They return, indeed, no word of answer to either of their human interlocutors; their enigmatical announcements are clearly premeditated and purely gratuitous. Let us now mark the way in which these are respectively received by Macbeth and by his comrade. Banquo, indifferent to their speeches, neither hoping nor fearing anything from them, simply exclaims, in doubt whether his senses have not deceived him:—

> "The earth hath bubbles, as the water has,
> And these are of them. Whither are they vanish'd?
> Were such things here, as we do speak about?
> Or have we eaten of the insane root,
> That takes the reason prisoner?"

But from the moment that their words point to the object upon which Macbeth's ambitious cupidity is already remorselessly bent, his coolness of judgment abandons him; he is no longer in a condition to speculate on the nature or the trustworthiness of these strange informants; but, as in every such case of absorbing, headlong desire, believes everybody and everything that foretels to him the attainment of what he so violently covets. At first, as Banquo tells us, "he seems rapt withal." Then he proceeds to demand more particular information from them, as if their testimony were of indubitable veracity. No matter that he sees them vanish at last "as breath into the wind;" still he says "Would they had staid!" and to the incredulous Banquo, "Your children shall be kings," as if to draw from him the flattering rejoinder, "*You* shall be king," which he earnestly follows up with saying—

> "And thane of Cawdor, too—went it not so?"

It is not surprising, then, that after the startling announcement of his being actually created thane of Cawdor, he should regard the weird sisters as undoubted prophetesses of truth, and their "shalt be king hereafter," as an encouragement to his guilty purpose by truly predicting its success:—

> "Glamis, and thane of Cawdor:
> The greatest is behind.————
> Do you not hope your children shall be kings,
> When those that gave the thane of Cawdor to me
> Promised no less to them?-
> - Two truths are told,
> As happy prologues to the swelling act
> Of the imperial theme."

The same undoubting faith in these strange predictions appears in his letter to his wife:—

"They met me in the day of success; and I have learned by the

perfectest report *they have more in them than mortal knowledge.* . . . This I have thought good to deliver thee, my dearest partner of greatness; that thou mightest not lose the dues of rejoicing, by being ignorant of *what greatness is promised thee.*"

Lady Macbeth's eagerness for the attainment of their common object being, as we have remarked already, yet more violent and passionate than her husband's, she is even less at leisure than he to deliberate as to the trustworthiness of such promises. She promptly echoes his expressions of belief:—

> "Glamis thou art, and Cawdor; and shalt be
> *What thou art promised.*"

Again:—

> "The golden round,
> Which *fate and metaphysical aid doth seem*
> *To have thee crown'd withal.*"

And once more, on first beholding Macbeth after this announcement:—

> "Great Glamis, worthy Cawdor!
> *Greater than both, by the all-hail hereafter!*"

We have noticed already that fine illustration which the poet gives us of the operation of intense selfishness, incapable of veneration as of sympathy, in Macbeth's abortive endeavour to defeat that part of the preternatural prediction which relates to Banquo's posterity. Equally characteristic is the eagerness wherewith, after the grand banquet scene—which has left him, as he knows, an object of universal suspicion, who consequently suspects everyone, and distrusts all human support—he repairs to consult those very mysterious informants whose oracles he has just been attempting to belie:—

> "I will to-morrow
> (Betimes I will) unto the weird sisters:
> More *shall* they speak; for now I am bent to know,
> By the worst means, the worst: *for mine own good*
> *All causes shall give way.*"

Well may their mistress, Hecate, say of him to the sisters:—

> "All you have done,
> Hath been but for a wayward son,
> Spiteful and wrathful; who, as others do,
> Loves for his own ends, not for you."

Truly, Macbeth in his extremity shows little reverence for those whom he seems now to regard as his only protectors:—

> "How now, you secret, black, and midnight hags?
> What is't you do?——
> I conjure you, by that which you profess
> (Howe'er you come to know it), answer me:

> Though you untie the winds, and let them fight
> Against the churches; though the yesty waves
> Confound and swallow navigation up;
> Though bladed corn be lodg'd, and trees blown down;
> Though castles topple on their warders' heads;
> Though palaces, and pyramids, do slope
> Their heads to their foundations; though the treasure
> Of nature's germins tumble all together,
> Even till destruction sicken; answer me
> To what I ask you!"

This, surely, is the very sublimity of passionate and overbearing self-will. But Macbeth is now to be punished for his late attempt to cheat his infernal benefactors, as he supposes them to be. Says Hecate to her subordinates:—

> "But make amends now: get you gone,
> And at the pit of Acheron
> Meet me i' the morning; thither he
> Will come to know his destiny.
> Your vessels, and your spells, provide,
> Your charms, and everything beside:
> I'm for the air; this night I'll spend
> Unto a dismal, fatal end.
> Great business must be wrought ere noon:
> Upon the corner of the moon
> There hangs a vaporous drop profound;
> I'll catch it ere it come to ground:
> And that, distill'd by magic sleights,
> Shall raise such artificial sprights
> As, by the strength of their illusion,
> Shall draw him on to his confusion."

Let us observe, in corroboration of the view for which we have already contended — that the weird sisters are not represented by Shakespeare as the original tempters of Macbeth,—that Hecate here charges them, not as having presumed without her concurrence *to lead him into temptation*, but simply *to take part in his wicked intentions*:—

> "How did you dare
> To *trade and traffic with Macbeth*
> *In riddles and affairs of death*;
> And I, the mistress of your charms,
> The close contriver of all harms,
> Was never call'd to bear my part,
> And show the glory of our art?"

In their first encounter with the murderer in intention, it will be remembered that the weird sisters refuse all answer to the enquiries of himself and his companion; but now that, under

their mistress's command, they are to go beyond mere equivocation, and administer direct instigation, they vouchsafe reply to his questions:—

> "——— Speak.—Demand.—We'll answer.—
> Say, if thou'dst rather hear it from our mouths,
> Or from our masters'?"

To which Macbeth replies, in his usual imperious fashion,—

> "Call them, let me see them."

And when the apparition of the armed head rises, he goes on in the same strain of presumptuous command, as if everything in heaven, earth, or hell, were bound to yield to his selfish will:

> "Tell me, thou unknown power;"—

but is checked by one of the sisters—

> "He knows thy thought;
> Hear his speech, but say thou nought."

*He knows thy thought.* Herein, again, we see distinctly indicated the spirit of the interference which these evil agents are permitted to exercise. They do but flatter Macbeth in the thoughts he has already conceived—they do but urge him along the course upon which he has spontaneously entered:—

> "Macbeth! Macbeth! Macbeth! *beware Macduff—*
> *Beware the thane of Fife.*—Dismiss me:—Enough."

Macbeth, however, is not to be so easily silenced:—

> "Whate'er thou art, for thy good caution thanks;
> Thou hast harp'd my fear aright. *But one word more.*"

Again he has to be told,

> "He will not be commanded. Here's another,
> More potent than the first."

The first words of counsel delivered by this apparition of the bleeding child—"Be bloody, bold, and resolute," do but "harp" the eager predetermination of Macbeth, as the former apparition had "harped his fear." But now comes the really equivocal though seemingly plain assurance—

> "Laugh to scorn the power of man,
> For *none of woman born shall harm Macbeth.*"

He goes on with his interminable questioning:—

> "What is this,
> That rises like the issue of a king,
> And wears upon his baby brow the round
> And top of sovereignty?"

This time, to silence him, if possible, more effectually, the sisters all join in telling him:—"Listen, but speak not." He has already, we see, received the assurance of *invulnerability* from personal attack: he now receives that of *invincibility* against conspiracy and invasion:—

"Be lion-mettled, proud; and take no care
Who chafes, who frets, or where conspirers are:
Macbeth shall never vanquished be, until
Great Birnam wood to high Dunsinane hill
Shall come against him.
*Macb.* That will never be," &c.

Not satisfied, however, with these full assurances, as he considers them, of security to his life and to his rule, he continues:

"Yet my heart
Throbs to know one thing. Tell me (if your art
Can tell so much) shall Banquo's issue *ever*
Reign in this kingdom?"

And the admonition given him by the sisters, "Seek to know no more," only draws from him the ungrateful exclamation:—

"I *will* be satisfied. Deny me this,
And *an eternal curse fall on you!*"

Yet, when his demand is granted, and the shadowy procession of Banquo's royal descendants begins to pass before him, he cries out—

"Filthy hags!
*Why do you show me this?*"

and concludes with those words of selfish disappointment, "What, is this so?" It is the more necessary that we should cite the answer which one of the sisters makes to this query, because it is, now-a-days, unaccountably omitted on the stage, to the great damage of this scene, since it is not only remarkable as the final communication made by these evil beings to their wicked consulter, but is the most pointedly characteristic of their diabolical nature. It is the exulting mockery with which the fiend pays off the presumptuous criminal who has so insolently dared him:—

"Ay, sir, all this is so. But why
Stands Macbeth thus amazedly?—
Come, sisters, cheer we up his sprights,
And show the best of our delights;
I'll charm the air to give a sound,
While you perform your antique round;
That this great king may kindly say,
Our duties did his welcome pay."

And so dancing they disappear.

"*Macbeth.* Where are they? Gone? Let this pernicious hour
Stand aye accursed in the calendar!—
Come in, without there!

Enter *Lenox.*

*Len.* ——— What's your grace's will?
*Macb.* Saw you the weird sisters?
*Len.* ——— No, my lord.
*Macb.* Came they not by you?
*Len.* ——— No, indeed, my lord.
*Macb.* Infected be the air whereon they ride,
And damn'd all those that trust them!"

Yet he goes on trusting them, having lost all other reliance. Thus, finding his thanes all deserting him, he says:—

"Bring me no more reports—let them fly all:
Till Birnam wood remove to Dunsinane,
I cannot taint with fear. What's the boy Malcolm?
Was he not born of woman? The spirits that know
All mortal consequents, pronounced me thus:—
'Fear not, Macbeth; *no man that's born of woman,*
*Shall e'er have power on thee.*' Then fly, false thanes,
And mingle with the English epicures:
The mind I sway by, and the heart I bear,
Shall never sag with doubt, nor shake with fear."

Nevertheless, doubt and fear beset him at the entrance of the very next messenger of ill news:—

"The devil damn thee black, thou cream-faced loon!" &c.

And when the approach of the English force is announced to him, forgetting his predicted safety, he says—

"This push
Will cheer me ever, *or disseat me now*;"—

and proceeds with the well-known anticipatory rumination:—

"I have liv'd long enough: my way of life
Is fall'n into the sear, the yellow leaf:
And that which should accompany old age,
As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends,
I must not look to have; but, in their stead,
Curses, not loud, but deep, mouth-honour, breath,
Which the poor heart would fain deny, but dares not."

More *poetical whining*, we must observe, over his own most merited situation. Yet Hazlitt, amongst others, talks of him as "calling back all our sympathy" by this reflection. Sympathy, indeed! for the exquisitely refined selfishness of this most odious

personage! This passage is exactly of a piece with the famous one in which he envies the fate of his royal victim, and seems to think himself hardly used, that Duncan, after all, should be better off than himself:—

> "Duncan is in his grave;
> After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well;
> Treason has done his worst; nor steel, nor poison,
> Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing,
> Can touch him further!"

Such exclamations, from such a character, are but an additional title to our contempt: the man who sets at nought all human ties should at least be prepared to abide in quiet the inevitable consequences. But the moral cowardice of Macbeth, we see, is consummate. He cannot resign himself to his fate. The more seemingly desperate his situation becomes, the more he clings to his sole remaining source of encouragement, shadowy as it is—

> "I will not be afraid of death and bane,
> Till Birnam forest come to Dunsinane."

And when Birnam forest is actually come to Dunsinane, still he only "begins"

> "To doubt the equivocation of the fiend,
> That lies like truth."

Still he finds one reliance left, in that straw which, to his selfish, cowardly fears, looks like a staff of security:—

> "What's he
> *That was not born of woman?* Such a one
> Am I to fear, or none."

Nothing, again, can be more characteristic than the exclamation when his castle is surrounded, and nothing is left him but his individual life:—

> "Why should I play the Roman fool, and die
> On mine own sword? Whiles I see lives, the gashes
> Do better upon them."

No, indeed! Macbeth is no Brutus! For a man to encounter the sword of his enemy, requires only physical courage; but to die upon his own, demands the highest moral resolution. And when Macduff appears before him, it is not compunction that draws from him the confession—

> "Of all men else I have avoided thee:
> But get thee back—my soul is too much charg'd
> With blood of thine already."

It is, that the words of the preternatural monitor are still ringing in his ear—"Beware Macduff—beware the thane of Fife."

Compelled to fight, he avails himself of the first pause, while he is yet unwounded, to persuade his antagonist of his invulnerability:—

> "Thou losest labour:
> I bear a charmed life, which must not yield
> To one of woman born."

When Macduff has acquainted him with the peculiarity of his own birth, there is no want of physical courage, we must observe, implied in Macbeth's declining the combat. He might well believe that now, more than ever, it was time to "beware Macduff." He is at length convinced that "fate and metaphysical aid" are against him; and, consistent to the last in his hardened and whining selfishness, his consciousness of the intense blackness of his own perfidy interferes not to prevent him from complaining of falsehood in those evil beings from whose very nature he should have expected nothing else:—

> "And be these juggling fiends no more believed,
> That palter with us in a double sense,
> That keep the word of promise to our ear,
> And break it to our hope!"

There is no cowardice, we say, in his declining the combat under such a conviction. Neither is there any courage in his renewing it; for there is no room for courage in opposing evident fate. But the last word and action of Macbeth are an expression of the *moral* cowardice which we trace so conspicuously throughout his career; he surrenders his life that he may not "be baited with the rabble's curse." So dies Macbeth, shrinking from deserved opprobrium; but he dies, as he has lived, *remorseless.*

It is now time to follow out the development of the very different character of his lady, as shown in the very different end to which she is brought by purely mental suffering.

We have seen the passionate desire of Lady Macbeth for her husband's exaltation overbearing, but not stifling, her "compunctious visitings;" until she finds "the golden round" actually encircling the brow of her equally ambitious but more selfish consort. We have seen the stings of conscience assailing her with fresh violence so soon as that sustained effort ceased which she had felt to be necessary for going "the nearest way" to her lord's elevation and her own; but again, we have seen them silenced for the time in the new effort which she finds imposed upon her to soothe, as she supposes, those pangs of remorse in her husband's breast which are not only tormenting himself, but betraying his guilty consciousness to all the world. But the

close of the great banquet scene, which we have already considered, presents a new phasis of her feelings. She finds that her expostulations, whether in the strain of tenderness or of reproof, are alike powerless to restrain the workings of his "heat-oppressed brain." From the moment that she finds it necessary to say to their guests—

> "I pray you speak not; he grows worse and worse;
> *Question enrages him;* at once, good night:
> Stand not upon the order of your going,
> But go at once;"—

from that moment, we find her brief and quiet answers to his enquiries breathing nothing but the anxious desire to still his feverish agitation by what, she is now convinced, is the only available means—the most compliant gentleness. Her observation—

> "You lack the season of all natures, sleep,"

expresses her deep conviction that, if any treatment can cure or assuage his mental malady, it must be a soothing one, and that alone. But his very reply to this gentle exhortation shows us that her power to allay his fears, and consequently to control his excesses, is utterly at an end:—

> "My strange and self-abuse
> Is the initiate fear, that *wants hard use:*
> *We are yet but young in deed.*"

Up to this point, be it observed, she is ignorant of Banquo's assassination; neither has her husband acquainted her distinctly with his designs against Macduff; henceforth he has no confidants whatever but his preternatural counsellors, who spend no more advice upon him than is just sufficient to confirm him in his infatuated course. It seems to be only from common rumour that his lady learns the destruction of Macduff's family, and the career of reckless violence which it opens on her husband's part, to the utter contempt of all human opinion, and sundering of all human attachment to his person or his rule. Their first great criminal act, the murder of Duncan, she had fondly thought should

> "to all their days and nights to come
> Give solely sovereign sway and masterdom."

Mistaking, as we have seen, her husband's character, she foresaw not at all that he would both hold and act upon the maxim that—

> "Things bad begun make strong themselves by ill,"—

that is, he would perversely make his very safety consist in

getting deeper into danger. But now she finds that the very deed which was to establish him for ever, has precipitated him into inevitable destruction; she feels that but for the incitement administered by her own unbending will, that deed would not have been committed; that consequently, that very pertinacity of his, which she expected was to make the lasting greatness of the man in whose glory all her wishes in this life were absorbed, had sealed his black, irrevocable doom. Nor is this all: the horrible undeception as to one part of his character involves a yet more cruel one respecting another part. To find that all she had mistaken in Macbeth for "the milk of human kindness" was but mere selfish apprehensiveness, involves the conviction that he is capable of no true affection, no thorough confidence, even towards *her*. From the moment that he fails, as we have seen, to gain her concurrence in his design against Banquo, he shuts up his counsels utterly from her, and leaves her to brood in solitude over her unimparted anguish; depriving her even of that diversion and solace which her own wretched thoughts would still have found in the endeavour to soothe and tranquillize *his* agitations. With awful truth does Malcolm's observation to Macduff come home to the case of this despairing lady:—

> "The grief that does not speak,
> *Whispers the o'er-fraught heart, and bids it break.*"

Sustained by the prosperity of her husband, or even by his confidence and sympathy in adversity, her mental resolution might long have been proof against those latent stings of remorse which we have shown to be ineradicably planted in her heart. But bereft alike of worldly hope and of human sympathy, the consciousness of ineffaceable guilt re-awakens with scorpion fierceness in her bosom; and now we have the awful comment upon that expression of forced indifference which she had uttered to her husband—"A little water clears us of this deed"—in her sleep-walking exclamations, — "Yet here 's a spot. —— Out, damned spot! out, I say!——What! will these hands ne'er be clean?——Here 's the smell of the blood still.—All the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand.—Oh! oh! oh!" Yes, *there* is the constant burden, the damned spot, the smell of the blood still, in the irrevocableness of the deed—*her* deed in effect, though not in conception—which has plunged them both into the deepest abyss of ruin. To that reflection her lonely heart is abandoned; to that it is chained, as on "a wheel of fire!" But around this central and predominant impression, we find, in the course of her brief and incoherent revelations, confusedly transposed, like reflections from some shattered convex mirror, the

whole circle of circumstances conducing to or consequent on the great decisive act. First, there is her previous chiding of his nervous apprehensions,—"Fye, my lord, fye!—a soldier, and afear'd? What need we fear who knows it, when none can call our power to account?" Then comes the horror of the murdering moment,—"One, two! Why, then, 'tis time to do't.—Hell is murky!" Then, her equally horrid reminiscence of the sanguinary spectacle which her lord's pusillanimity had compelled her to look upon,—"Yet who would have thought the old man to have had so much blood in him!" Then, the effort to tranquillize her husband's first agitation after the murder,—"Wash your hands, put on your night-gown; look not so pale.——To bed, to bed; there's knocking at the gate. Come, come, come, come, give me your hand.——To bed, to bed, to bed." Then, her effort to still his supposed remorse,—"What's done cannot be undone." Next, her chiding of his agitated behaviour in public,—"No more o' that, my lord, no more o' that; you mar all with this starting."——"I tell you yet again, Banquo's buried; he cannot come out of his grave." And finally, that burst of mere helpless commiseration,—"The thane of Fife had a wife—where is she now?" Here, we say, is rapidly traced the whole dreadful series of consequences, from her own unshrinking instigation of the secret murder, to Macbeth's open launching upon the sea of boundless atrocity which is to overwhelm him. But all is retrospective—all reduces itself to ruminating on the circumstances of the murder, and her subsequent endeavours to sustain and guide the spirit of her husband.

Macbeth, we must observe, is an habitual soliloquist; there was no need of any somnambulism to disclose to us his inmost soul. But it would have been inconsistent with Lady Macbeth's powers and habits of self-control, that her guilty consciousness should have made its way through her lips in her waking moments. Her sleep-walking scene, therefore, becomes a matter of physiological truth no less than of dramatic necessity. As the doctor himself here tells us:—

"Unnatural deeds
Do breed unnatural troubles: infected minds
To their deaf pillows will discharge their secrets."

He reads despair in the language of this "slumbry agitation:"—

"More needs she the divine than the physician.
——————— Look after her;
Remove from her the means of all annoyance,
And still keep eyes upon her."

Again, in answer to Macbeth's enquiry, "How does your patient, doctor?"—

"Not so sick, my lord,
As she is troubled with thick-coming fancies,
That keep her from her rest."

And, finally, that apprehension of the doctor's which had made him desire all instruments of violence to be removed out of her way, seems to be realized by Malcolm's concluding mention of her as one

"Who, as 'tis thought, by self and violent hands
Took off her life."

On the other hand, nothing in Macbeth's demeanour is more strikingly characteristic than the manner in which he receives the intelligence of his lady's illness and her death. Nothing so thoroughly shows us that he had regarded her with no generous affection, but simply as a being exceedingly useful to him, whom, therefore, he could very ill afford to part with. The physician's intimation above cited, as to her "thick-coming fancies," draws from him not the smallest sign of sympathy or commiseration. He desires her preservation, indeed, as an article of utility; and in his usual irrationally imperious style, he commands the doctor to "cure her of that." Nothing but utter insensibility to her individual sufferings could permit him, at such a moment, to indulge in one of his selfish poetical abstractions:—

"Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased;
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow;
Raze out the written troubles of the brain;
And, with some sweet oblivious antidote,
Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff
Which weighs upon the heart?"

In like manner, his rejoinder to the physician's assurance, "Therein the patient must minister to himself," is purely self-regarding:—

"Throw physic to the dogs—*I*'ll none of it."

And, in the same spirit, he continues:—

"Doctor, the thanes fly from me.
———— If thou couldst, doctor, cast
The water of my land, find her disease,
And purge it to a sound and pristine health,
I would applaud thee to the very echo,
That should applaud again.————
What rhubarb, senna, or what purgative drug
Would scour these English hence?"

When the queen's women are heard lamenting within the castle, the same self-absorption of her husband seems to prevent

him from at all divining the cause. He is occupied exclusively with ruminating upon his own sensations:—

> "I have almost forgot the taste of fears:
> The time has been, my senses would have cool'd
> To hear a night-shriek; and my fell of hair
> Would at a dismal treatise rouse, and stir
> As life were in't: I have supp'd full with horrors;
> Direness, familiar to my slaughterous thoughts,
> Cannot once start me.——Wherefore was that cry?"

When he is told, "The queen, my lord, is dead," his exclamation is one of anything but compassion—he seems to think she has used him very ill by dying just then:—

> "She *should* have died hereafter—
> There *would* have been a time for such a word."

He requites her, however, by forgetting her utterly and finally in another of his grand self-regarding ruminations:—

> "To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
> Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
> To the last syllable of recorded time;
> And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
> The way to dusty death. Out, out, brief candle!
> Life's but a walking shadow; a poor player,
> That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
> And then is heard no more: it is a tale
> Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
> Signifying nothing."

We might here have closed our present notice of this great Shakespearian tragedy, leaving this full examination into the development of its two leading characters to make its unassisted impression upon the reader's mind. But the established *theatrical* treatment of the piece will by no means permit us to do so. Of all the great works of its author, this, we believe, is the one which, upon the whole, is most frequently exhibited on the stage; yet, of all others, it is the one which, by injurious omissions, by more injurious insertions, and by erroneous acting, is the most thorougkly falsified to the apprehension of the auditor. So that, although the view which we have presented of the mutual relation between those two characters, so different from the prevailing one, is drawn from the most severely attentive consideration of Shakespeare's text; yet we can scarcely anticipate a fair reception of it by the public at large, unless it be supported by a distinct exposition of the distortion and perversion which are still almost nightly inflicted upon this masterpiece of the greatest of dramatists, by that corrupted mode of represent-

ing it which prescription would seem to have, almost irrevocably sanctioned.

First, as to omissions; in this, perhaps the most closely and rigidly coherent of all its author's compositions, and, consequently, that in which any curtailment most necessarily implies mutilation.

Passing over mere suppressions of detail, let us come to the comic scene of the porter, which immediately follows the murder scene between Macbeth and his lady, and respecting which we entirely dissent from the opinion so positively expressed by Coleridge,* that it was "written for the mob by some other hand." Coleridge himself, in the very next paragraph of these notes, alluding to a subsequent passage of this play, indicates the true spirit and bearing of this comic introduction. Shakespeare, he observes, never introduces the comic "but when it may re-act on the tragedy by harmonious contrast." Precisely so. The horror of this midnight assassination is thrown into the boldest possible relief by the fact of its being perpetrated under the mask of grateful, plenteous, jovial, and even riotous hospitality. As the murder scene receives its last heightening of effect from that wherein the guests are seen retiring to rest, and Banquo tells Macbeth—

> "The king's a-bed:
> He hath been in unusual pleasure, and
> Sent forth great largess to your officers:
> This diamond he greets your wife withal,
> By the name of most kind hostess; and shut up
> In measureless content;"—

so this same disputed passage of the drunken porter, wherein we are presented, as it were, with the last heavy, expiring fumes of the nocturnal entertainment,—the touch of humorous colloquy between this drolly-moralizing domestic and the gentlemen who are up thus early to awaken the king for his intended journey, and are utterly unsuspecting of mischief,—gives the more overpowering force to the burst of indignant horror produced by their discovery of the sanguinary fact. The interposing of this comic passage having, for this reason, we believe, been deliberately determined on by the dramatist, what more natural than that it should be made to issue chiefly from the mouth of the half-sobered porter? It is a most essential part of the dramatic incident, that the criminal pair should be startled in the very moment of completing their sanguinary deed, by those loyal followers who are come to awaken the sovereign whom

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* 'Literary Remains,' vol. ii, p. 246.

their host and hostess have put to sleep for ever. They must be admitted, and the porter, of course, must make his appearance,—the fittest representative, too, of the latest portion of the night's carousing, and the fittest, therefore, to give the dialogue a gravely comic turn. Another dramatic purpose, too, is served by the interposing of this interval in the chain of tragic circumstance—the allowing of time for Macbeth, after retiring from the scene, "lost," as his lady tells him, "so poorly in his thoughts," to wash his hands, put on his night-dress, and assume that perfect self-possession, in speech at least, wherewith he comes forth to meet the early risers, Macduff and Lenox. The omission of the whole passage in acting, except a very few words, by bringing Macbeth forward again, cool and collected, so immediately after he has withdrawn in such confusion, destroys, in this important place, the coherence and probability of the incident. Modern decorum, no doubt, demands the omission of the greater part of the porter's share in the dialogue; but there seems no such reason for suppressing the "devil-porter" soliloquy, wherein he "had thought to have let in some of all professions, that go the primrose way to the everlasting bonfire," amongst whom he tells us of "an equivocator, who committed treason enough for God's sake, yet could not equivocate to heaven."

The second theatrical mutilation that we have to notice, is the total omission of Lady Macbeth's appearance in the discovery scene. We hardly need point out the doubly gross improbability involved herein. On the one hand, the lady's clear understanding of the part it behoves her to act, and her perfect self-possession, must of themselves bring her forward, as the mistress of the mansion, to enquire—

> "What's the business,
> That such a hideous trumpet calls to parley
> The sleepers of the house? Speak, speak."

On the other hand, her solicitude to see how her nervous lord conducts himself under this new trial of his self-possession, so vital to them both, must force her upon the scene. Strange, therefore, does it seem, that we should miss her altogether, as we do in the present mode of performance, from this critical passage of the incident. Assuredly, too, the dramatist had his reasons for causing Macbeth's hypocritically pathetic description of the scene of murder to be delivered thus publicly in the presence of her whose hands have had so large a share in giving it that particular aspect. It lends double force to this most characteristic trait of Macbeth's deportment, that he should not be moved even by his lady's presence from delivering his

affectedly indignant description of that bloody spectacle, in terms which must so vividly recal to her mind's eye the sickening objects which his own moral cowardice had compelled her to gaze upon:—

"Here lay Duncan,
His silver skin laced with his golden blood;
And his gashed stabs looked like a breach in nature,
For ruin's wasteful entrance."

And then, how marvellously the next sentence is contrived, so as to express, in one breath, the aspect of the guiltless attendants whom his wife's guilty hands had besmeared, and that which he and she, the real murderers now standing before us, had presented the moment after their consummation of the deed:—

"There, *the murderers,
Steeped in the colours of their trade, their daggers
Unmannerly breeched with gore.* Who could refrain,
That had a heart to love, and in that heart
Courage to make his love known?"

These words draw from Lady Macbeth the instant exclamation, "Help me hence, oh!" And shortly after she is carried out, still in a fainting state. The prevalent notion respecting this passage, grounded on the constantly false view of the lady's character, is, that her swooning on this occasion is merely a feigned display of horror at the discovery of their sovereign's being murdered in their own house, and at the vivid picture of the sanguinary scene drawn by her husband. We believe, however, that our previous examination of her character must already have prepared the reader to give to this circumstance quite a different interpretation. He will bear in mind the burst of anguish which had been forced from her by Macbeth's very first ruminations upon his act:—

"These deeds must not be thought
After these ways; *so, it will make us mad.*"

Remembering this, he will see what a dreadful accumulation of horror is inflicted on her by her husband's own lips in the speech we have just cited. Not only does he paint in stronger, blacker colours than ever, the guilty horror of their common deed—this her habitual power of self-command in the presence of others might just have enabled her to support—but in the same breath comes upon her, like a thunder-stroke, his announcement of that second sanguinary crime which he has just added to the former. This latter is the blow that strikes her to the ground, the conviction darting at once across her clear appre-

hension, of the fatally intractable nature of the demon she herself has unwittingly unchained, in her husband's over-eagerness to obviate suspicion. She feels, that by this rash act he has awakened the very suspicion which he dreads, or confirmed it where existing already. To his exclamation—

> "O yet I do repent me of my fury,
> That I did kill them"—

Macduff, in her hearing, replies significantly, "Wherefore did you so?" This, like a vivid lightning flash athwart the darkness, gives her a clear, far glimpse into the dismal future that awaits them. Even her indomitable resolution may well sink for the moment under a stroke so withering, for which, being totally unexpected, she came so utterly unprepared. It is remarkable that, upon her exclamation of distress, Macduff, and shortly after, Banquo, cries out, "Look to the lady;" but that we find not the smallest sign of attention paid to her situation by Macbeth himself, who, arguing from his own character to hers, would regard it merely as a dexterous feigning on her part. How much deep illustration of character, let us repeat, is lost by this one brief suppression, besides that it strikes out one complete link in the main dramatic interest.

A minor injury, but still injurious, is the omission, in the following scene, of the "old man," and of the dialogue which passes between him and Rosse outside the castle. It was plainly one deliberate aim of the great artist, to keep the association and affinity which he chose to establish between spiritual and material storm and darkness continually before us:—

> "*Old Man.* Threescore and ten I can remember well;
> Within the volume of which time I have seen
> Hours dreadful, and things strange; but this sore night
> Hath trifled former knowings.
> *Rosse.* Ah, good father,
> Thou seest, the heavens, as troubled with man's act,
> Threaten his bloody stage: by the clock 'tis day,
> And yet dark night strangles the travelling lamp:
> Is it night's predominance, or the day's shame,
> That darkness does the face of earth intomb,
> When living light should kiss it?
> *Old M.* 'Tis unnatural,
> Even like the deed that's done," &c.

The next suppression, again, really mutilates the chain of dramatic interest—depriving us, in the first place, of that beautifully-told history which Lenox, in conversation with another lord, gives us of the progress of suspicion and disaffection among Macbeth's own adherents:—

"My former speeches have but hit your thoughts,
Which can interpret farther: only, I say,
Things have been strangely borne. The gracious Duncan
Was pitied of Macbeth.—Marry, he was dead.
And the right-valiant Banquo walk'd too late;
Whom, you may say, if it please you, Fleance kill'd,
For Fleance fled.—Men must not walk too late.
Who cannot want the thought, how monstrous
It was for Malcolm, and for Donalbain,
To kill their gracious father? damned fact!
How it did grieve Macbeth! Did he not straight,
In pious rage, the two delinquents tear,
That were the slaves of drink, and thralls of sleep?
Was not that nobly done? Ay, and wisely too;
For 'twould have anger'd any heart alive,
To hear the men deny it. So that, I say,
He has borne all things well. And I do think
That, had he Duncan's sons under his key,
(As, an't please heaven, he shall not) they should find
What 'twere to kill a father; so should Fleance.—
But, peace!—for from broad words, and 'cause he fail'd
His presence at the tyrant's feast, I hear,
Macduff lives in disgrace. Sir, can you tell
Where he bestows himself?"

The answer tells us the state of the rightful cause, of which Macduff is become the leader:—

"The son of Duncan,
From whom this tyrant holds the due of birth,
Lives in the English court; and is receiv'd
Of the most pious Edward with such grace,
That the malevolence of fortune nothing
Takes from his high respect. Thither Macduff
Is gone to pray the holy king, in his aid
To wake Northumberland and warlike Siward;
That, by the help of these (with Him above
To ratify the work), we may again
Give to our tables meat, sleep to our nights;—
Free from our feasts and banquets bloody knives;
Do faithful homage, and receive free honours;
All which we pine for now. And this report
Hath so exasperate the king, that he
Prepares for some attempt of war.
*Lenox.* Sent he to Macduff?
*Lord.* He did: and with an absolute *Sir, not I,*
The cloudy messenger turns me his back,
And hums; as who should say, *You'll rue the time*
*That clogs me with this answer.*

> *Len.* And that well might
> Advise him to a caution, to hold what distance
> His wisdom can provide. Some holy angel
> Fly to the court of England, and unfold
> His message ere he come; that a swift blessing
> May soon return to this our suffering country
> Under a hand accurs'd!
> *Lord.* My prayers with him!"

This passage, at present wholly omitted on the stage, is clearly necessary in order to make us understand the full import of Macbeth's cruel revenge upon Macduff's family. But we find a much more important omission—the most injurious of all—in the entire suppression of the character of Lady Macduff, and of the scenes in Macduff's castle until his lady runs out pursued by the murderers. Here, indeed, is a mutilation quite unaccountable. It mars the whole spirit and moral of the play, to take anything from that depth and liveliness of interest which the dramatist has attached to the characters and fortunes of Macduff and his lady. They are the chief representatives in the piece, of the interests of loyalty and domestic affection, as opposed to those of the foulest treachery and the most selfish and remorseless ambition. After those successive gradations of atrocity, the treacherous murder of the king, the cowardly assassination of his chamberlains, and the flagitious taking-off of Banquo,—the wanton, savage, and undisguised slaughter of the defenceless wife and children, brought to the very eyes and ears of the auditor, carries his indignation to that final pitch of intensity which is necessary to make him sympathize to the full in the aspiration of the bereaved husband and father:—

> "Gentle heaven,
> Cut short all intermission; front to front
> Bring thou this fiend of Scotland and myself;
> Within my sword's length set him; if he 'scape,
> Heaven forgive him too!"

It is not enough that we should hear the story in the brief words in which it is related to him by his fugitive cousin, Rosse. The presence of the affectionate family before our eyes,—the timid lady's eloquent complaining to her cousin, of her husband's deserting them in danger,—the graceful *badinage* with her boy, in which she seeks relief from her melancholy forebodings,—and then, the sudden entrance of Macbeth's murderous ruffians,—are all requisite to give that crowning horror, that consummately and violently revolting character to Macbeth's career, which Shakespeare has so evidently studied to impress upon it. Nothing

has more contributed to favour the false notion of a certain sympathy which the dramatist has been supposed to have excited for the character and fate of this most gratuitously criminal of all his heroes, than the theatrical narrowing of the space, and consequent weakening of the interest, which his unerring judgment has assigned in the piece to those representatives of the cause of virtue and humanity, for whom he has really sought to interest his audience. It is no fault of his, if Macbeth's heartless whinings have ever extracted one emotion of pity from reader or auditor, in lieu of that intensely aggravated disgust which they ought to awaken. Macduff himself speaks not merely the language of his individual resentment, not only the public opinion of his suffering country, but the voice of common reason and humanity,—where he says to Malcolm, even before he is acquainted with the destruction of his own family:—

> "Not in the legions
> Of horrid hell, can come a devil more damn'd
> In evils, to top Macbeth."

Further omissions still, though of lesser consequence, are to be regretted in the latter part of the acting play,—as that of the scene from which we have already quoted, wherein Macbeth's revolted subjects first appear in arms—a necessary chapter in the history of his downfall, from which we cannot forbear citing the words in which Menteth so admirably characterizes the usurper's frantic state of mind—

> "Who then shall blame
> His pester'd senses to recoil and start,
> *When all that is within him does condemn*
> *Itself for being there.*"

Then, there is the death of young Siward by the hand of Macbeth, and his father's soldierly speech over him; which enhance the interest of the tyrant's combat with Macduff. To the alteration, in deference to modern taste, which makes Macbeth, in this conflict, fall and die upon the stage, we have nothing to object; only it is worth observing, that the very fact of Shakespeare's making Macduff, after killing his antagonist off the stage, re-enter with "the usurper's cursed head" upon a pole, is a final and striking indication that he meant Macbeth to die by all unpitied and abhorred.

The omission of Malcolm's concluding speech, however, seems to us to be alike needless and senseless. Shakespeare understood the art of appropriately closing a drama, no less than that of opening it happily. These lines from the restored prince not only draw together in one point, as is requisite, the several

surviving threads of interest, but show us decisively the predominant impression which the dramatist intended to leave on the minds of his audience. They are like a gleam of evening sunshine, bidding "farewell sweet," after "so fair and foul a day:"—

> "We shall not spend a large expense of time,
> Before we reckon with your several loves,
> And make us even with you. My thanes and kinsmen,
> Henceforth be earls, the first that ever Scotland
> In such an honour nam'd. What's more to do,
> Which would be planted newly with the time,—
> As calling home our exil'd friends abroad,
> That fled the snares of watchful tyranny,—
> Producing forth the cruel ministers
> Of this dead butcher and his fiend-like queen,
> Who, as 'tis thought, by self and violent hands
> Took off her life;—this, and what needful else
> That calls upon us, by the grace of Grace
> We will perform in measure, time, and place:
> So, thanks to all at once, and to each one,
> Whom we invite to see us crown'd at Scone."

One reason of theatrical necessity, we are aware, is likely to be alleged in defence of these mutilations—the indispensability of shortening the performance, owing to the pressure of time occasioned by the modern arrangements of the stage. This plea might have been more readily admitted, were it not the fact that large insertions have been made and retained in the original play, which occupy full as much time upon the scene as the omitted passages would do. We must take it for granted, therefore, that both manager and audience, in retaining and sanctioning such a mass of alteration, believe that the piece gains more by the additions in question than it loses by the suppressions. Let us proceed to examine how far this opinion is well-grounded, by considering the history and the nature of these introductions by later hands into Shakespeare's drama.

It may clearly indicate the kind of taste which must have dictated these insertions, if we first of all mention that they date precisely from the period of the greatest degradation of the English theatre in general, whether in relation to art or to morality, and of the grossest and most audacious corruptions and profanations of the works of Shakespeare in particular. Among the heroes of this unenviable species of achievement, it was Davenant who undertook to improve and civilize 'Macbeth,' by metamorphosing it from the severest of tragedies into a sort of operatic medley. Not content with converting the anomalous,

discordant beings of Shakespeare's imagining into a set of melodious chanters, and surrounding them with a rabble rout of vulgar human figures and faces, he reformed the dialogue line by line,—shifted the characters about in the most arbitrary way, — introduced long rhyming scenes, the offspring of "his own pure brain," between Macduff and his wife,—and added a grand piece of abusive scolding between Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, representing the latter to be haunted by all manner of ghosts. It was to the witch songs and choruses which Sir William inserted into this precious piece of work, that the fine music of Locke was composed, which has handed down these barbarous excrescences upon Shakespeare's drama to the present time. Seeing that all the rest of Davenant's abominable transformation has been repudiated ever since the days of Garrick, we will not waste our time and space upon considering it in detail: but the duty we have undertaken to discharge towards the fame and the genius of Shakespeare, imperatively demands that we should point out how utterly repugnant to the spirit of this great work are those presumptuous musical and scenic additions to it which are still retained in spite of all the zeal and enthusiasm for the redemption of our great dramatist from all manner of corruptions and perversions, which it is now so fashionable to profess.

First of all, then, we have the chain of interest which Shakespeare has so closely preserved between the completion of Macbeth's design against Duncan and the formation of that against Banquo, interrupted by Davenant's rabble rout, with their—

"Speak, sister, speak—is the deed done?" &c.

We have shown that Shakespeare uses the presence and the agency of his weird sisters most sparingly — only so far as is necessary to illustrate fully the headlong as well as headstrong nature of that selfish and violent cupidity which sways his hero. Their grotesquely and inharmoniously rhyming dialogues at the outset, are restricted to the narrowest space that could suffice to reveal to us a spirit in them of gratuitous and aimless mischief, corresponding to their anomalous exterior. The few brief words which they address to Macbeth and Banquo are just enough to serve the double purpose,—on the one hand, of showing us the previous guilty intention in the hero, and that intense eagerness in pursuit of it which, as we have said before, causes him to interpret the very announcement that he was to be king in any case into an encouragement in that particular murderous design which he already harboured, — and on the other, of setting in movement the action of the drama, by this very confirming of the traitor in his guilty purpose, and precipitating him towards

its execution. We see, also, that his lady is yet less disposed than himself to await the destined course of events,—notwithstanding that his unexpected creation as thane of Cawdor should have led them both to expect, if anything could, that the royalty also would come to them, by some means or other, "without their stir." So long as Macbeth finds all-sufficient support in the encouragement and concurrence of his lady, there needs no intervention of the weird sisters to carry on the series of tragic incident, the precipitous course of which the dramatist had too high and instinctive a mastery of his art, to interrupt by introducing them merely by way of idle and unmeaning decoration. It is not until after the banquet scene, when Macbeth resorts to them as the only counsellors from whom he has now to look for any encouragement in the "strange things" which he has "in head," that Shakespeare finds it proper to bring them again before us. What, then, are we to think, when, instead of the suppressed passage which we have already cited, so fitly describing the heavy, reluctant daybreak after such a night of horror, we see the stage deluged with Davenant's mob of bedeviled women, old and young, in every variety of St Giles's costume—a very train of Comus vulgarized—constantly exciting the involuntary laughter of the audience—*laughter* on the very moment of the horrible discovery of Duncan's assassination, the moment of deepest horror in this deepest of tragedies! Seeing how general the misapprehension has been, we might show some lenity towards the false notion upon which this insertion is grounded, that the weird sisters had directly instigated the murder of Duncan; but how is it possible to forgive the disgusting violation of Shakespeare's own fundamental conception of their nature, which is involved in showing us these airy beings, whom the poet has imagined incapable of human intercourse or sympathy, actually *elbowed* by a vulgar human multitude, and sharing in their low gambols and grimaces? And how, we would ask, after such a scene, are we to resume the broken thread of our impressions, so as to follow with adequate interest the ensuing course of incident relating to the murder of Banquo?

Again, what a strange substitution for that other omitted passage which we have quoted above, describing the progress of disaffection among Macbeth's adherents after Banquo's murder, is that concert of melodious spirits which are made to attend on Shakespeare's discordant Hecate, and the conversion of the latter from a purely ethereal being of evil, into a mere flesh-and-blood, sensual witch, who talks of *anointing* herself

> "With new-fall'n dew
> From churchyard yew;"

and says,—

> "Oh, what a dainty pleasure's this,
> * * * * *
> To sing, to toy, to dance, and kiss!"

And finally, what a strange accompaniment are Davenant's rabble to Shakespeare's weird sisters and their mistress, in the incantation scene, the mysterious horror of which most especially demands the preservation of that immaterial, anomalous, and insulated character which their creator has assigned to them. This, we conceive, is the most villanous profanation of all.

The sole reason, we believe, that will now-a-days be alleged for retaining these monstrous blots upon so great a work of Shakespeare is, the merit and attraction of the music which accompanies them. These we fully admit. The compositions in question are not only the masterpiece of their author, but one of the most vigorous productions of native English musical genius. Let them be performed and enjoyed anywhere and everywhere but in the representation of the greatest tragedy of the world's great dramatist—*for which representation*, let every auditor well observe, their author, Locke, *did not compose them*. For Davenant's abominable transformation were they written, and with that they ought to have been repudiated from the stage. The very restoration of Shakespeare's text in the rest of the performance, has but more glaringly brought out the shocking incongruity of these extraneous passages.

We come now to consider the other grand monstrosity which, introduced into this play, like the rest, by the men who had the forming of the stage of the Restoration, has, with them, been ever since retained—the dragging of the murdered Banquo bodily before the eyes of Macbeth and of the audience, in the banquet scene. This was an idea worthy of Davenant and his compeers, and consistent with the gross, incongruous texture of his corrupted play: but here, again, the general restoration of the text brings out this other disfigurement before us in all its atrocious and insulting absurdity.

Having already shown, at length, how studiously Shakespeare has worked Macbeth's liability, under violent excitement, to perfect hallucination of the senses, not only as a chief source of the poetic colouring of this piece, but as a mainspring of the tragic action, we need not here repeat the argument. Indeed, we feel a sort of humiliation in reflecting that the inveterate attachment of managers and auditors to so glaring a perversion should compel us to insist for a single moment upon the fact, that so leading an intention of the dramatist, in this most conspicuous instance of its display, is not merely injured, but is

utterly subverted by placing before the hero's bodily eyes and ours an actual blood-stained figure;—the result of which contrivance is, that so far from marvelling, as Shakespeare meant his audience to do, at the violence of imagination which could force so unreal an apparition upon Macbeth's "heat-oppressed brain," our wonder must be if he, or any man, were *not* to start and rave at the entrance of so strange a visitor; not to mention the precious outrage to our senses, in the visibility of this unaccountable personage to us, the distant audience, while he is invisible to every one of the guests who crowd the table at which he seats himself in the only vacant chair!

But, gross as these disfigurements are, of this grand work of the greatest of artists, even these are not the most essential perversions of its spirit that have descended to us among those traditions from a corrupt and degenerate stage, which, to this very hour, have resisted the growth amongst us of a profounder and more enlightened literary criticism of Shakespeare. The most hurtful of these traditionary notions respecting 'Macbeth,' are to be found in the radically false conception and representation of its two leading characters, which the actors of them have perpetrated through the whole modern era of our theatrical history. It is the more indispensable, before dismissing our present subject, to consider these histrionic misinterpretations, because, owing to the great frequency of representation which this piece has constantly maintained, this, we are persuaded, is one of the most signal instances of all in which the misconception of the actor has reacted upon the judgment of the critic,—forcibly illustrating the importance even to a perfectly intelligent *reading* of Shakespeare, that the public mind should be disabused of erroneous prepossessions having their source wholly or partly in mere *theatrical* prescription.

We cannot here examine into the several varieties of expression which, in the representation of the hero, have marked respectively the acting of a Garrick or a Kemble, a Kean or a Macready, resulting from their personal peculiarities, their particular mannerisms, or their different conceptions respecting matters of detail. We have to do at present only with the one grand misconception which has pervaded all these personations,—that of regarding Macbeth as a man originally good, sympathetic, tender-hearted, generous, and grateful, until the ambitious and treacherous purpose of murdering his king is first suggested to him by the weird sisters, and then confirmed in him by the instigation of his wife. This capital error at the outset has betrayed the actors, like the critics, into mistaking the language of his selfish apprehensions for the expressions of com-

punction and remorse, and his equally selfish bewailings over his own difficulties and downfal, for generous effusions of sympathetic humanity. John Kemble's view of the matter, which we find recorded under his own hand, so fairly represents the constant stage notion upon the subject, that a general indication of it will suffice to show the still subsisting theatrical creed respecting Macbeth's character.

In the year 1785, then, the year in which Mrs Siddons first acted Lady Macbeth on the London stage, there appeared, in the form of an octavo pamphlet, a posthumous essay, from the pen of Mr Thomas Whately (father of the present Dr Whately, archbishop of Dublin), known also as the author of 'Observations on Modern Gardening,'—under the title of 'Remarks on some of the Characters of Shakespeare.' The piece itself, however, is but a fragment of a larger work which its author had projected, extending only to the completion of a running parallel between the character of Macbeth and that of Richard the Third. This essay, which acquired and has retained a high critical reputation, produced from John Kemble, in the following year, another pamphlet, inscribed to Edmund Malone, and entitled 'Macbeth Reconsidered; an Essay intended as an Answer to part of the Remarks on some of the Characters of Shakespeare.' Mr Kemble, however, limits his strictures to a refutation, which we think just and conclusive, of Mr Whately's denial of personal courage as a quality inherent in Macbeth. To the rest of the essayist's argument he thus emphatically expresses his assent:—"The writer of the above pages cannot conclude without saying, he read the 'Remarks on some of Shakespeare's Characters' with so much general pleasure and conviction, that he wishes his approbation were considerable enough to increase the celebrity which Mr Wheatley's [Whately's] memory has acquired from a work so usefully intended and so elegantly performed." In Mr Whately's view of the matter, then (which, indeed, we find still appealed to as an authority,) we shall see what was Kemble's "conviction" as to the essential qualities of Macbeth's character.

Having already argued the whole matter so elaborately from the simple evidence of Shakespeare's text, we shall here confine ourselves to citing from Mr Whately's pages those passages which most strikingly exhibit in his mind that leading view of Macbeth's qualities, the fallacy of which we have demonstrated at length in our foregoing examination. Mr Whately, then, tells us at the very outset:—

"The first thought of succeeding to the throne is suggested, and success in the attempt is promised, to Macbeth by the witches: he is therefore represented as a man whose natural temper would have

deterred him from such a design, if he had not been immediately tempted and strongly impelled to it.

"Agreeably to these ideas," he continues, "Macbeth appears to be a man not destitute of the feelings of humanity. His lady gives him that character:

> 'I fear thy nature;
> It is too full o' th' milk of human kindness,
> To catch the nearest way.'——

Which apprehension was well founded; for his reluctance to commit the murder is owing, in a great measure, to reflections which arise from sensibility:

> 'He's here in double trust:
> First, as I am his kinsman and his subject;
> Strong both against the deed; then, as his host,
> Who should against his murderer shut the door,
> Not bear the knife myself.'——

"Immediately after, he tells Lady Macbeth—

> 'We will proceed no further in this business;
> He hath honour'd me of late.'——

And thus giving way to his natural feelings of kindred, hospitality, and gratitude, he for a while lays aside his purpose.

"A man of such a disposition will esteem, as they ought to be esteemed, all gentle and amiable qualities in another; and therefore Macbeth is affected by the mild virtues of Duncan, and reveres them in his sovereign when he stifles them in himself."—Pp. 11, 12.

It is very curious to mark how this fallacious prepossession betrays the essayist into citing that very soliloquy respecting Banquo, which we have pointed out as peculiarly illustrating the dark intensity of Macbeth's apprehensive selfishness,—as proving his humane and sympathetic nature:—

"The frequent reference to the prophecy in favour of Banquo's issue is another symptom of the same disposition; for it is not always from fear, but sometimes from envy, that he alludes to it: and being himself very susceptible of those domestic affections which raise a desire and love of posterity, he repines at the succession assured to the family of his rival, and which in his estimation seems more valuable than his own actual possession. He therefore reproaches the sisters for their partiality when

> 'Upon my head they placed a fruitless crown,
> And put a barren sceptre in my gripe,
> Thence to be wrenched with an unlineal hand,
> No son of mine succeeding. If 'tis so,
> For Banquo's issue have I fil'd my mind,
> * * * * * * * * * *
> Rather than so, come, Fate, into the list," &c.

"Thus, in a variety of instances, does the tenderness in his character show itself; and one who has these feelings, though he may

have no principles, cannot easily be induced to commit a murder. The intervention of a supernatural cause accounts for his acting so contrary to his disposition. But that alone is not sufficient to prevail entirely over his nature; the instigations of his wife are also necessary to keep him to his purpose; and she, knowing his temper, not only stimulates his courage to the deed, but sensible that, besides a backwardness in daring, he had a degree of softness which wanted hardening, endeavours to remove all remains of humanity from his breast, by the horrid comparison she makes between him and herself:—

> 'I have given suck, and know
> How tender 'tis to love the babe that milks me:
> I would, while it was smiling in my face,
> Have pluck'd my nipple from his boneless gums,
> And dash'd the brains out, had I but so sworn,
> As you have done to this.'

"The argument is, that the strongest and most natural affections are to be stifled upon so great an occasion; and such an argument is proper to persuade one who is liable to be swayed by them; but is no incentive either to his courage or his ambition." —Pp. 13—15.

That Macbeth, indeed, is not naturally and inherently ambitious, we find Mr Whately continually urging. Thus, again (page 27):—

"The crown is not Macbeth's pursuit through life: he had never thought of it till it was suggested to him by the witches: he receives their promise, and the subsequent earnest of the truth of it, with calmness. But his wife, whose thoughts are always more aspiring, hears the tidings with rapture, and greets him with the most extravagant congratulations; she complains of his moderation; the utmost merit she can allow him is, that he is 'not without ambition.' But it is cold and faint," &c.

The essayist's determinedly erroneous bias regarding the alleged *tenderness* of Macbeth's nature, shows itself in no place more curiously than in the passage (p. 71) where he tells us of "the sympathy he expresses so feelingly when the diseased mind of Lady Macbeth is mentioned;" except, indeed, it be in that subsequent paragraph (p. 73) where he actually tells us of the hero at his last extremity:—

"The natural sensibility of his disposition finds even in the field an opportunity to work; where he declines to fight with Macduff, not from fear, but from a consciousness of the wrongs he had done to him: he therefore answers his provoking challenge, only by saying,—

> 'Of all men else I have avoided thee,' &c.

and then patiently endeavours to persuade this injured adversary to

desist from so unequal a combat; for he is confident that it must be fatal to Macduff, and therefore tells him,—

——— 'Thou losest labour,' &c."

The general adhesion to Mr Whately's views which we have cited above from Mr Kemble's pamphlet, is sufficiently explicit; but, although the body of the latter essay is occupied almost exclusively with asserting Macbeth's personal intrepidity against the former writer's opinion, yet, in the course of it, the great actor does incidentally show us in detail the coincidence which he avows in general terms, of his own leading conceptions of the character with those of Mr Whately. Thus, at the outset, he speaks (p. 5) of "the simple character of Macbeth, as it stands before any change is effected in it by the supernatural soliciting of the weird sisters." And respecting Macbeth's declining of the combat with Macduff, he mistakes even more elaborately than Mr Whately himself:—

"When," says Mr Kemble, "the thane of Fife encounters Macbeth in battle, the tyrant does not use the power upon his life which he believes himself possessed of, as instantly he would had he feared him; but, yielding to compunction for the inhuman wrongs he had done him, wishes to avoid the necessity of adding Macduff's blood to that already spilt in the slaughter of his dearest connexions,—

——— 'Get thee back.' &c.

Unmoved by Macduff's taunts and furious attack, Macbeth advises him to employ his valour where success may follow it, and generously warns him against persisting to urge an unequal combat with one whom destiny had pronounced invincible."—P. 21.

In the same spirit the writer, closing his essay with comparing, like his precursor Mr Whately, the character of Macbeth with that of Richard, observes (p. 36):—"Richard is only intrepid; Macbeth intrepid and feeling. . . . Macbeth, distracted by remorse, *loses all apprehension of danger in the contemplation of his guilt.*" We leave it, however, for such readers as may have followed us through our previous examination of the character and the piece, to determine for themselves, whether it would not much more nearly express the actual truth, were we to say, precisely reversing this last remark of Mr Kemble's, that Macbeth *loses all contemplation of his guilt in the apprehension of danger.*

The memory of every reader who has repeatedly witnessed the performance of this tragedy on the modern stage, will remind him how constantly, in all the impassioned passages of this part, the actor's tone and gesture, following Mr Kemble's notion of the character, falsify Shakespeare's own conception,—how, in the

earlier scenes, the remorsefully reluctant, and in the later the repentant criminal, is continually substituted for that heartless slave of mere selfish apprehensiveness whom the dramatist has so distinctly delineated.

Mrs Siddons herself, then, may well be deemed excusable if, under the guidance of such respectable and respected authorities, she shared in the prevalent misapprehension as to the essential character of the hero in the very tragedy wherein she attained her proudest histrionic distinction. But so radical a misconception *there*, necessarily entailed a corresponding one of equal magnitude respecting the attendant character which she so powerfully personated; and this it is that we must now proceed to show from her own manuscript remarks upon Lady Macbeth, as laid before us by her last biographer.

Starting with the grand original error, that Macbeth had not imagined the murder of Duncan until it was suggested to him by the weird sisters,—nor his lady until she received his letter communicating their prophecy,—Mrs Siddons naturally falls into the common misinterpretation of the lady's soliloquy respecting her husband's character:—

> "Yet do I fear thy nature;
> It is too full o' the milk of human kindness," &c.

This, which on the page of Shakespeare stands only as *Lady Macbeth's* idea of her husband's character at that particular time, the fair critic interprets as *the dramatist's own* conception of Macbeth's inherent nature. "In this development," says she, "we find that, though ambitious, he is yet amiable, conscientious—nay, pious." And yet the concluding observation—

> "Thou 'dst have, great Glamis,
> That which cries, Thus thou must do, if thou have me,
> And that which *rather thou dost fear to do,*
> *Thou wishest should be undone,*"—

should show to any student of the part, that Lady Macbeth herself, with all her prepossession as to her husband's compunctious nature, is here led into a strong suspicion of what was his real character. What, indeed, are her words last cited, but an echo of Macbeth's previous exclamation—

> "Stars, hide your fires!
> Let not light see my black and deep desires!
> The eye wink at the hand—*yet let that be*
> *Which the eye fears, when it is done, to see!*"

"All that impedes him from the golden round" is, not a shrinking from guilt, but the dread of consequences. Mrs Siddons, however, proceeding on the same false bias, imagines that

it is not merely his selfish fears, but his virtuous repugnance, that his lady is so eager to "chastise with the valour of her tongue." Somewhat strangely forgetting the concluding words of Macbeth's letter, which she has just been quoting at length, she commits the oversight of Coleridge in interpreting that very exclamation of Lady Macbeth's—"Great Glamis! worthy Cawdor!" which shows her boundless devotion to her husband's wish and purpose, into a proof of purely selfish ambition in her own breast, and utter disregard of that husband's welfare. "Shortly," says Mrs Siddons, "Macbeth appears. He announces the king's approach; and she, insensible, it should seem, to all the perils which he has encountered in battle, and to all the happiness of his safe return to her,—for not one kind word of greeting or congratulation does she offer,—is so entirely swallowed up by the horrible design, which has probably been suggested to her by his letters, as to have entirely forgotten both the one and the other." The forgetfulness, however, as we have fully shown, is not in Lady Macbeth's mind on this occasion, but in that of her critical representative. So fully was the latter possessed with this notion, that she thus continues:—"It is very remarkable that Macbeth is frequent in expressions of tenderness to his wife, while she never betrays one symptom of affection towards him, till, in the fiery furnace of affliction, her iron heart is melted down to softness." After all we have said already, we think it needless to insist further on the radical fallacy of this notion about Lady Macbeth's want of feeling for her husband; but we must here offer a word of illustration respecting Macbeth's "expressions of tenderness to his wife;" for in nothing, we conscientiously believe, has Shakespeare more admirably painted the fawning cowardice of the selfish man, than in the manner wherein these very expressions are introduced. It is not *her* need of aid or comfort that ever draws these marks of fondness from him; we find them, in every instance, produced by some pressure of difficulty or perplexity upon himself, which he feels his own resolution unequal to meet, and so flies for support to her superior firmness: he does not consult her as to the *formation* of his purposes—he is too selfish and too headstrong for that; he simply uses her moral courage, as he seeks to use all other things, as an indispensable instrument to stay his own faltering steps, and urge on his hesitating march towards the attainment of a purpose *already formed.* Thus, the most remarkable of these fond appeals to his lady for moral support, bursts from him at the moment when he comes to announce to her the sudden arrival of the wished-for opportunity of executing their grand and long-meditated design:—

"*My dearest love,*
Duncan comes here to-night."

It is not that Macbeth wavers either in the desire of his object or in his liking for the means; but that, the more imminent he feels the execution to be, the more he shrinks from the worldly responsibility that may follow, and the more he is driven to lean for support on the moral resolution of his wife. At his parting with the king, after saying—

"I'll be myself the harbinger, and make joyful
The hearing of my wife with your approach,"

immediately follows his eager exclamation, which the inveterate misapprehension on the subject compels us to repeat again and again:—

"Stars, hide your fires!
Let not light see my black and deep desires!
The eye wink at the hand—yet *let that be,*
*Which the eye fears, when it is done, to see!*"

After this it seems truly strange that such a critic as Coleridge, for instance, should suppose for a moment that Macbeth's very next words, "My dearest love, Duncan comes here to-night," may imply a relenting from his purpose—how much soever they may indicate a faltering in its execution. His selfish pusillanimity is simply seeking to cast upon *her* the burden of the final decision as to the act of murder. When to her own suggestive query, "And when goes hence?" he answers, "To-morrow—as he purposes," is it not most clear that, still avoiding an explicit declaration of his immediate wish, he persists in urging the first utterance of it from her own lips:—

"Oh, never
Shall sun that morrow see!——
Your face, my thane, is as a book where men
May read strange matters. To beguile the time,
Look like the time; bear welcome in your eye,
Your hand, your tongue: *look* like the innocent flower,
But *be* the serpent under it. He that's coming
Must be provided for; and you shall put
This night's great business into *my* despatch,
Which shall to all our nights and days to come
Give solely sovereign sway and masterdom."

This is exactly what her husband has been looking for: she has now taken the actual effort and immediate responsibility of the deed upon herself. Nevertheless, the selfishly covetous and murderous coward still affects to hesitate—

"We will speak further."——

She knows his meaning, and rejoins ;—

> " Only look up clear ;—
> To alter favour, ever is to fear :
> *Leave all the rest to me.*

And to her, well understanding her intention, Macbeth is well pleased so to leave it. Yet we find Mrs Siddons, misled by the critical oracles of her day, constantly talking as if, in all this, it were not merely selfish fear in Macbeth, but virtuous repugnance, that his lady is chiding—as if she were not merely ministering to him the resolution to fulfil his own purpose, but urging upon him the purpose itself, as hers rather than his. Under this mistaken impression she proceeds :—

" On the arrival of the amiable monarch who had so honoured him of late, *his naturally benevolent and good feelings* resume their wonted power. He then solemnly communes with his heart, and after much powerful reasoning upon the danger of the undertaking, calling to mind that Duncan his king, of the mildest virtues, and his kinsman, lay as his guest,—all those accumulated determents, with the violated rights of sacred hospitality bringing up the rear, rising all at once in terrible array to his awakened conscience, he relinquishes the atrocious purpose, and wisely determines to proceed no further in the business. But now, behold, his evil genius, his grave-charm, appears ; and by the force of her revilings, her contemptuous taunts, and, above all, by her opprobrious aspersion of cowardice, chases *the gathering drops of humanity* from his eyes, and drives before her impetuous and destructive career *all those kindly charities, those impressions of loyalty, and pity, and gratitude*, which, but the moment before, had taken full possession of his mind. . . . She makes her very virtues the means of a taunt to her lord :—' You have the milk of human kindness in your heart,' she says (in substance) to him, ' but ambition, which is my ruling passion, would be also yours if you had courage. With a hankering desire to suppress, if you could, all your weaknesses of sympathy, you are too cowardly to will the deed, and can only dare to wish it. You speak of sympathies and feelings : I too have felt with a tenderness which your sex cannot know ; but I am resolute in my ambition to trample on all that obstructs my way to a crown. Look to me, and be ashamed of your weakness.' "

It is under this constantly false notion, that Lady Macbeth is instigating her husband's heart to the purpose, when she is only exciting his courage to the execution, that the great actress imagines the mental and personal graces of this heroine to have been such as alone " could have composed a charm of such potency as to fascinate the mind of a hero so dauntless, a character so *amiable*, so *honourable* as Macbeth—to *seduce* him to brave all the dangers of the present and all the terrors of a future world ;

and we are constrained, even whilst we abhor his crimes, to pity *the infatuated victim of such a thraldom.*" The same erroneous prepossession leads the fair critic into the common mistake of supposing that Lady Macbeth's remark respecting Banquo and Fleance,

"But in them nature's copy 's not eterne,"

is a conscious suggesting of their assassination; and upon this she grounds another very curious misconception:—

"Having, therefore, now filled the measure of her crimes, I have imagined that the last appearance of Banquo's ghost became no less visible to her eyes than it became to those of her husband. Yes, the spirit of the noble Banquo has smilingly filled up, even to overflowing, and now commends to her own lips, the ingredients of her poisoned chalice."

From all this it results, that Mrs Siddons endeavoured to act the earlier scenes of this great part too much as if she had to represent a woman inherently selfish and imperious, not devoted to the wish and purpose of her husband, but remorselessly determined to work him to the fulfilment of her own. This is confirmed by all records and reminiscences of her acting that we can collect. Yet it is remarkable that her last biographer objects to her Lady Macbeth as not being a sufficiently pure impersonation of selfish ambition. "By concentrating all the springs of her conduct into the one determined feeling of ambition," says Mr Campbell, "the mighty poet has given her character *a statue-like simplicity*, which, though cold, is spirit-stirring, from the wonder it excites." We shall not go again over the argument we have detailed already, that Lady Macbeth is *criminally* ambitious *for her husband*, even as Constance, in 'King John,' for example, is *virtuously* ambitious *for her son*—that, with this modification only, conjugal affection is the mainspring of the former character, as maternal affection is of the latter.* But Mr Campbell argues the matter in the following terms:—

"As to her ardent affections, I would ask, on what other object on earth she bestows them except the crown of Scotland? We are told, however, that her husband loves her, and that therefore she could not be naturally bad. But, in the first place, though we are not directly told so, we may be fairly allowed to imagine her a very beautiful woman; and, with beauty and superior intellect, it is easy to conceive her managing and making herself necessary to Macbeth, a man comparatively weak, and, as we see, facile to wickedness. There are instances of *atrocious* women having swayed the hearts of *more amiable* men."

After all that we have said before, it seems hardly necessary again to point out what a constant mistaking in all this there is,

of mere *moral cowardice* in Macbeth for *virtuous repugnance*, and what vital injustice to the character of his lady, in making her responsible, not merely, as is the fact, for holding him to the fulfilment of his own constant wish and purpose, but for inspiring him with the purpose itself. The same erroneous bias leads the same elegant critic into the following assertion of this heroine's utter want of sympathy and remorse:—

"It seems to me, also, to be far from self-evident that Lady Macbeth is not naturally cruel because she calls on all the demons of human thought to unsex her, or because she dies of what her apologist (Mrs Jameson) calls remorse. If by that word we mean true contrition, Shakspeare gives no proof of her having shown such a feeling. Her death is mysterious; and we generally attribute it to despair and suicide. Even her terrible and thrice-repeated sob of agony in the sleep-walking scene, shows a conscience haunted indeed by terrors, but not penitent; for she still adheres to her godless old ground of comfort, that *Banquo is in his grave*."

Again—

"I am persuaded that Shakspeare never meant her for anything better than a character of superb depravity, and a being, with all her decorum and force of mind, naturally *cold* and *remorseless*. When Mrs Jameson asks us, What might not religion have made of such a character? she asks a question that will equally apply to every other enormous criminal; for the worst heart that ever beat in a human breast would be at once rectified if you could impress it with a genuine religious faith. But if Shakspeare intended us to believe Lady Macbeth's nature a soil peculiarly adapted for the growth of religion, he has chosen a way very unlike his own wisdom in portraying her, for he exhibits her as a practical infidel in a simple age; and he makes her words sum up all the essence of that unnatural irreligion, which cannot spring up to the head without having its root in a callous heart. She holds that

> 'The sleeping and the dead
> Are but as pictures,'

and that

> 'Things without remedy
> Should be without regard.'

There is something hideous in the very strength of her mind, that can dive down, like a wounded monster, to such depths of consolation."

Now, we must be permitted to point out the strange oversight committed by the writer of these paragraphs, in speaking of those maxims of consolation and tranquillization which Lady Macbeth addresses *for those especial purposes* to her agitated husband *under those peculiar circumstances*, as if, in her own breast, she held them for all-consolatory truths. Not only the very sleep-

walking scene in question, but various other passages which we have had occasion to cite in our preceding pages, prove abundantly that they are anything but satisfactory to her own conscience.

Mr Campbell thus concludes:—

"She is a splendid picture of evil, nevertheless,—a sort of sister of Milton's Lucifer; and, like him, we surely imagine her externally majestic and beautiful. Mrs Siddons's idea of her having been a delicate and blonde beauty, seems to me to be a pure caprice. The public would have ill exchanged for such a representative of Lady Macbeth the dark locks and the eagle eyes of Mrs Siddons."

With all submission, however, to the biographer's judgment, this notion of the great actress as to Shakespeare's conception of Lady Macbeth's personal appearance, is anything but capricious; she assigns a valid reason for it. After imagining the heroine as one "in whose composition are associated all the subjugating powers of intellect, and all the charms and graces of personal beauty," she thus proceeds:—

"You will probably not agree with me as to the character of that beauty; yet, perhaps, this difference of opinion will be entirely attributable to the difficulty of your imagination disengaging itself from that idea of the person of her representative which you have been so long accustomed to contemplate. According to my notion, it is of that character which I believe *is generally allowed to be most captivating to the other sex,*—fair, feminine, nay, perhaps even fragile—

'Fair as the forms that, wove in Fancy's loom,
Float in light visions round the poet's head.'

Such a combination only, respectable in energy and strength of mind, and captivating in feminine loveliness, could have composed a charm of such potency as to fascinate the mind of a hero so dauntless," &c.

Now, although the dramatist has clearly represented his hero and heroine as persons of middle age, and absorbed in an ambitious enterprise which little admits of any of the lighter expressions of conjugal tenderness, yet the words which drop from Macbeth—"my dearest love," "dearest chuck," "sweet remembrancer," &c.—do imply a very genuinely feminine attraction on the part of his wife. As for mere *complexion,* in this instance, as in most others, Shakespeare, perhaps for obvious reasons of theatrical convenience, appears to have given no particular indication; but that he conceived his Lady Macbeth as decidedly and even softly feminine in person, results not only from the language addressed to her by her husband, but from all that we know of those principles of harmonious contrast which Shakespeare

invariably follows in his greatest works. In the present instance it pleased him to reverse the usual order of things, by attributing to his hero what is commonly regarded as the feminine irritability of fancy and infirmity of resolution. To render this peculiarity of character more striking, he has contrasted it with the most undoubted physical courage, personal strength and prowess;—in short, he has combined in Macbeth an eminently masculine person with a spirit in other respects eminently feminine, but utterly wanting the feminine generosity of affection. To this character, thus contrasted within itself, he has opposed a female character presenting a contrast exactly the reverse of the former. No one doubts that he has shown us in the spirit of Lady Macbeth that masculine firmness of will which he has made wanting in her husband. The strictest analogy, then, would lead him to complete the harmonizing contrast of the two characters, by enshrining this "undaunted mettle" of hers in a frame as exquisitely feminine as her husband's is magnificently manly. This was requisite, also, in order to make her taunts of Macbeth's irresolution operate with the fullest intensity. Such sentiments from the lips of what is called a masculine-looking or speaking woman, have little moral energy, compared with what they derive from the ardent utterance of a delicately feminine voice and feature. Mrs Siddons, then, we believe, judged more correctly in this matter than the public, who, as her biographer tells us, would have ill exchanged her "dark locks and eagle eyes" for such a Lady Macbeth as she herself imagined. In this particular, her sagacious reading of Shakespeare is no less remarkable than her womanly candour; while the public, it is plain, have been led by nothing but that force of association which her own powerful personation had impressed upon them.

So powerful, indeed, was it, as to lead Mr Campbell, in conclusion, to tell us emphatically—

"In some other characters which Mrs Siddons performed, the memory of the old, or the imagination of the young, might possibly conceive her to have had a substitute; but not in *Lady Macbeth*. The moment she seized the part, she identified her image with it in the minds of the living generation."

The fact of this thorough identification in the public mind makes it incumbent on us to show the divergence of Mrs Siddons's embodiment of the character from Shakespeare's delineation of it, not only as we have done already, from the *à priori* evidence afforded by her own account of how she *endeavoured* to play it, but also from the most authentic traditions as to her *actual expression* of the part. In doing this, we must limit our examination of that great performance to these two particulars;—first, the

fallacious impression given by the actress as to the moral relation in general subsisting between Lady Macbeth and her husband; and secondly, the like erroneous interpreting of the relation between the lady's own conscience and the great criminal act to which she is accessary.

All accounts, then, of Mrs Siddons's acting in the earlier scenes, concur in assuring us that she did most effectively represent the heroine as we have seen, from her written remarks upon the character, that she endeavoured to represent her,—as a woman, we repeat, "inherently selfish and imperious—not devoted to the wish and purpose of her husband, but remorselessly determined to work him to the fulfilment of her own." The three great passages which most prominently develope this conception, are, that in which Lady Macbeth takes upon herself the execution of the murderous enterprise; that where she banishes Macbeth's apprehensions of odium by her taunts, and his fears of retribution by suggesting the expedient of casting suspicion on the sleeping attendants; and finally, that in which she endeavours to calm his agitation after the murder. After perusing the passages above cited from Mrs Siddons's Remarks, we may well give credit, for instance, to Mr Boaden's assurance, in describing her first performance of Lady Macbeth in London, that she delivered the speec —

> "Oh, never
> Shall sun *that* morrow see," &c.,

in such a manner that "Macbeth himself (Smith) sank under her at once, and she quitted the scene with an effect which cannot be described;"*—that is, she assumed the tone and air, not of *earnest entreaty*, which alone Shakespeare's heroine could have employed on this occasion, but of *imperious injunction;* so that Macbeth's representative, instead of complacently acquiescing, as Shakespeare's conception requires, seemed to yield to her will in pure helplessness. So, again, in the scene where the lady overcomes her husband's apprehensive shrinking from the actual deed, the same theatrical historian informs us:—

"Filled from the crown to the toe with direst cruelty, the horror of the following sentence seemed bearable from its fitness to such a being. But I yet wonder at the *energy* of both utterance and action with which it was accompanied:—

> 'I would, while it was smiling in my face,
> Have pluck'd my nipple from his boneless gums,
> And *dash'd the brains out,* had I *so sworn* as you
> Have done to this.'

There was no *qualifying* with our humanity in the tone or gesture.

* 'Memoirs of Mrs Siddons,' vol. ii, p. 136.

This really beautiful and interesting actress did not at all shrink from standing before us the true and perfect image of the greatest of all natural and moral depravations—a *fiend-like woman.*"

Here, again, we trace the tones and gestures, not of vehement *expostulation*, but of overbearing *dictation;* not of earnest appeal to her husband's capability of being constant to his own purpose, but of *ruthless and scornful determination* to drive him on to the execution of hers. And once more, to reach the climax of this false interpretation, how intensely effective do we find the actress's expression to have been, of her mistaken conception that Lady Macbeth, all this while, regards her husband with *sincere* contempt:—

"Upon her return from the chamber of slaughter," says Mr Boaden, "after gilding the faces of the grooms, from the peculiar character of her lip she gave an expression of *contempt* more striking than any she had hitherto displayed."

The general character of this part of her performance is summed up to the like effect by an eloquent writer in a recent number of 'Blackwood's Magazine,' who, in recording his admiring reminiscences of Mrs Siddons's Lady Macbeth, assures us that, in the murder scene, "her acting was that of a triumphant fiend." *

But, in examining the play, we have shown how Shakespeare exhibits the heroine as anything but *triumphant* in the perpetration of the deed, her husband's ruminations upon which draw from her an anticipation of that remorseful distraction which is destined to destroy her. We have shown, too, how remote she is from that *bitterness of contempt* which Mrs Siddons expressed with such intensity, but which policy no less than feeling must have banished from Shakespeare's heroine while she felt her very self-preservation to depend upon her *soothing* the nervous agitation of her husband. Shakespeare, in short, from the very commencement of Lady Macbeth's share in the action, has exhibited in her, not that "statue-like simplicity" of motive for which Mr Campbell contends, and which Mrs Siddons strove to render, but a continual *struggle*, between her compunction for the criminal act, and her devotion to her husband's ambitious purpose. This conscious struggle should give to the opening invocation—

"Come, come, you spirits
That tend on mortal thoughts," &c.—

a *tremulous anxiety* as well as earnestness of expression, very

* 'Marston; or, the Memoirs of a Statesman.'—*Blackwood's Magazine*, June, 1843, p. 710.

different from what we find recorded respecting this part of Mrs Siddons's performance :—

"When the actress," says Mr Boaden, "invoking the destroying ministers, came to the passage—

> 'Wherever, in your sightless substances,
> You wait on nature's mischief,'

the elevation of her brows, the full orbs of sight, the raised shoulders, and the hollowed hands, seemed all to endeavour to explore what yet were pronounced no possible objects of vision. Till then, I am quite sure, a figure so terrible had never bent over the pit of a theatre."

In all this we perceive the gesture of one, not *imploring* the spirits of murder, as Shakespeare's heroine does, but *commanding* them, according to Mrs Siddons's conception. *The action*, in short, *is not suited to the word.* The same must be said of her performance of the great sleep-walking scene, though regarded as Mrs Siddons's grandest triumph in this part. Here, of all other passages in this personation, the actress's looking and speaking the heroine of antique tragedy was out of place. A somnambulist, from the workings of a troubled conscience, is a thing peculiar to the romantic drama, and impossible in the classic. A person such as Mrs Siddons's acting represented Lady Macbeth to be, would have been quite incapable of that "slumbry agitation" in which we behold Shakespeare's heroine. As little could the latter, while under its influence, have maintained the statue-like solemnity with which the actress glided over the stage in this awful scene. We have shown already that Shakespeare's Lady Macbeth, so far from presenting, in this final passage, anything of the "unconquerable will" of a classic heroine, is, in her incoherent retrospection, the merely passive victim of remorse and of despair—helplessly tremulous and shuddering. "But Siddons," says the writer in Blackwood already cited, "wanted the agitation, the drooping, the timidity. She looked a living statue. She spoke with the solemn tone of a voice from a shrine. She stood more the *sepulchral avenger* of regicide than the *sufferer* from its convictions. Her grand voice, her fixed and marble countenance, and her silent step, gave the impression of a supernatural being, the genius of an ancient oracle—a tremendous Nemesis."

"She was a living Melpomene," says the same writer in conclusion; and this is evidently what Mr Campbell means by saying "she was Tragedy personified." But the muse of the classic tragedy, and the muse of the romantic, of which the Shakespearian is the summit, are personages exceedingly different. They who cite Mrs Siddons's Lady Macbeth as exhibiting the highest de-

velopment of her histrionic powers, are perfectly right; but when they speak of it as transcendently proving her fitness for interpreting Shakespeare, they are as decidedly wrong. It is not "a *statue-like* simplicity," to repeat Mr Campbell's phrase, that makes the essence of the Shakespearian drama, but a *picturesque* complexity—to which Mrs Siddons's massive person and sculptured genius were as essentially repugnant as they were akin to the spirit of the antique. Her genius, it has been somewhere well observed, was, in fact, as she herself seems to have been conscious, rather epic than tragic, rather didactic than dramatic, rather Miltonian than Shakespearian. Justice to Mrs Siddons, and justice to Shakespeare, alike demand that this should be clearly and universally understood. The best homage to genius like hers, as to genius like his, must be, to appreciate it, not only adequately, but *truly*.

After all that we have said, it may well be supposed that we have little desire to see or hear of any future representation of this play which shall not be conducted on the principle of thorough fidelity to the spirit of its great author. He, indeed, thought proper to exhibit in its hero the most poetical of selfishly ambitious assassins; but could little contemplate that his "black Macbeth" was destined to be converted into the sentimental villain of our modern stage—a conception much more worthy of a Kotzebue than of a Shakespeare. It is high time that this national disgrace should be wiped away. The operatic insertions, founded, as we have seen, upon a total inversion of the dramatist's own meaning and purpose in the preternatural agency, must be utterly banished—they are as insufferable here as they would be in 'Richard,' or in 'Othello,' or in 'Hamlet.' The suppressed scenes and passages must be restored. And, above all, the two leading characters must be truly personated. Then, but not till then, shall we see the moral of this great tragedy resume, in our theatres, its pristine dignity. Our sympathies will no longer be vulgarly and mischievously appealed to in behalf of a falsely-supposed passive victim of demoniacal instigations, but will find that natural and healthy channel into which the great moralist has really directed them. To return to the consideration with which we have opened the present paper, we shall see on the stage, as we do in the text of Shakespeare, that when a character of the highest nervous irritability, but utterly devoid of sympathy, is once stimulated to the pursuit of a selfishly and criminally ambitious object, its career will of necessity be as destructive to the nearest domestic ties as to political and social security. Lady Macbeth, in short, falls hardly less a victim of Macbeth's selfish cupidity than Lady Macduff herself.

Above all, we shall cease to have obtruded upon us that low and commonplace poetical justice which consists in making *every sort* of criminal be punished by *repentance* in this life. Shakespeare knew much better. It is one of his greatest titles to the gratitude of mankind, that he shrunk not from showing his auditors that there are certain kinds of villains who can never know *remorse*, because they were born incapable of *sympathy*. One of these is, the *blunt, honest-looking* knave, whom he has portrayed in Iago: another is, the *poetically whining* villain, whom he has exhibited in Macbeth. The mighty artist wasted not his moralizing on persuading knaves to be honest; he expended it more profitably, in teaching the honest man to see through the subtlest and most impenetrable mask of the knave.

G. F.

*** We are the more encouraged to hope for a just theatrical rendering of this great creation, by the fact that we possess a rising Shakespearian actress of the highest promise. We allude to Miss Helen Faucit, the development of whose histrionic genius is one of the happiest results of Mr Macready's laudable and vigorous endeavour to restore the dignity of our metropolitan stage. Among the wide range of Shakespearian characters in which this young lady has already exhibited such various powers, it is her personation of the Lady Constance in the splendid revival of 'King John,' which made so large a figure in the last Drury-Lane season, that peculiarly demands attention in reference to our more immediate subject. In this part, as in that of Lady Macbeth, the most respectable efforts since Mrs Siddons's time had never amounted to anything beyond a vastly inferior expression of Mrs Siddons's conception of the character, to which the stage, as well as the audience, were accustomed to bow with a sort of religious faith and awe. What that conception was, and wherein it differed from the true Shakespearian idea, we find so distinctly stated in two recent numbers of 'The Athenæum,'* that to them we take the liberty of referring our readers. The bias which the peculiar character of her genius gave to her personation of the heroine of 'King John' will be found strictly analogous to that which marked her representation of Macbeth's consort. She made strong-willed ambition the ruling motive of Constance, rather than maternal affection. But Miss Faucit, led, it should seem, by that intuitive sympathy of genius which has guided her happy embodiment of other Shakespearian creations, upon which the great actress of the Kemble school had not so powerfully set her stamp, has courageously but wisely disregarded theatrical prescription in the matter,—has followed steadily the unsullied light of Shakespeare's words, and so has found for herself, and shown to her audience, that feeling, not pride, is the mainspring of the character. "The force which Shakespeare exhibits in the eloquence of Constance (we borrow the words of the writer last referred to) is not the hard force of an arrogant, imperious termagant, such as we see in his Queen Elinor, but the elastic force that springs from a mind and person having all the vigour of a character at once so intellectual, so poetical, and so essentially feminine as that of Constance. To the expression of this highest and most genuine tragic force, Miss Faucit shows her powers to be not only fully equal, but peculiarly adapted. She has that truest histrionic strength which consists in an ample share of physical

* February 11th and 18th, 1843.

power in the ordinary sense, combined with exquisite modulation of tone and flexibility of feature—by turns the firm and the variable expressiveness of figure, voice, and eye." The result has been, that her personation of this great character has been truer than that of her great predecessor to "that spirit of bold and beautiful contrast which is in the very essence of its development, as it is in that of the whole Shakespearian drama."

It would, therefore, be most interesting to see this rising actress exercise her unbiassed judgment and her flexible powers upon the personation of Lady Macbeth, in lieu of that mistaken interpretation which, in Mrs Siddons's hands, however objectionable as an illustration of Shakespeare, was grand and noble in itself, but which, in those of her later imitators, has become merely harsh and disgusting. Nor would it be interesting only; it would be highly important towards disabusing the public mind of that vitiated moral with which the corrupt representation of this play has so long infected it. Herein we see the truly national importance of Shakespearian acting, no less than of Shakespearian criticism. How much our national reputation is concerned in a more intelligent cultivation of the latter, it is needless now to contend, as the fact is universally admitted. But the degree in which the current state of Shakespearian *acting* constantly operates, for good or for evil, in illustration or in perversion, upon the *reader* and the *literary critic* of Shakespeare, seems less generally understood. Yet this operation is not the less certain, nor is it difficult to assign its cause. We find it in the one great fact, "that the man who, of all men known to us, possessed the truest and most pervading insight into every condition of the human mind and heart, was trained in dramatic composition upon the very board—that the great poet and the great manager grew as one—that the great artist whom they combined to form, composed immediately for

'The very faculties of eyes and ears.'

How much this constant writing, or rather, we should say, creating, to a living and present audience, must have contributed to that wonderfully concentrated force, and that exquisite fitness for dramatic effect, which are found in every part of his action, character, and dialogue, it needs little reflection to discover." But the intense depth and subtlety of meaning—the boundless pregnancy of indication—the "too much conceiving," as Milton says—which is consequently found in the written text, renders the thorough understanding of it the more dependent on the truth of theatrical interpretation. The case of the 'Macbeth,' as we have shown in the foregoing pages, illustrates this dependence most remarkably. It would have been utterly impossible that one critic after another should have perpetuated so false an interpretation of the great dramatist's meaning as we have shown them to have given, had they not come to the consideration of his text *prepossessed by the perverted stage impressions of their youth.*

On a future occasion we may trace out in detail the practical consequences of this significant proposition. For the present we must conclude with recommending briefly, but most earnestly, to the consideration of our readers, that the highest *literary* as well as dramatic honour of our nation demands, not only that histrionic genius such as we have here pointed out should receive the most liberal encouragement, but that our whole theatrical system, "as by law established," should be considered with a serious view to remove those barbarous obstacles which it confessedly opposes to a prosperous cultivation of Shakespearian acting.

ART. II.—1. *The Hand-Book of Taste, or how to observe Works of Art, especially Cartoons, Pictures, and Statues.* By Fabius Pictor. Longman.

2. *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England.* By A. Welby Pugin. C. Dolman, 61 New Bond street.*

THERE are few subjects which are just now exciting more attention in England than the present state of the Fine Arts, and few on which more has been said and written; but still it does not appear that any satisfactory conclusion has been arrived at on the subject, or that either the public or the artists themselves understand better what is wanted, or what would be the best means of improving their condition or enabling Englishmen to do something more creditable to the nation than has hitherto been produced. In the meanwhile the demand for art is as universal as the interest it excites, and whether it be for the statue or painting with which the rich man ornaments his dwelling, or for the 'Penny Magazine' or 'Illustrated News,' which find their way into the poorest cottage, every class are enjoying the luxury; and it is of an importance not easily overrated that a right direction should be given to this new-born taste in the nation, working for good or evil to an extent which defies the calculation of the boldest intellect.

It is not, however, we fear, in this point of view that the government at present regard the question, and the parliamentary committees that have been appointed, and the royal commissions that have been issued, seemed to have conceived that it was only the wounded vanity of the nation at seeing herself surpassed in art by Bavaria and other continental states, that made her now demand rescue from the disgrace; and the consequence is, that, having ascertained that art was at a singularly low ebb in this country (which all the world knew before they were appointed), they have determined to follow in the steps of the Germans, and try and rival what they conceive to be the splendid school of art that has recently arisen there. The experiment is now being proceeded with, and though it would be presumption to prophesy that it cannot be successful, we have very strong doubts of its realizing the expectations of its sanguine promoters.

At the recent exhibition of cartoons that took place in Westminster Hall in consequence of this resolution, the nation were astonished and delighted to find that English artists could produce as good designs as either the French or Germans, and all

have been willing to hail with joy the new era thus opened to art. They have not paused to consider that what could so easily be done by some dozens of artists who never before thought on the subject, or never attempted that style of art, must indeed be a very small and very easy exercise of intellect. They, indeed, who agree with the committee, that, after rewarding the original eleven, there were still ten more so nearly equal to them that it would be unjust if they too were not rewarded, may rejoice in the nation possessing such a band of Raphaels, and thank the commissioners for having been instrumental in bringing to light such a mass of hidden talent, which, God knows, no man in England ever before dreamt of our possessing, and which certainly never showed itself in the annual exhibitions, or in any paintings these artists had hitherto produced. For ourselves the experiment goes far to prove that it is as easy for an educated artist to produce cleverly grouped pictures of this sort as it would be for any educated man to produce as good verses as ever Pope or Dryden wrote, provided it be understood that knowledge of the subject, and sense, and wit, are not required to form a necessary ingredient in the composition. He knows little of the long thought, and toil, and pain, with which great works are produced by even the greatest geniuses, who fancies that the stuff of immortality may be found in what is done so easily and by so many.

What appears to us, in the present state of matters, to be more wanted than cartoons, is a correcter knowledge of what true art really is—what are its purposes and objects—and by what means these are to be reached. Till a clearer knowledge is obtained on these points than at present seems to exist, we fear that nothing that is really great or good will be done, and it is to this object that we propose to dedicate the following pages; and though we cannot hope within the narrow limits of an article to examine any one of these objects as we should wish, we still hope to be able to place some parts of the subject in a clear light, and to turn attention to others that are often overlooked entirely.

A century ago, painting, as an art practised by Englishmen, could scarcely be said to exist in England; and it is now little more than eighty years since the first public exhibition of paintings took place. At that period the attention of the public (if the small body of men who then interested themselves in art may be so called) was more strongly directed to the subject than at any subsequent period till the present, and with strong grounds for hope; for that age produced Reynolds, West, Gainsborough and Wilson, and Hogarth, and Flaxman,—men who raised British

art from nothing to a palmy state it has not again reached, much less surpassed. The produce of all the excitement of that time was the establishment of the Royal Academy; and the public, satisfied that in this creation they had done all that was required to insure the prosperity of the arts, forgot the subject, and relapsed into their former indifference; while the academy, feeling secure in its monopoly, and its members discouraged by their inability to rival the great Italian masters, or even the contemporary continental schools, sunk into a corporation of portrait painters, and left British art to seek its inspiration where it could; and as long as their own pencils were fully employed, the academicians seem never to have sought to direct or guide the taste and patronage of the nation to a better and higher style of art than what each individual found most profitable. Both artists and patrons seem to have tacitly acknowledged the impossibility of rivalling their great prototypes, and have even been content to allow that in all that concerned art the French were our superiors, and that we could never hope (for some good reason or other unexplained) to possess a gallery like the Louvre or to create one like that of the Luxembourg or Versailles. The French with all their loud boastings of pre-eminence have not been able to excite in us a spirit of rivalry, nor their sneers at the "Nation boutiquiére" to rouse us to an energetic attempt to prove that the epithet was unmerited. But when Bavaria, a kingdom which stood lower than ourselves in the scale of artistic eminence, roused itself from its lethargy, and in a few short years, under the patronage of an enlightened prince, and without any greater advantages of climate (to which we are so fond of ascribing our deficiencies), produced a school of art which, whether it be really great or not, has at least led to most brilliant results and given employment to hundreds of artists in every corner of Germany, England could no longer remain apathetic, but began to shake off her lethargy and to dream of the possibility of doing so likewise.

This at least has been the proximate cause; but, if we are not much mistaken, there is a deeper and more home-felt feeling, which, though not so apparent, is the real cause of the present working in men's minds on this subject. If this feeling does exist, we may hope for something great and good, which will scarcely result from rivalling the Germans or copying the Italians or the Greeks.

The first expression of this new-born feeling was one of wrath against the poor old academy, on whom many were inclined to lay the whole blame of the depressed state of art in this country, and to demand that it should rescue us from the

opprobrium; since then, however, the feeling has become stronger and more general, and it being admitted that the academy is incapable of doing anything, the subject has been taken up by the nation at large, and something will be done, and, if we are not mistaken, done successfully;—for, looking at what we have accomplished in literature, and the success that has ultimately attended every undertaking to which the energies of the nation have been fairly directed, there is strong ground for hope: but it is almost equally certain, that, before the right path is hit upon, many errors will be committed, and much money and talent be wasted; for, like a man suddenly startled in the dark from a sound sleep, we are yet rubbing our eyes, and trying to collect our scattered senses; but the chances are we take a wrong direction, and break our shins more than once before we find a light, or are thoroughly awake.

In all inquiries of this sort, one of the principal difficulties is to ascertain what is the real cause of the evil; once the seat and cause of the disease ascertained, the physician has little difficulty in prescribing a remedy. But, in the present instance, no two persons scarcely are agreed as to what is the real cause of our ill-success in art. If an artist is asked the question, his invariable reply is, "want of patronage," and his partizans re-echo the sentiment. If a gentleman, not particularly interested in the subject, is asked, he answers, "the climate is unfavourable;" and these two causes, under various names, and with such modifications as the idiosyncrasy of the respondent may suggest, fill the one with hope that the evil may be remedied, and satisfy the other that it is no use troubling himself about the matter.

Yet it can scarcely be the former, for no class of artists of any kind were ever more employed or more liberally rewarded and made such fortunes, as our architects, and yet architecture is at a lower ebb in this country than either painting or sculpture; and it is a question that has often been mooted, whether more money is not annually spent in this country on pictures than in the highest days of Italian art? Certainly more paintings are now produced and purchased than at any preceding period, and it is scarcely assumed that any great painter is among us creating great works of art which the public cannot understand, and which will only be appreciated when too late to benefit the artist; such things have happened in this country, but could scarcely occur now when the demand for art is so great and universal.

Of course no artist thinks his merits sufficiently acknowledged or rewarded; but there is a wide difference of opinion on this

subject between them and the public, and one, we fear, that will not be easily reconciled.

The artist in the present day has an advantage with regard to patronage that scarcely ever existed before; he is not subject to the taste and caprice of one great patron, but, in whatever style of art he feels himself most at home, he is, if successful, sure to find admirers among the public; as the literary men of the present day are sure of finding readers, and, not like their predecessors, forced to flatter and fawn on some great man who would kindly condescend to patronize their works. The absence of this system has produced a far healthier tone in literature, and its re-adoption now would be as prejudicial to artists as it was to poets in former days. What our artists, however, demand is not this, but government patronage; and in this, we fear, they will be much disappointed: the government of this free country have too much to occupy their minds in the struggle for place or party ever to give that attention to the subject that is requisite; and the continual change of persons in power, and the consequent continual change of tastes and opinions, render it singularly unfit, by its very constitution, for the steady following out of any great system of encouragement of art.

A king or prince might do more; but, in this country, he can only do it as an individual, and not as the absolute monarchs of other countries, who have the resources of their nations more at command. It is to the public that our artists must learn to look for support (as our literary men have learned some time ago). The public are willing to purchase and patronize whatever they can understand, or whatever speaks to their tastes or to their feelings. But they will not buy imitations of other schools when originals are to be had, nor will they buy paintings which nobody understands the meaning of but the painter, if indeed he does, which is not always clear.

The "climate" may be dismissed in a very few words. We acknowledge that Germany and France have done something in art, yet their climate is scarcely more favourable than ours, and the Dutch have produced a school of paintings which, in the estimation of our amateurs, rivals (if indeed its productions are not more valuable than) that of the Italians; and yet the climate of Holland is certainly worse than our own. But it is absurd to talk of climate, or of the chilling effects of modern habits and tastes to a people who have produced such a literature as ours. It is absurd to say that the countrymen of Spenser, or Shakspere, or Milton, or the contemporaries of Scott, Byron, or Coleridge, or Wordsworth are crushed by climate; or that there is anything to prevent our painting as well as those men wrote. If we cannot

yet boast of a Raphael or a Michael Angelo, we may rest satisfied with the comfortable assurance that there is nothing to prevent our having painters as great as Shakspere or Milton were as poets; and if we have no Camuccini, or Cornelius, or De la Roche, we may at least have painters of equal merit with modern authors. It is true, however, that the climate is not favourable for the production of naked statues, or for the employment of Doric porticos; nor is our religion favourable to the revival of saints and Madonnas; and were there no other sources of the Kalon but these, we might well despair. But our literati, after long wandering in the same paths in which our artists have now lost themselves, have at least discovered other sources of inspiration than the mere reproduction of classic models, and have restored our literature to the rank it holds. Till our artists have done something of the same sort, there is, we fear, but little hope of progress or improvement.

Among the causes of encouragement which are dwelt upon by those who look more hopefully on the state of British art, there is none that is more continually referred to, or insisted on more strongly, than the advantages we possess in our knowledge of the great works of antiquity, and of what was done that was great and worthy of imitation in the middle ages: and while we possess on the one hand the Elgin marbles, and on the other such noble collections of pictures by the old masters as exist in this, and other countries to which we have access, no reasoning, at first sight, appears more specious than to suppose that, with all this knowledge, we have only to start from the culminating point which the arts of Greece just reached at their highest period of perfection, and, starting from this, to surpass all that has been done. And, as a corollary to this, artists fancy that, by copying the statues and reproducing the porticos of Greece, we are reviving Grecian art, and may, by persevering in this course, at least produce as beautiful things as the ancients; and some even hope that, by adding our knowledge to theirs, and the power of our civilization to the then less refined polity, we may surpass them. Those, however, who reason in this way, appear to us to have only glanced at the surface of the question, and to know but little of Grecian art, or of what in fact it really consisted. It was not with Grecian artists a thing borrowed from others, or something apart from their feelings or polity, but really and wholly the expression of the faith, the feeling, and the poetry of the nation.

Favoured by the most genial climate, and inhabiting the most romantic region on the face of the globe, it was almost impossible that a young and healthful nation like the Dorians could struggle

on to independence and civilization without accumulating those images of beauty and of glory, which afterwards shone forth in such splendour; yet they struggled on for centuries before these assumed a fixed or real form that could be embodied for the future. Hesiod first preluded with a glorious drama, and gathering together some of the floating images of beauty with which the minds of his compatriots were teeming, wove them into his early song. But it was Homer who first embodied the poetry of his race, in that immortal song which has been the glory of his nation and the delight of all succeeding generations. It has been disputed whether such an individual as Homer ever lived, and whether this be true or not, the doubt, though scarcely tenable, in this instance shadows forth a truth of no small importance. The Iliad was not the creation of an individual, but of the Greek nation; Homer, however, first fixed, in song, those ideas which had long been struggling for utterance; and, embodying the traditions of the Greeks with their religion and their poetry, built the substructure on which the edifice of Grecian art was raised; and whether this was afterwards moulded into the dramas of Sophocles, Æschylus, or Euripides, or expressed in the lyrics of Pindar or Anacreon,—whether it found a tangible shape and form in the works of Phidias or Praxiteles, or was presented to the eye in the colours of Polygnotus, or of Zeuxis,—all these were but different modes of the same feeling, the result of a sincere and enthusiastic adoration of what was great and beautiful in art.

The form once given, it required but time to complete the superstructure, though it might never have attained its glorious perfection had not other circumstances combined to add to its beauty. Had the Persian never appeared at Marathon or Thermopylæ, had Salamis and Platea never witnessed those glorious triumphs of patriotism, the mind of Greece might never have risen to that exalted pitch which impressed so noble a stamp on all her after acts; and her poetry and her arts, as the voices through which her sentiments of freedom and of glory found an utterance, would never have acquired that power and purity which is the essence of all the productions of those young days, whether we have it now in the works of her poets or her painters, her sculptors or architects.

The flame once kindled, the emulation and rivalry between the different states was sufficient to keep up the blaze, and in this respect again Greece was fortunate; but it required a greater and more glorious cause than this to produce such poetry and such art as Greece has bequeathed to us.

A similar expression of national feeling and of national religion produced the architecture and the arts of our mediæval ancestors, which were nothing more than the reflex and expression of the poetry and power of the people, written in a language which all then understood, and were interested in. And it was a state of things among the young republics of Italy, not very dissimilar from that which had existed in Greece, that produced the Italian school. A man who studies philosophically the history of those times might easily predicate in what respects Italian art would differ from Grecian, as being the product of a people less purely patriotic; of a nation that, with much of the vigour of youth, inherited many of the vices of decay; expressing a philosophy less exalted, and a religion which had temporarily lost much of its purity and perfection. For it is true that in the arts of a country its history is written, and that they are much more faithful interpreters of it than the chronology of its kings; in them the nation speaks for itself, without constraint; and though not quite so self-evident, at first sight, as in the case of Greece or Italy, we will endeavour to show that they speak of us as clearly and distinctly as in any other country.

When in England there shall exist a social state similar to what existed in Greece and Italy at the times we refer to, we may expect similar effects in art as in everything else; but he has studied the philosophy of art to little purpose who expects that circumstances and causes so widely different as those that now exist in this country can reproduce what other causes produced in other times.

Are, then, the Elgin marbles and our Italian paintings of no use to us? and has all the money and trouble they have cost us been spent in vain? Most certainly not! As a means of education they are invaluable—as a means to refine the mind, to point out truth as the highest aim, and simplicity as one of the leading characteristics of the highest style of art; for all this, and much more, they are to us of the highest value, but the moment we begin to copy them they lose these properties, and instead of rivalling them we sink into manufacturing machines.

It sounds almost like silliness to remark (though the fact is so often lost sight of) that we are neither Greeks nor Italians, that our religion is not theirs, our feelings of a widely different class, and that our civilization has taken a very different character from theirs; yet we are a great and powerful people, and our history will bear comparison with the history of the proudest nations of the earth; and in literature and science we may be equalled, but few will admit that we have any superior.

Had we turned our attention to the fine arts, and left them only to express what we believed or felt, they might ere this have been as creditable to us as our other works; but they have, till lately, been entirely neglected, and now, when we are turning our attention to them, it is only with a view to imitation.

One other circumstance of vital importance seems to have been overlooked,—that the Greeks as a nation, as well as the Italians, gave their whole energies to the cultivation of the *fine arts*, while we, on the contrary, have devoted ours to cultivate the *useful arts;* and it is a problem that yet remains to be solved, whether any nation can succeed in successfully cultivating both. Certain it is that no nation yet has, and we believe we might add no individual; still there is no *à priori* impossibility in the matter, though it appears, at the same time, to be tolerably certain that the fine arts of so utilitarian a nation as we are must, to be successful, take a much more prosaic turn than the poetic *abandon*, that characterized the glorious days of Pericles and Leo X. Everything with us has, for some centuries back, been taking a more and more practical turn, from which art will scarcely be able to escape. Eloquence, when not addressed to the vulgar and ignorant, has had her wings sadly clipt, and now its highest flight consists of merely the best arranged digest of facts stated in the clearest and fewest words possible. Philosophy admits of no brilliant speculations, no cherished dreams, or bright imaginations. Experience and mathematically deduced conclusions are all that can now be admitted within her narrow portals, and even in religion a cold spirit of inquiry has succeeded to the unsuspecting faith and all confiding trust of former days.

For more than three centuries this spirit has been gaining ground with us, and every year becoming more and more essentially a part of the public mind. Friar Bacon was our Hesiod, and he of Verulam our Homer, who first gave being and form to the gods of our idolatry—the first who fixed the belief, and directed the mind of the people into the path which they have since so steadily followed; Galileo was the Thespis of our civilization; while Kepler, Newton, and Locke, like the three great dramatists of the Greeks, moulded and brought to perfection that great branch of our glorious triumphs which Watt and Arkwright, like Phidias and Ictinus, reduced to fixed and tangible shapes.

There are no doubt many who regret that the civilization of modern Europe should have taken so prosaic a turn, and who would forego our philosophy and our steam engines for a new Parnassus with its legends, or a Parthenon with all its architectural perfections.

We confess we have small sympathy with these *laudatores tem-*

*poris acti:* but whether they or we are right is not now the question—the thing is done; we are a practical people, worshippers of reason and truth, and cannot now go back and become followers of their sister imagination, or admirers of what we do not believe, and know not to be true. Our energies are and have been for centuries directed to the practical arts, and the same perfection and progress is visible in them now, that was seen in the fine arts of Greece or Italy in their best and most glorious days. Everything that is now done—every ship, for instance, that is built, every engine or machine made—is, or is meant to be, an improvement on all that was done before: the shipbuilder does not pause first to consider whether his vessel shall be built to look like a Roman triremis or a Venetian galley, and then consider how he may still avail himself of modern improvements and purposes in this disguise; on the contrary, he adopts every improvement that is introduced from every country, and dispenses with every form that is not absolutely necessary, and every ornament that would interfere with his construction—and he has produced or is producing a thing more sublime than a Greek statue. Go and look at a ship reposing in calm security and conscious power alone on the pathless and almost boundless ocean; or see her in the storm struggling in her might with the fiercest displays of elemental war, and acknowledge that we are a great and powerful race, and dare to conceive and do things before which the minds of the ancients would sink in terrified abasement.

What would now be thought of an engineer who, in constructing a steam engine, should try to make it look like a water-mill or a horse-gin, or some equally irrelevant object? This is not the course they pursue, but every engine is better than its predecessors, though only perhaps in some detail; almost the whole nation still are employed, or at least interested in perfecting steam machines, and our progress surprises sometimes ourselves. If there is to us no poetry in them, it will not be so in succeeding generations, for mankind will learn to envy those who lived in these times and took a part in the great progress of knowledge and power that marks the present century. In the last and greatest of our mechanical triumphs—the creation of the railway locomotive—we have surpassed all that was done before; but it is too near for us to see its greatness: we smell the oil and see the smoke—and more than this, we know the men that invented and the men that make these things, and they are not sublime;—no more were the semi-barbarous hordes who sat down before Troy; but distance has almost deified them, and we certainly deserve more of posterity than either they or their bard.

It is by thus doing with the useful arts what the Greeks did to arrive at perfection in the fine arts, that we have achieved such triumphs. Thus every new work is an improvement on all that was done before — every step is forward. The artisan now watches the progress of his art with the same intense anxiety as in former days the artist devoted to the creation of new beauties in his: there is no retrocession, no wandering about without any aim or fixed purpose, no copying now from Greece, then from Rome, or from Italy, or Germany, or India. There is a meaning and a purpose in all that is done. Power and knowledge are gained daily; and the accumulative energy of nations is advancing science and art to a point that the boldest imagination cannot reach or even conceive.

It is painful to turn from the contemplation of what we have done by well-directed energy in this path, to contemplate our doings in Art properly so called, which, if it be too strong a term to say they are disgraceful to us, must still be allowed to be utterly unworthy of a great and civilized people. But in this we are not singular, for nations, our contemporaries, though loud in their boastings, are not much better off; and, though they paint acres of showy pictures, have no more real art and no more feeling for it than ourselves. Of all modern nations the Dutch alone have escaped, or nearly so, from the vicious system we have been trying to expose. When the Reformation changed their religion they left off painting saints and martyrs, but they neither stopped painting altogether, as we and the Germans did, nor did they, as the French, turn at once to copy the Italians. Of the latter the good Hollanders had little knowledge, and still less sympathy for their productions; Dutch artists, therefore, fortunately free from extraneous influence, went on painting subjects that interested them and their employers; the sea with its ships, the village with its fun and festivals, and scenes of still life or domestic interests; and if they attempted history they painted their distinguished men and women dressed as they had dressed, and doing as they had done. It was by following this path that the Dutch worked out a school which even now divides with the Italian the admiration of all Europe. Among collectors Dutch pictures generally fetch a higher price than pictures of the same relative value in the more elevated schools, and this without their possessing one single quality which writers on æthetics are in the habit of enumerating as requisite for the production of art; but to make up for this they possess originality, and what is of more importance, truth—truth to nature and to the feelings of the artist who produced them; and though we might wish they had been of a more elevated class, all must

acknowledge the charm that arises from these circumstances. And can we not do what Dutchmen have done? There is little doubt that we can do that, at least, and more if we chose to follow the same path. We are a more refined and better educated people; our chivalrous history, and, above all, our national literature, afford us higher and purer sources of inspiration than they could command; and then there is more demand for art and more leisure to enjoy it in this country than ever existed in Holland. Yet we have hitherto effected but little; for instead of doing as they did, we attempted to start at once from the high grade of Grecian or of Mediæval art, and, as might have been foreseen, we failed. It was not in us nor in our sympathies or our feelings; there are no sources of such inspiration about us. We have attempted a flight from the top of the ladder; we must now go back and begin at the bottom. We must build houses and churches which shall be nothing but houses and churches; we must paint and carve men and women who will be only such, acting as we act, and feeling as we feel; if we paint saints we scarcely believe in, and gods and goddesses we laugh at, and heroes we neither understand or have any sympathy with, it is not likely we shall ever do anything great.

But we have around us other sources of inspiration equal to those that any people ever possessed, and such as will never be exhausted or worked out. No nation ever loved inanimate nature more than we do, or had more opportunities of cultivating our admiration both by land and by sea: but were there nothing else, the novel position in which the chivalry of the middle ages has placed women in our society, is a source of which the ancients knew nothing. Our novelists have seized it, and out of it created a new literature which is read with avidity by every class, and works for good or evil on almost every mind; but our artists think a naked Venus or a Greek triumph, or a saint or martyr, or a holy family, is a thing more likely to interest us modern practical Protestants; and the consequence is we care as little for such art as we would care for literature if it were filled with the same stuff.

Hogarth, and Wilkie, and Gainsborough, and Landseer, and some other of our painters have followed the track we would point out, and they have been by far the most successful, and the only ones whose works will in all probability outlive the fashion which produced the others; their works will be understood and admired when Reynolds, and Lawrence, and others are remembered and admired only as portrait painters: for these men spoke of things they knew and felt in a language we can understand, and which will not be lost. Yet they were not great men, nor such

men even as we have a right to expect will one day devote themselves to art. Hogarth cannot stand higher than Butler in our literature, nor could Wilkie take a higher relative place than Allan Ramsay. There are many steps yet unoccupied between Butler and Shakspere; and the sister throne to that of Burns is still vacant for him who has the courage and the power to mount it. But if our artists would strive in that way, they must recollect how these great men gained their immortality—it was not by copying.

The career of Wilkie is a pointed illustration of what we have adduced. An indifferent draftsman and bad colourist, his great and well-merited celebrity rests entirely on the homeful nature of his subjects, and the truth to nature, and the feeling with which they were treated; but Wilkie was not a great or strong-minded man, and it was almost impossible that he could escape the contamination of his school: had he remained in England the common sense of the people and the applause they always award to English works might have kept him free. But his journey to the continent sealed his doom as it has done that of many before him: he became a copyist, an imitator of Rembrandt and Velasquez, and the result we all know too well. Had he travelled in his youth it is probable he never would have risen above mediocrity; but in the prime of his life and zenith of his talents, though the effects were painful, the false system could not altogether destroy him, and he sometimes looked back to his own home and own feelings for his inspiration, and the charm reappeared. Still the curse of his age was upon him, and he was fast sinking into an academician when he died.

We believe we have now as great men among our artists as Wilkie—men who feel as deeply and read human nature as truly: but, instead of expressing what they or their compatriots feel or know, they are following a false system which can lead to nothing, for there is no truth in it.

Our painters complain bitterly of the unpicturesqueness of modern costumes, and are fond of pleading this as an excuse for their imitations of the classics and Italians. Yet our men fight as bravely, do as great things, and in these strange costumes impress their contemporaries with as much awe and respect as ever the most classically clad Greek or Roman did his countrymen; and our women, too, feel as strongly, and express, if we mistake not, their feelings of grief or joy with equal distinctness and power.

The costume on the living subject renders no men or women ridiculous, nor prevents them from expressing or doing all that is great or dignified in them, and if we do not find these qualities in

our paintings we must look elsewhere for the cause. Be this, however, as it may, painters have been laughed out of the absurdity of painting our kings and statesmen in Roman armour and Roman togas, as was the fashion in the days of Charles the Second or William the Third; but though the public would not now tolerate portraits of Queen Victoria or Prince Albert in these heroic costumes, it is strange, though true, that our sculptors are so far behind the painters that they have not yet shaken off the false fashion. Canova's Napoleon was stark naked; and George the Fourth rides, *sans culottes*, on a horse without a saddle or stirrups, with nothing on but a blanket draped over his shoulders, and a few laurel leaves for a hat; Canning stands in an analagous costume in New Palace yard; and every square exhibits like strange doings, not to mention the funny things in St Paul's and Westminster Abbey.

Chantrey did much to reform this, and most of his statues are dressed somewhat as the persons they represent were in life (though he is not guiltless of togas), and we have no allegories or gods and goddesses in his works. His first great production was the 'Sleeping Children' at Lichfield, and had he been able to follow up this purely English style of art, he might have rescued English sculpture from the neglect under which it now labours: but unfortunately, the design of that work was not his own, and either from inability to go on in this line, or because he found it more profitable, he sank into a mere portrait sculptor; and we still expect the man who is to Anglicize the art.

Some fifteen years ago, a common working mason, Thom, a native of the land of Burns, made a stride in the right path, which narrowly escaped being successful. His statues of 'Tam O'Shanter' and 'Souter Johnny' excited more attention and elicited more praise from the public than any works of either Flaxman, or Nollekens, or Chantrey (except, perhaps, the 'Children' alluded to), and this merely because they were national and true to nature. They were in the lowest walk, and far from being the best that might have been produced in that walk; yet it shows how eagerly we grasp at what is right in art—that, in spite of all the prejudices of our education, these statues, with all their defects should have created the sensation they did; and even now they are more visited—copies of them are more common in Britain than of any work of sculpture, ancient or modern.

In France and Germany they certainly have done more in art than we have done of late years, though scarcely, as we said before, with more success.

When France awoke from the dream of the middle ages, she recommenced art by copying. In literature, Corneille and

Racine put Frenchmen into Greek dresses, and by hampering themselves with the unities and other necessary difficulties of the Greek theatre, they and their contemporaries thought they had rivalled, or indeed improved upon the great dramatists of Greece. We, and even their countrymen, now begin to perceive how falsely: that what is good in them is French, and that all that would be Greek is bad. Yet the French are now glorying that they are doing in architecture exactly what their dramatists did in the drama; and in the Madelaine, by hiding a French Christian church in the skeleton of a classic temple, they think they are rivalling the works of antiquity; and it may be a century before we, or at least they, learn to laugh at this.

In painting, their greatest man, N. Poussin, began by translating Raphael into French, and with more success than falls to the lot of most copyists; and Le Seur and Le Brun went on transplanting these exotics to the soil of France. But nothing individual or native seems to have been attempted till the glorious events of the empire, so flattering to the vanity of the nation, first led her artists to believe that representations of them might be as interesting as would be copies of the antique, and so it has proved; and some paintings by Gros, Gérard and H. Vernet might have led to a better era, had they been able to shake off entirely the fetters which their academy and the copying school of David had heaped upon them, which even now their most promising artists cannot break, though every annual exhibition proves that the most successful works are those which differ the most widely from the classic schools.

We are, however, sufficiently aware of the errors of the French school, and have too little sympathy with its extravagances to be in much danger of being hurt by its example; but it is not so with the modern school of the Germans, which is now held up for our admiration on all hands, and virtually forms the model on which we are moulding all that is now going to be done for art in this country.

It is scarcely more than twenty years that some German artists assembled at Rome had taste enough to admire the works of the great masters found there, and vanity enough to think they could rival them. A prince was found impressed with the same belief, and since that time unbounded have been the orders given, and equally so the quantity painted, and all in the highest walks of art. The boldness of the attempt, and the brilliancy of the effect produced, have dazzled the eyes of all Europe; and as no time has been allowed for pause or reflection, the world has not known whether most to admire the liberality or taste of the prince or the boldness and genius of these modern Raphaels and Michael Angelos, who, in twenty years, have produced out of nothing a

school of art and works rivalling the best days of Greece or Italy.

But is this really the case? Cornelius has painted acres with scenes from the heathen mythology—with gods he does not believe in—heroes he cannot feel with—and men and women, whom he can neither identify himself with or feel any sympathy for; still they are clever, artist-like productions. He has studied the marbles and paintings of the ancients; he knows in what lines Raphael grouped his figures to produce his effects, and has learnt by heart the rules of colour from the Bologna school. These, intelligence and long study have taught him to combine; and if we are content to dispense with truth and feeling, these will serve our purpose; but if so, the prize poem of an Oxford student should be preferred to a song of Burns, or to the best effusions of a Shelley, a Wordsworth, or a Coleridge.

And so it is with the rest; some paint Christian subjects, and so does Cornelius when told to do so. In fact most of them are ready to execute any order confided to them, Pagan or Christian, portrait or landscape, whichever is most in demand or best paid, they are ready for. We will not presume to say they have not succeeded, or may not succeed; the voice of Europe is against us; but if they have, we have seen a spectacle that never was seen before, either in poetry or the arts, of men producing great things that they have not felt, and influencing others by uttering what they do not believe.

Overbeck, and Hess, and Hermann, and one or two others, have restricted themselves almost entirely to religious subjects, and from (we believe) religious feeling, so if anything was good it might be expected from them, had they attempted to express the sentiments they feel; but, on the contrary, they have gone back to the old stiff school of drawing, the glories, and quaint devices, and old architecture of the old German and Italian schools, and having copied their forms they think they have given the substance;—as if a poem printed on bad paper, in old black letter, and as badly got up as in former days, would on that account, without any further merit, rival the productions of Chaucer or of Spenser. In their paintings we have angels playing on fiddles and guitars, and saints with glories, and all the old strange emblems, when none of the painters hesitated to introduce the first person in the Trinity. All these were things which, in the simple faith of an ignorant age, were not only excusable, but respectable, as the expression of the highest faith in art the painter knew; but in an educated man in the nineteenth century the former are puerile absurdities, and the latter a piece of blasphemy as disgraceful to the artist as to the public or patron who admires it

There are men among these Germans who can and have painted good pictures, such as Lessing's 'Convent in the Snow;' Kaulbach has painted some German scenes that rival our Hogarth's; and others occasionally descend from their hobby to truth and nature, but their productions are good, precisely in the ratio in which they are opposed to the principles of the Munich Academy.

The last work of the Germans, and their greatest, has been the erection of the Walhalla; and such has been the enthusiasm and admiration this has excited throughout all Europe, that sober-minded members of parliament have begun to talk of our doing something like it, and we believe that a grant from parliament for that purpose would not only be unopposed, but generally approved of. Yet, if we can do nothing better than re-erect, in a Christian country, a temple built for and dedicated to the worship of a heathen goddess, and this as the only means we can think of for doing honour to our Christian fellow-citizens, we confess we shall not be sorry to see the project lie dormant some time longer.

However beautiful the Parthenon may be, the Walhalla does not express one single feeling of the persons it is built to commemorate, nor of those who erected it, except the great truth that they had no art, and if the architect has been as successful as he is generally allowed to have been, he has proved that since the days of Phidias and Ictinus art and civilization have stood still, and religion changed for the worse. For even where the original Greek afforded no copy, owing to the ruined state of the interior, some figures of a different character have been introduced, but these were not, as one might expect, borrowed from the Chrisitian religion; no! but from the barbarous mythology of the Scandinavian tribes. For what, then, have these men lived whose busts are stuck against the wall—"authors, architects, painters, philosophers, and heroes?" If we ask the building, the answer is, they lived in vain; they have left no trace, and nothing has been done worthy of notice since the days of Pericles and Wodin. An equivocal compliment, it must be confessed, to the illustrious, but the best and most meaning that modern art can bestow.

It may, however, be urged, that pictures and statues, and even architecture in this form, are at best mere luxuries, and that if we are pleased and gratified with the production of our artists, the object sought after is attained, and nothing more is required. It is sad to think how often this argument is practically urged, and that, in consequence, those means which might be most efficiently employed to educate and elevate the minds of the people are degraded into mere sensual gratification. But even

should this be the case with regard to painting and sculpture, it is certainly not so with regard to architecture, using the word in its fullest sense; this last is a necessary art, one we cannot do without, and on which our comfort, if not our very existence depends. We cannot do without houses to live in—public buildings and halls for assemblies or the transaction of public business; and, above all, we require the assistance of this art in erecting churches, places in which we may conveniently congregate for worship, and which, at the same time, will mark the honour and respect with which we regard everything dedicated to so sacred a purpose. Notwithstanding this, however, and though the whole nation have and always have had an interest, not only in the private edifices, but in the public buildings erected throughout the kingdom,—while the knowledge and enjoyment of the sister arts have been confined to the affluent and the educated, still architecture is with us at present in a worse position than either of the others, its professors have less title to the name of artists, and its best productions can only claim as their highest praise to be correct copies, or at most, successful adaptations of some other buildings erected in former times, for purposes totally different from anything we at present require.

The cause of this, we believe, will be found to lie, even more directly than in the other arts, in the system of copying, to the exclusion of all original thinking, or, indeed, of common sense; and the reason why this should be so fearfully prevalent in architecture will be found to be principally in the anomalous system in which not only the patrons of art, but the artists themselves have been educated in England.

Since the time of the Reformation, the education of every gentleman's son has been what is termed strictly classical, a knowledge of Latin and Greek has always been considered as an indispensable qualification to the title of an educated man, and, generally speaking, to the exclusion of every other knowledge.

At the public schools the same absurd system is still pursued; and though private institutions have somewhat deviated from this practice, still the interest of public bodies has hitherto maintained a predominant influence over the education of all classes.

Every boy at the age at which he commences his career in life is intimately acquainted with Cæsar and Livy, while the chances are he never read a word of Hume or the military records of his own country: he knows the greater part of Virgil by heart, while it certainly is not his master's fault if he knows more of Milton than his name; and he is flogged into admiring the bad

plays of Terence, while if he knows anything of Shakspere, it must have been by stealth and out of school that he acquired this knowledge. He is carefully taught the names and properties of every god and goddess of the heathen mythology, their various adventures, and "filthy amours;" but he is left to pick up from his mother, or how or where he can, what little knowledge he may acquire of the Bible or of the history and tenets of his own religion; his education, in short, is strictly and purely heathen, though in a country professing Christianity. Though some shake off the trammels of this false system, the mass of the nation, in the pleasure or business that follow their school years, have no leisure for other pursuits till the season is past, and if then called upon to think on the subject, the attainments and recollections of younger days return with the power and vividness of deeply-rooted prejudices, which few, very few, have the strength to shake off. In his youth he has been taught a literature he cannot adapt, a history he cannot apply; and little wonder therefore if, in his maturer years, he tries an architecture totally unsuited to his climate and worse than useless for his purposes. Did the evil consequences of this system stop here, it would not be so serious as it really is; but thus it is, that in trying to copy and adapt the classical types, we have learnt to be mere copyists; and when we turn our attention to the Italian or Mediaeval styles, the false system still clings to us, and correctness of copying is still the greatest merit of every design.

The same absurd system poisoned our literature for more than a century and a half, though, fortunately for us, we have seen both the beginning and end of its influence there. Shakspere was the last of our great men that escaped it: his own learning was small, and, fortunately for him, his contemporaries had not then forgotten that native art had existed in England as well as in other countries, nor learnt to believe that it could only exist in foreign lands and ancient times. It is true nothing could have destroyed the might of his genius; but had he lived later, we should have been obliged to seek for his gold in the ore of plagiarism instead of having it pure and brilliant from his own crucible. This, however, was not the case with his successor Milton; his vast learning and admiration for the ancients induced him to put his great Christian epic into the heathen garb of its great prototypes, and nine-tenths of the faults that can fairly be found in this work are attributable to this great mistake. Had he known neither Homer or Virgil, but sung his higher theme in the purity and power in which he felt it in his own heart, his poem would probably have surpassed the productions of his predecessors as far as his subject surpassed them, or as the accumulated poetry of

Christianity to which he was to give utterance surpassed the accumulated fables of the heathen.

'Paradise Lost,' however, had sufficient power to rivet the chains of copying on all that came after it, and from Milton's time till Cowper first dared to sing of English thoughts and English feelings, and the giant hand of the peasant Burns tore to pieces the flimsy web of conventional criticism in which the corpse of English poetry had been wound.

If any one will take the trouble of reading the 'Cato' of Addison, the 'Seasons' of Thomson, the 'Blenheim' of Phillips, or indeed any of the thousand and one poems about Damon and Daphine, or Phillis, or Chloris, or Mars, or Cupid, which formed the staple commodity of poets of that age, he will be able to form a tolerably correct idea of the merit or absurdity of the classical productions of our architects, while the washy imitations of the old English ballads, on which Johnson was so witty, will afford a standard by which he may judge of our modern Gothic churches and mansions, always bearing in mind this distinction, that the one is an innocent trifle, the other a positive and expensive inconvenience. A poet may indulge himself in harmless flirtations with dryads and water nymphs without hurting any one; but a habitation must be either in reality very unclassical or very uninhabitable in this climate, and the whole race of porticos only serve to encumber our streets and darken our windows.

A better state of things has arisen in literature, and our poets are now content to write in English of what they think and feel; and it is not difficult to foresee that we are on the eve of a revolution in art, similar to that which has taken place in poetry, and we only wait the hand of a man of genius and originality enough to set the example and point out the way that all may follow him, though it is true that no one man will be able to effect this, but it must be the result of long-continued experience and exertion, not only on the part of the artists, but of the patrons with them.

If, however, it is to a mistaken system of education that we can trace the principal causes of the degraded state of art in this country, the same reasoning that points out the cause of the disease, points, as we said before, towards the means of cure; and were a proper system of artistic education adopted in England, we should not be long before its effects would be felt in every branch of art.

The two universities might do much. They might, with little difficulty, lay a foundation of knowledge in the minds of young men who pass through them, which would, in nine cases out of ten, enable the man to become, not an artist, certainly—that is

not wanted—but at least a competent judge of art, which on the part of an educated man, would be of much more importance to his country. This seems to have been one of the great objects of their institution, but so completely have the universities been diverted from the purposes for which they were originally intended, that it is a true but melancholy fact that, since the Reformation, they have done nothing for art, either in the way of teaching or promoting it. Richly and nobly endowed, and inheriting from their founders all the privileges that could be desired for the cultivation of art and science in all their branches,—undisturbed by civil wars or political changes—an island of peace in the troubled ocean of the world—what might they not have done during the three centuries they have been held by Protestants?—a tithe of their revenues set aside for these purposes might have formed galleries and libraries rivalling those of the Vatican or Florence; and museums might have been collected such as the world does not know. What is the fact? Their libraries were given them, and ungraciously received, and scarcely a fitting building erected to store them in; and neither university possesses a picture worth looking at; except at Cambridge,—a few left by a patriotic nobleman, who knew the university well enough to take care also to leave money to build a place to put them in (as Dr Radcliffe had done with his library at Oxford): and as for statues, go to Oxford and see its statue gallery there; a low damp room, badly lit by one ill-placed window, and there their only collection of Roman antiquities stand in a circle on a few old scaffolding boards. Most of these are inferior, though some may be good, if placed in a light in which they could be seen; and even this wretched collection was presented by a dowager countess to the richest university in the world, and one that devotes itself exclusively to the study of classical antiquity.

Neither university possesses a school in which the theory or practice of any branch of art is taught, and has not even a course of lectures, nor any means by which a young man may either be taught or can acquire the requisite knowledge on this class of subjects.

What they inherited from the dark ages they have tried to preserve without, if possible, ever going one step beyond what then existed; and because only the books of the ancients were then known, the universities have resisted the auxiliary aid which modern arts would afford in completing the limited system of education proposed. To take one instance among a thousand: there is not a tutor in either university who would not shudder at the idea of his pupil not knowing every

word of Virgil's description of the death of Laocöon. Every schoolboy has been tutored or flogged into an admiration of it; but has any boy ever been taken by his master to see a caste of the famous sculptured group, or had its beauties and its power pointed out to him?

Masters and tutors would laugh at the proposal; yet it is still a matter of doubt whether the marble or the verse contain the original creation, and the marble certainly speaks a more intelligible language than the verse of the Latin poet, and to almost every boy would convey a clearer and better idea of the scene than the ill-understood lines. If we are taught the poem for the purpose of elevating and purifying our thoughts, and to give us an insight into classical taste and elegance, the statue would, in almost every case, be a better guide than the poem; and boys, who hate the book, could easily be made to admire the statue, and would return with delight to the one because they loved the other.

But no! whatever your disposition, or whatever your feeling, to one, and one only, of the muses shall you devote yourself. Should you in after life turn your attention to her sisters, you have first to learn their language, which is not that you have been taught; and fortunate, indeed, is the individual, who before a cold contact with the world, or the still more chilling lapse of years has deadened his feelings of enjoyment, has leisure or is able to re-educate himself, to understand that language without difficulty and read it with freedom.*

One other inconvenience of this system is, that when an Englishman does acquire a knowledge of art, it is not in England that he obtains it, but in France, where the information is seasoned with praises of the genius of the "*grande nation*," their school of art, their galleries, &c.; or in Italy, where it is the climate, the history, and the *bell'anima* of the people; or in Germany, where the glory is ascribed to the academies, to patronage, to metaphysics, and heaven knows what;—in short, to anything and everything that England has not; the traveller returns to his own country, not only convinced that art does not exist there, but that it cannot be produced within our seas; and so strong is

* The two colleges which at present form the university of London, being founded more in accordance with the spirit of the age, seem inclined, as far as they can, to rectify this error on the part of the older universities, and to restore the faculty of arts which has perished there; and for this purpose have established lectures on architecture and other branches of the arts, which certainly will do good, and are a step in the right path, but they have not the influence, nor can they remedy the defects of the great national institutions.

this feeling among the educated classes of the country, that parliament was last year on the point of sanctioning an importation of a colony of Germans to paint our national frescos. Every one knows how many of our public statues and monuments have foreign names engraved on their pedestals; and even at this moment foreigners are employed to erect statues to our great men, which, though they may be creditable to the persons represented, are certainly not so to the country.

But if the education of those who should be patrons of art is defective, that of architects is ten times worse. A young man designing to enter the profession is apprenticed for seven years to an architect, not on account of his eminence, for none of our great architects have a school of followers, nor do any of them take more pupils than are requisite to perform the drudgery of the offices; but the choice of an instructor in the art is entirely guided by family connexion or acquaintance, or more commonly by the pecuniary consideration that an architect is willing to take.

This period of servitude is spent in copying papers or designs of the most commonplace buildings, and in working out the details of carpentry and bricklaying. It is not pretended that the pupil is sent there to be instructed in the history of his art, nor to be taught the art of designing buildings according to any fixed or received theory; and if during his apprenticeship he picks up any artistic notions on the subject, he must have more enthusiasm or better opportunities than fall to the lot of most men. Pupils are taken to assist the master in carrying out his own designs, and to acquire what knowledge might stick to them in so doing: whatever they learn beyond that is their own.

It is true some travel after their period of servitude has expired, but the best years of their life have been wasted, and the only principle of their art with which they are thoroughly embued is, that all buildings must be erected on the model of something that has been done before. They travel, therefore, not to study the spirit of the buildings of antiquity, or to trace the motives or feelings which sought expression in those forms, so that by following the same path they might arrive at the same perfection, but merely to fill their sketch books with forms and details which may be used up whenever an opportunity occurs; and they return to their own country prepared to execute any design in any style their patron may wish, and to do it on the shortest possible notice. Indeed it is scarcely to be expected that a young man would decide to think for himself, and to shake off the trammels of his school at a time when the struggle of life is beginning with him; he would probably starve without having an opportunity of trying

his principles, while those following in the wake of copyists were rising in their profession and enriching themselves without trouble; and still less is it to be expected that an architect, when once in good practice, will turn round on the style that has raised him to eminence, and attempt a better; in the first place he has not time for it, and besides the experiment might be dangerous.

It is true, though strange, that not one of the architects who have done anything in this art to which we can refer with pride or indeed without shame, was educated for the profession. We owe our cathedrals and churches to bishops and priests, with only the assistance of the mason and the carpenter; and even since the revival (as it is called), Inigo Jones was a director of masks, a carpenter, a hobby-horse maker, or something not well ascertained, but certainly did not turn his attention to the art to which he owes his fame till he had reached the prime of life. Wren had acquired an European reputation as a natural philosopher and a man of general science, and had reached the maturity of his talents before he seems to have thought of architecture even as an amusement, much less as a profession. Vanburgh was educated as a soldier, and even through life was a successful dramatic author and speculator in theatres. Chambers was brought up to commerce, and gained his first experience of the world as supercargo of a vessel trading to China. Burlington lived in a sphere which prevented his practising an art he was capable of adorning. And it is to Horace Walpole, the statesman, that we owe the revived taste for Gothic architecture. We pass over such men as Aldrich, Clarke, and Burroughs, though better than many who have earned more fame,—nor will we insist on continental examples, though France owes her best monument—the Louvre—to a doctor of medicine, and all that is great in St Peter's is the conception of a painter. These were men of genius and taste, unfortunate only in the school of art to which they belonged. They were followed by such men as Gibbs, Kent, Dance, and others, who ushered in the present class of regularly educated architects, while they themselves went on combining Roman details into strange forms, and believing, as sincerely as we do now, that they were producing truly classical works; till tired of the tasteless and unmeaning piles that disfigured every corner of the land, the nation seized with avidity on Stuart's Delineation of the Ancient Glories of Grecian Architecture. To a nation that only aspired to correct copying, that work was invaluable, and every building that was now erected was to be pure Grecian. The portico of the Parthenon, or of the Temple of Theseus, was added to every building that was erected; churches, town halls, prisons, dwelling houses, or

shops, no matter for what purpose the edifice was built, how many stories high, or how low, a Grecian Doric portico saved the architect all further trouble: it was classic, and no one could gainsay it: to the present hour this absurdity disfigures the land. But we are getting tired of copying Greek, and the present tendency is to copy Gothic, and in one point of view this is a decided improvement, for that style is a native of, and much more suited to, our climate than the other; still the system of correct copying leads our architects into absurdities scarcely less glaring than those committed in the days of Greek supremacy.

Of Grecian art we have little left except the temples, and of the works of our own ancestors, almost all the buildings that remain to us are either churches or castles; in the former pointed windows and buttresses and pinnacles were necessary adjuncts, and are now repeated in every Gothic villa that is built; or we see the tower and battlements of our "barons bold," frowning in grim array among the chimnies of the modern peaceful dwelling house, with its large French windows opening on the neat *parterre*.

It is in producing these puerilites that the present race of regularly educated architects are so industriously and (for their own pockets) so profitably employed; yet there have been and are men of genius among them, but the system weighs them to the ground, and nothing is done that is creditable or satisfactory.

Soane was decidedly a man of talent, and he saw the necessity of some improvement on the copying system, but he (or his employers) wanted the judgment necessary to perceive how this was to be done; he could not, or would not, go back to the severe and reasonable, and begin *de novo*, but he tried to improve on the Roman forms and Roman orders, and ended, as might have been foreseen, in caricaturing them, for he had no principle to guide him, and no aim.

Nash was also a man both of taste and talent, though perhaps more as a landscape gardener than an architect. His conception of Regent street is bold and masterly, and has set the example of all that has since been done in metropolitan improvement; and it was not till he came to the copying part of his task that he utterly failed; his pillars and cornices, and indeed all the classical details, are as bad as bad can be, and badly applied, but not much worse than his neighbours. Without these details his masses are bold and effective, and it is only their addition that gives his works the tawdriness complained of.

Wilkins was another man of the same day, who was capable of better things than he has left behind him. Had he devoted himself to any one line, more especially the Grecian, he might have been a more elegant copyist than most of his contemporaries, but

in conforming with the practice of the day, he attempted everything, and failed in all.

Sir Robert Smirke has adopted a safer plan than any of these men; his fame rests entirely on the sound masonry of his buildings, and the only attempt he makes at artistic effect is putting up as many Ionic columns as his employers will allow. One drawing made long ago has served for all his porticos, now about to be brought to the acme of perfection in the British Museum, where forty-four of these useless Ionic columns, placed in various rows, are to form the *façade.*

We will not go on to specify the works of each architect where none are satisfactory.

There have lately been splendid opportunities, but all are thrown away. One of the best was the Royal Exchange, for which the locality is the most picturesque an artist could desire, and the nature of the building also most favourable for a good design; but after three competitions, and it must be confessed a more than usual quantity of unfairness and low jobbing, what has been the result? A building that is a rifacimento of the theatre at Bordeaux, and the church of St Martin's-in-the-Fields, with this difference from the latter, that the steeple, instead of being set astride on the roof like a man on horseback, is seated on the rump like a sweep on his jackass; and this variation of design is now thought sufficient to change the house of prayer in the west, into a temple of money changers in the east. Add to this a degree of clumsiness and vulgarity in every detail, which shows how little Grecian art is felt in this country, how useless it has been purifying the tastes of our architects, or their employers, unless indeed when they are employed in copying it literally. As it is, the building stands a characteristic monument of jobbing, and vulgar, tasteless pretension.*

Club houses have afforded our architects an opportunity of displaying their taste, as favourable as ever fell to the lot of their brethren of Venice or Rome; yet, though from the size of their

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* Of all the architects who competed for this building, not one seems fairly to have grappled with the difficulties of his subject.

The design comprises, first, the hall or court for the merchants to assemble in; next, a number of shops, offices, and rooms of business.

These incongruous materials all the architects tried to combine into one uniform whole, taking generally for a model a classic temple, which the whole was to be made to resemble as much as possible.

Whereas the true plan for making this design would have been first to provide the great hall, with its three or four entrances strongly and boldly marked out, and then grouped around these the offices and shops, as distinct but harmonious parts of the great design; the whole would then have been intelligible, and the irregularity of the ground is singularly favourable for producing picturesqueness and beauty out of such a combination.

rooms, and the magnificence of their arrangements, club houses could not escape being palatial, still none of them are quite satisfactory, and even the last and most splendid, the Reform Club, only affords another illustration of a doctrine we wish impressed on the minds of every architect, that when he copies literally, it must be at the expense of convenience, and when he deviates from his model, it is generally at the expense of art.

Were it not for this, it would be difficult to understand why Mr Barry, when he took the Farnese for his model, should not have copied the cornice literally, instead of going out of his way by omitting the modillion band which occupies one-third of the height of the Farnese cornice to make his heavier than the original, or than the cornices even in the rusticated palaces of Florence, and this when he could not afford the plain space of blank wall, which the Italian architects always considered necessary as a base for their bold cornicione. The cornice is Italian, but cutting up with windows the space on which it rests, modern English. This is incorrect copying, at the expense of art.

In the interior, the principal rooms are sacrificed to produce a correct imitation of an Italian cortile, and that this may be correct, the bad Ionic and Corinthian orders of the *cinque-cento* architects are used, though the architect had all the finer and more elegant models of classic antiquity at his hand, which the Italians of that day had not, or they would not have neglected them. It has also been thought necessary to put the staircase in a crooked tunnel, which it puzzles every stranger to find, and having found, to find his way up it, because neither Sangallo nor Michael Angelo understood the modern improvement of hanging stairs. This is correct copying, at the expense of convenience.

The Parliament houses are, however, the great architectural undertaking of the present day. Since the rebuilding of St Paul's nothing so splendid has been attempted in Britain, and indeed, since Versailles, scarce anything on the continent can compare with them. We have also the satisfaction of knowing that the design is the best of our best architect, and that instead of the grudging economy that is said to have spoiled so many of our undertakings in art, the expenditure here has been not only liberal but lavish; for had we been content with a plain, honest brick building, with stone dressings, such as would have satisfied our fathers, or ourselves a few years ago, we might have had all the accommodation the present one will afford, and better arranged, for 150,000*l.* or 200,000*l.*, whereas the estimates for this one already amount to 1,200,000*l.*, and it will not be finished under a million and a half. Here then is at least a million of money spent on pure æsthetic ornament, a sum that would have

restored to their pristine beauty (if we wanted Gothic) every cathedral or church in the kingdom, or would have established schools of art and design, with collections of art, in all the principal cities in the kingdom; this it has been determined to expend in realizing the design of one architect, and already the nation are beginning to tire of their bauble before they have got it, and to think they have paid too much for what they begin to find out will not be satisfactory when finished.

The river front is now nearly completed, and as Mr Barry declares it to be the best part of the design, we may safely assert that the new buildings, though clad in the very prettiest and best selected Gothic detail, will, when finished, be as much like the bold, meaning, purpose-like buildings of our ancestors as the very pretty Swiss peasant girls and very polite brigands and Albanians of our ball rooms are like the rough originals.

Every building of our ancestors expressed in every part the purpose for which it was erected, and with a degree of richness or simplicity suited to its destination; here, with the idea of producing a grand uniform whole, every part has been made externally to look exactly alike. The speaker's house is the counterpart of that of the usher of the black rod, and though the latter is obliged to share his residence with a librarian, that is not to be discovered from the exterior; and equal magnificence is displayed in the apartments allotted to the clerks of the house and all the inferior offices. Indeed, whether it is the great conference hall or the public libraries or committee rooms, —whether it is the Queen's robing room or a librarian's bed room, each is externally the same; and whether the room is fifty feet by thirty, or only fifteen feet square, the stories throughout are of the same height, unless indeed, as has been suspected, some of these fine looking windows are to be cut into two by concealed floors, a falsehood no Gothic architect ever was guilty of, and a meanness which two honest windows would never exhibit.

It is needless to point out at what an enormous sacrifice of expense and convenience this has been effected; but what is worse, it is not only not Gothic, but is an attempt at the same silly pretension which induced Nash, in the Regent's-park terraces, to group together a number of small houses into one design, to make them look like a palace. The truth peeps out at every corner there, and so it does here; and if any one will take the trouble of clothing any of them in Gothic detail, Chester terrace for instance, he will be surprised how nearly he has reproduced the river front of the Parliament houses.

Where a mediæval architect was called upon to design a hall,

one side was made like the other, the windows were like one another and equidistant; if a church, the same thing was done, one transept was like the other, and the north side of the church was like the south, and the whole was made as uniform as circumstances would admit; but then it was one hall, and one church, and it did not occur to our simple forefathers that the best way to make a small church look large would be to make the choir, the church proper,—to make the chapter-house like a north transept, and occupy its place, while the library might enact the part of the southern one; that the refectory and offices might supply the place of the nave, and its clerestory make excellent dormitories, while the chimnies of the establishment might be concealed in the pinnacles of the western towers. A larger and more uniform building might, it is true, have been produced on this plan than on the usual one of building monasteries, where every part told its own story; but should we not laugh at and despise the monks who had attempted so silly a cheat?—yet this is the system on which our great national edifice is being erected, with this difference, that the one would still show that it was an edifice devoted to religion, while the other might as well be the residence of a king, or a museum, a gallery, a college, or indeed anything else, as the seat of our two legislative bodies.

It must always appear strange how an architect could have gone so much out of his way to obtain this uniformity, and produce a prevalence of the horizontal lines over the vertical, for not only is this utterly abhorrent from Gothic in every case, but here, where he had a front about eight times the length of its height to deal with, all his ingenuity should have been exerted either to break the horizontal lines, or by bold projecting masses (as at Versailles), to prevent the eye following them, and thus take off the low street-like appearance the building now has; but, as if to make this still more apparent, the towers, instead of being parts of the river front, so as to give it height, are placed behind it, and disconnected, as if by contrast to make it still lower. It is lucky for the architect's fame that the land front, in spite of his worse judgment, will be broken and varied by the projections of Westminster Hall and the law courts, and will thus much surpass the river front; but it is painful to see the great tower placed so as by its mass to depress and overpower the Abbey and Henry the Seventh's chapel. It would have been difficult to invent anything that could be more prejudicial to them than this feature, which, if admissible at all, should have been placed where the speaker's house is, at the angle next the bridge. Had this been done, we should not have had the architect coolly asking for 120,000*l.* to rebuild the superstructure at great temporary inconvenience to the public, and per-

manent detriment to the navigation of the river, and this merely because he forgot the existence of the bridge in making his design, or had not wit enough to know how to counteract the effect of it on the building. It is besides here, where there is a great thoroughfare and a fine open space (it is understood that the houses in Bridge street are to come down), where processions and shows can be seen from the square, the bridge, and the river, that the Queen's and Peers' state entrances, with the Peers' house, should have been placed; not as they now are, in a back street of Westminster; and had this been done, and the south end devoted to the Commons, there would have been good grammar and good taste in building that part of a plainer and less pretending style than the north, half devoted to royalty and the peers. This would have been more appropriate to the confined situation, and the saving of expense as great as the additional convenience.

If, however, the exterior shows all these defects, and many more, which it would be tedious to point out, the interior is far worse, which will be easily understood when it is stated that one-fourth of the whole area is occupied by eleven large and seven small courts; and as these are all entirely surrounded by high buildings, they will be at best but damp, ill-ventilated well holes, whose floors the sun will seldom see. They increase the expense of the building to an extent not easily calculated, not only by spreading it over a quarter more space, but they actually present more lineal feet of stone-faced wall than the whole exterior of the new building put together.

Had the architect adoped one great court, with a glazed roof running behind the rivert front, and divided into four compartments by the two houses and the central hall, these compartments forming four halls might have been surrounded by three tiers of arcades, something similar to the galleries of our old inn court yards, thus affording easy and cheerful access to all the apartments, and doing away with the tunnel-like corridors which at present occupy half the building. If, in addition to this, he had raised the roof of his ground floor about ten feet, and lighted it with good honest windows, instead of the loopholes which at present scarce admit light to render it habitable, a much smaller building would have afforded far more accommodation.

It is not easy to conceive anything that would, architecturally speaking, have been more magnificent than this range of halls, extending at least 700 feet in length, and broken by the arcades supporting the houses and central hall, so as to take off every appearance of narrowness; and had something like fan tracery been adopted for the roofs, but with the fairy lightness that cast

iron would have enabled the architect to introduce, and the interstices glazed with coloured glass, we might fairly have challenged the world to produce anything like it. In these halls, too, might have been placed the memorials of our great men; one court might have been devoted to our literary men, another to our men of science, whilst the others would have been occupied by our heroes and statesmen. Their statues might have stood in the centre, and their illustrious deeds have been painted on the walls.

By bringing the ground floor into use, it would not only have given the building more height, which it much wants, but have provided space, in conjunction with the halls, for coffee rooms, committee rooms, waiting rooms of all sorts; and by adopting four covered courts instead of the open ones, so much space might have been attained that the building might have been set back fifty feet from the present line of front, and a good broad terrace road obtained, from which the river front might have been seen; at present it is entirely lost, and cannot be seen near enough to be examined from a boat; the present terrace, of thirty feet wide, is too narrow to admit of the building being viewed from it, besides not being accessible to the public.

Had these difficulties been foreseen and studied, and these or some such suggestions adopted, the public and members would have been both externally and internally much better accommodated, and there would have been more space for the officers and all concerned with parliament; there would have been some meaning and expression in the building; and last, though not least, it could have been erected for half what the present one will cost; for, independently of the saving of space, and of the expensive decorations of the southern half, there would have been no rebuilding of the bridge, no pulling down of Abingdon street, and no erecting a new terrace in the river in front of the present one, which must come, though not yet spoken of.*

* When it was determined to introduce Dr Ried's system of ventilation, a lofty chimney was required to carry off the smoke and vapours, and Mr Barry, instead of considering how he could introduce this feature so as to make it ornamental, turns over his books and draws out a lofty tower with a very high spire. When asked why he had chosen this form, he replied, "My object in putting it into that form was to make the central tower differ as much as possible in outline from the two other towers, by which a more picturesque effect would be produced!" Reasons for making a chimney like a church steeple! It further creeps out that the apertures are to be concealed; but that it may continue to look unlike what it is meant for, he first proposes to use only coke in the building, or to have an extra furnace to consume the smoke.

Out of evil, however, good may come; and if this absurdity of having a steeple for a chimney forces the architect to devise some means of consuming the smoke, it will be a public benefit.

While these things were going on at Westminster, Mr Barry produced a design for the law courts in Lincoln's-inn fields in the pure Grecian Doric style of the Parthenon!

In comparing this design with that for the Parliament houses, the first thing that strikes the observer is, that one or other of them must be essentially wrong and bad, which we leave for others to decide. There is no difference of climate between the two localities, and no difference of purpose between the two buildings which could justify so extraordinary a difference as exists between the two designs. At Westminster, all the windows in the river and street fronts are exposed to the sun, without even a cornice to throw a shadow; at Lincoln's inn, there would have been only eight windows, with a very small portion of wall, on which the sun could shine, the whole building being enclosed in a cage of one hundred and fifty massive Doric columns, so as to be entirely in the shade, an absurdity that would not have been tolerated, and, as far as we are aware, which never was practised, even in the temperate climate of Greece (except in a temple which was not inhabited, and where there were no windows in the walls), and it can scarcely be conceived how a man could propose such a plan in the gloomy latitudes of Lincoln's-inn fields. On the south front a few pillars might not have been inappropriate; but the north front was to have been precisely the same as the south, and these only differ in extent from the east and west fronts,—all shaded by the same useless colonnades.*

There are law courts now in the course of erection at Liverpool which surpass even these in extravagance, and possess all the beauties and all the defects of the English classical school to an extent never before perpetrated; for here the architect has not only managed to introduce deep colonnades on all the sides of the building that are seen, but, by an excess of misapplied ingenuity, has managed effectually to hide every window, so that on the east front, extending four hundred and twenty feet, three small doors are the only openings by which apparently light or air can be admitted to the interior, and one solitary doorway is the only opening to the south. There is no dome with its eye,

* There is something extremely amusing in the *naiveté* with which Lord Langdale, when examined before the Committee of the House of Commons relative to this building, expressed his surprise that the records should here be buried in the vaults of the basement, while at Westminster it was proposed to place them in the ascending stories of a lofty tower. So little did his lordship know of the principles of British architecture, that he thought what was the proper place for them in one instance would be the proper place in the other; and it does not seem ever to have occurred to him that, when in Lincoln's-inn fields, he must consider himself and his records as Greek and in Greece, while at Westminster it was only necessary to consider himself as carried back to the stormy times of the wars of the Roses.

no skylight,—all is darkness and mystery. When finished, the building will have the appearance of a vast gloomy mausoleum; no one will be able to conceive how such a windowless and chimneyless* pile could be made serviceable to the purposes of living men; yet this mysterious pile is devoted to transactions of public business, and, what is still more strange, to the gay amusements of singing and dancing.

Should the government recur to the idea of a classical Walhalla, this is a design infinitely more appropriate to the purpose than Klenze's copy of the Parthenon.

We are far from asserting that Mr Barry is to blame for what he has thus done amiss; he is a man of taste and talent, and had he been brought up in a better school would have done what would have been creditable to himself and his employers. In copying, as he conceives correctly, and sacrificing everything to the correctness of the copy, he has only done what any other architect would have done in his place; and, had he attempted any originality, he might have let the job pass by him into less worthy hands.

If we only consider what it is we ask of our architects, we shall see how impossible it is that they could satisfactorily answer the calls made on them. Here—an architect is ordered to design an immense pile in pure Gothic; there—another in as pure Grecian; the Duke of Sutherland wishes his country seat to be rebuilt in the Italian; and Lord Frances Egerton, his town house in the style of Kent or Gibbs. Mr Barry may have to-morrow an order for a Saracenic or an Egyptian building, or heaven knows what, and great would be the astonishment of his patron if he refused. There is not another architect in London who would not undertake to have the design ready in a month or six weeks; yet do we think of what we are asking? Suppose some learned man, the cleverest and most learned of his day, were to set up for a like universal genius, and one bookseller gave him an order for an epic poem in Greek, after the manner of Homer, and another demanded some books of Latin poems, like those of Horace, a third might wish for an Italian epic, like Ariosto's, a fourth might wish for a German imitation of the Nieblungen, and others might ask for Arabic or Hindoo poems of approved models, while the more moderate would only demand correct imitations of Spenser or Shakspere. Supposing a man were found who could and would undertake all this, he must be a cleverer man than the world has yet produced if even fashion or friendship could induce his contemporaries to read them, and it requires no great gift of pro-

* Few men would find out that the copy of the Temple of the Winds, at Athens, standing in an inclosure at the distance of some hundred of feet, has to do duty for all the chimnies of the establishment.

phecy to forsee that few of them would descend to posterity; yet this is not an exaggerated representation of what Mr Barry has done, and what every articled apprentice of an architect is prepared to do, whenever he is lucky enough to have an opportunity.

Mr Welby Pugin is almost the only architect in England who has seen the absurdity of this cosmopolite practice, and has devoted his whole energies to the study of one style, and indeed almost one branch of that style, so that he may fairly be called a Gothic ecclesiastical architect. Even with him, however, this does not seem to have been so much the result of a reasoned conviction as of an enthusiastic admiration for the works of our forefathers, and, what is of more importance to our present subject, he has only seen half the difficulty; for though, to continue the metaphor, he does not profess to write in all languages, he still insists in writing in a dead one: true it is that he can read any page in this language that is placed before him, and can, even without dictionary or gradus, write a respectable copy of verses which can be understood and translated by others, while the nonsense verses (to use a school-boy, though expressive phrase) of other architects never having been understood by their authors, are likely to puzzle antiquarians to the end of the chapter.

In these copying days, however, it is something to have an architect who has so thoroughly studied the style in which he is to build that he can copy it correctly, and his buildings have not only the general form, but really the meaning and some of the spirit of the ancient ones.

But this is not enough; for, to use his own words, "The great test of architectural beauty is the fitness of the design to the purpose for which it was intended, and that the style of a building should so correspond with its use that the spectator may at once perceive the purpose for which it was erected."

No one is less inclined to dispute the truths of these words than we are; but the conclusion he draws from these premises, that we must erect churches in the same style, in the same form, and with the same details in every respect as those erected in the age of the earlier Edwards, or, at all events, prior to the accession of Henry VIII, appears to us to be one of the most singular *non sequiturs* that ever enthusiasm led a man into, and doing himself exactly what he reprobates in others; for the educated and refined Englishman of the present day is much more like the civilized republican of the classic times, both in tastes and habits, than he is to his rude and semi-barbarous ancestors, of the times of the Plantagenets and Tudors. The bold, bull-headed, blood-thirsty baron of those days, is an animal of a different species from the delicate and refined aristocrat of ours.

The ignorant, domineering priest is not our educated clergyman; the unacknowledged *tiers état* differ widely from our all-powerful commons; and the independent artizan of our times would scarcely acknowledge kindred with the unfortunate serf of those days; yet Mr Pugin overlooks all these distinctions, and would have us reconstruct, in the nineteenth century, the buildings which expressed the feelings and were in every detail fitted for our ancestors of the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

It might please some enthusiastic persons that we should give up our science and civilization, and return to the barbarous ignorance and simplicity of those days; but it requires no great sagacity to foresee that, so far from retroceding, we cannot even stand still, but must advance; and although, because we have no other art to admire, we are now wild after correct copies of old churches, it is quite evident that neither the symbolism nor the monkish superstition of the middle ages can have any permanent hold on an enlightened people. It is true the classical element is fast disappearing from our system of education, from our laws, and from our philosophy; but must we, therefore, go back to the middle ages to supply its place? Are the Nieblungen, and the Lays of the Minstrels, to become our class-books instead of the Greek and Roman poets? Is the feudal system to resume the place of the code of Justinian? and the doctrines of the dark ages, that of the philosophy of Aristotle or Plato? And, as a corollary to all this, is Gothic art to supersede classical? Our belief is, that we can have no true art till a modern English element supersedes both.

It has been lucky for us that the ancients have left us fewer examples of their engineering works than productions of their architects. Our memdiæval ancestors indulged but rarely in roads or bridges and besides this, the exigencies of locality, and above all the exigencies of estimates, which are usually carefully looked at in the utilitarian works executed by our engineers, have allowed them less temptation to copy, and less means of doing so than their brother builders, and the consequence is that they may challenge Rome, or the whole world, to match either the magnificence or the taste of our public works. It is true we possess some "truly Roman works," the taste of which is very questionable; and both Blackfriars and Waterloo bridges narrowly escaped being spoilt by the interference of the architects, who fortunately, however, have left nothing to mark their presence but the absurd Ionic, and Grecian Doric columns that stand on the piers—in the one case supporting an enormously heavy granite parapet, and in the other in company with a most

incongruous Roman balustrade. But since those days the engineering interest has acquired a predominance which enables it to walk alone; and in London bridge they have produced a specimen of bridge building, perfect in all its parts, and as yet unrivalled in the world, and this simply because there is not one detail copied from any other bridge, not one ornament applied that had not a meaning, nor one thing added that was not seen to be wanted by the sound sense and mechanical knowledge of its builders; yet there is a magnificence in this bridge amounting even to splendour, and could we point to one building in Great Britain built on the same principles of sound common sense, we should probably have to apply to it the same epithet.

The names of Watt, Brindley, Smeaton, Telford, and Rennie, or of our Stevensons, Brunels, Lindleys, and Cleggs, are names to which an Englishman refers with pride, and stand in strong contrast with those of their contemporary builders of the present day; the former have contributed, as much as almost any class of men, to the advancement of civilization, and to the glory of the nation, and may almost be said to have created an art which is daily becoming of more and more importance. The latter, on the contrary, have done nothing to which we can refer with unmixed satisfaction, and much that has made us a laughing stock to surrounding nations.

They have created nothing and advanced nothing; yet so closely do these professions approach at some points, that it is difficult to draw a line between them, and to say what works belong to the one, and what to the other; but their mode of treating their subject differs as light does from darkness. The one admits of no rule but fitness and propriety, and the dictates of reason and common sense; the other, copying and disguising, never thinking of what is most fit or most useful, and worshipping the shadow of exotic art.

Such an impulse has lately been given by our railways and canals to the science of engineering, that it now occupies almost as much of the public attention as architecture, and as there is more probability of this influence increasing than diminishing, we may hope that the sound principles which have enabled engineers to execute such satisfactory works may extend to our architects, and that we may soon see some improvements in their designs; but much ignorance and long-rooted prejudice must first be conquered, and, above all, the patrons of art must learn to take more interest in the subject than they have hitherto done, and to think more for themselves.

It has been truly and beautifully remarked by a late German

writer, that true art is like a natural flower that cannot exist without root, and stem, and leaves; but false art, like an artificial flower, can dispense with all these, to it, useless encumbrances.

The metaphor, we fear, applies too truly to the arts in this country. We have copied the flowers of every foreign land, and so long accustomed ourselves to their gorgeous brilliancy, that we are now unwilling to turn to the humbler but sweeter scented blossoms of our own native land; and beginning to be dissatisfied with these artificial productions, we are equally unwilling to try and naturalize them, by planting the seeds in our gardens, and waiting the long years that must elapse before a seedling becomes a tree.

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ART. III.—*The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy, from the Time of Constantine to the Fifteenth Century.* With an Introduction and Text. By Henry Gally Knight, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A. Vol. I. Folio. 40 Plates. London, 1843.

NOTWITHSTANDING the improvements since made in it, the daguerreotype, which promised on its first coming up to accomplish so much for architectural study, has done scarcely anything; or rather, nothing has been done with it, as far as its capabilities go, in obtaining fac-simile images of buildings. Such immediate transcripts of the objects themselves do not appear to have been made use of even for the purpose of being again transcribed on a ground prepared for engraving; consequently the discovery has been attended with little practical serviceableness—the daguerreotype plates being not at all more convenient nor better in appearance than engraved plates, at the same time that they are the final result of the process, and not an intermediate preparatory stage in one whose productions afterwards show themselves in a far more prepossessing shape. If a daguerreotype plate may be considered as a mirror capable of retaining the images it has received, it is also, like the mirror, unable to communicate them to other surfaces, therefore valueless for multiplying copies of them, except as furnishing a copy for the engraver without the aid of the architectural draftsman.

Lithography, on the contrary, which in its first infancy made no promise at all of effecting anything for architectural drawing, but rather seemed wholly unfit for it, being coarse in outline, and woolly and rotten in surface, mere black and white, without

any gradation of tints, and either too smutchy or too feeble, has since become quite another species of art, in consequence both of the superior processes now applied to it, and to its having been taken up by artists whose earliest attempts in it, comparatively imperfect as they were, captivated by a display of talent and mastery of treatment that atoned for other deficiencies. Even had no further improvement taken place, still, so treated and so applied, lithography would have been a most important invention, giving us, as it did, fac-similes of original drawings, rather loose and sketchy in character, yet handled with freedom and artistic spirit. Since then, greater delicacy and power of finish have been attained, and that without any sacrifice of freedom; nor is it at all too much to assert that to lithography, as now practised, architecture is under the greatest obligations. It has been successfully employed for almost every mode of architectural drawing, from mere plans to elevations and ornamental designs requiring the utmost delicacy and precision of outline. So greatly, indeed, does it recommend itself by its facility and expedition, that it is now quite a common practice for architects to lithograph —whether it be done by themselves or others—drawings and views of their own buildings. Few lithographs of the kind are published, only impressions for private distribution being struck off; but the number of them is very great, and if not of very superior they are generally of very fair execution.* Could a complete collection be formed of them it would be one of no ordinary interest, more especially as architects—in this country at least—now scarcely ever publish anything they have executed.†

* Of lithographs of this class a very favourable specimen was given in No. LXVIII of our Review, viz., the perspective view of Mr Cockerell's design for the Royal Exchange. Strictly speaking, it is an example of zincography; yet that makes no essential difference, the treatment and process being the same, whether the drawing be made upon zinc or upon stone. It must be acknowledged that the plate would have borne a few bolder touches in parts, but it is exceedingly tasteful as well as correct in drawing. We wish it were the custom for architects sometimes to appeal from the decisions of committees at competitions by publishing lithographs of designs actually submitted to them but rejected. It might operate as a wholesome check, or at all events it would enable the public to judge what other talent *there had been in the field; whereas such is the dearth of talent frequently* manifested in designs chosen by competition, that it is difficult to account for their being selected otherwise than by concluding, for want of proof to the contrary, that all the rest must have been still worse.

† Reserve in this respect is carried by some to such a length as to be *quite ungracious and unamiable, seemingly* proceeding not so much from *modesty as from insolent contempt of public opinion.* The British Museum furnishes a notorious instance: notwithstanding that there is a model of the intended *façade* within the building itself, and that nothing could be

Besides its obvious general serviceableness for purposes of the kind just adverted to, lithography has been the occasion of an entirely new class of graphic architectural publications, in which its powers have been manifested with such success as to render further improvement scarcely possible. That but for the very great facilities afforded by lithography we should have had nothing of the kind—certainly nothing to the same extent—may reasonably be taken for granted, from the plain fact that, while we had previously very few, if any, architectural illustrations of the same character, and equally pictorial in effect, we have lately had, within a comparatively short period, a succession of admirable works, and chiefly consisting of a quite fresh class of subjects. Merely to mention such graphic *bouquets* as Haghe's 'Belgium,' Müller's 'Age of Francis I,' Nash's three series of 'Old English Mansions,'* may serve in lieu of eulogy: in all of them the architectural interest is more or less heightened by scenic effect, and in many instances enlivened by a good deal of dramatic effect, in the figures and other accessaries, particularly in some of the

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easier than to place it for inspection in any one of the public rooms, a deaf ear has been turned to all the demands—nor have they been a few—for its being exhibited. No wonder, therefore, if it has been said that, ungracious as it is in itself, the refusal argues discretion, the architect being fully aware that his design is ill capable of standing the ordeal of impartial examination; and that it is little calculated to satisfy the public of the present day as being worthy of the important occasion. It might be thought that the appearance of a print professing to be a view of the new front would have induced the architect, at least, to put forth in lithograph an authentic representation of it—that is, supposing it to have been libelled; and if it be not libelled, it must be a most deplorably common-place and *jejeune* production, ambitiously classical as far as mere columns alone can render it, and in all other respects the merest maudlin and milk-and-water of architecture, besides being disfigured by not a few most disagreeable solecisms. Even were the museum portion itself satisfactory, the dwelling houses forming the wings to the general *façade* must prove fatal to dignity and to consistency in the *ensemble*. One of these wings is now in a tolerably advanced state, nor does it seem likely to propitiate criticism; and, whether he will or no, meet criticism the architect ultimately must, therefore must brace himself up to stand its brunt, since he is determined not to listen to its counsels when he might avail himself of them for the improvement of his building.

* We do not see wherefore artists should confine their pencil exclusively to subjects of "Olden Times," when there are many others which claim their attention. We would recommend Mr Nash now to bring out a supplementary or companion series of some of the best specimens of modern edifices in the Gothic and old English styles. If comparatively few, there certainly are some worthy of being delineated—at any rate particular portions of them. Harlaxton, Cossey Hall, High Cliffe, &c., might furnish several examples, especially if set off by pictorial treatment; and we should suppose that there are parts and episodes even in Belvoir Castle that would recommend themselves to the pencil.

interiors, where the "by-play" of furniture, as Walpole calls it, tells so forcibly, and produces "compound interest."

Much, too, has been done abroad in lithography; we might say very much were it only on account of Villa-amil's 'Espan'a Artistica,' a work every way most attractive, and eminently so as revealing to us the architectural treasures of a land which has never been explored by the artists of other countries. Hitherto we have been allowed to see the Alhambra, and scarcely any thing besides; for while that has been illustrated again and again in a variety of works, from the homely one of Swinburne to the gorgeous one of Owen Jones, from the minutely accurate folio plates of Murphy to the little sparkling miniature views in the 'Landscape Annual,' all else has been left in obscurity, or, at the most, we have been afforded only a few occasional and tantalizing glimpses of other marvels of Spanish architecture: and well may they so be termed, since many of them are perfectly *sui generis*—most peregrine inventions, in which the elements of the Moorish, Gothic, and Rennaissance styles are mingled and blended together, extravagantly perhaps, capriciously, fantastically—certainly quite contrary to all rule and to all the established proprieties of the art, yet with such felicity and witchery that criticism stands mute and spell-bound.

Except in regard to its classical monuments, Sicily had, till of late years, been quite as much a *terra incognita* to architects as Spain itself, for it has scarcely been even so much as glanced at by those who have treated of the history and different styles of the art; we are now, however, put in possession of tolerably full information relative to its edifices of the Norman period, and for no small share of it are we indebted to our own countryman, Mr Gally Knight, a gentleman who does honour to the name of amateur, and whose intelligent love of the art contrasts very forcibly with the apathy of many professional men—some of whom, by-the-bye, show themselves more ready to depreciate than to applaud or in any way encourage pursuits of the kind among those who have not formally served an apprenticeship in an architect's office, and been thereby licensed to set up as ———s or as *Pecksniffs.* Galling it may no doubt be to some to find others not belonging to their own class go so far beyond them in their architectural and archæological studies; more especially if it is at all the tendency of those studies to introduce more comprehensive and liberal views of the art, and to upset many one-sided prejudices, together with a good deal of narrow professional dogmatism. To us it is cheering to see such men as a Hope and a Knight apply themselves *con amore* to architecture. Be they patrons or not in the ordinary sense of the term, their enthusiasm

does much in maintaining the dignity of architecture as fine art, in which character it is not always so well known to, and understood as should be by, architects themselves.

Mr Knight's more recent work on the 'Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy,' of which, we should observe, the second volume remains to be published, is a highly interesting and valuable contribution to the literature and archæology of art. It adds another to that cycle of architectural illustrations in lithography above spoken of; and although it must be admitted that it falls short of some of them in regard to spirited execution and fulness of pictorial expression, the plates are of more than average value, and appear to be carefully delineated, some of them by Quaglio, others by Knapp, a German artist well qualified for the particular task, he having been coadjutor with Gutensohn in the work entitled 'Die Basiliken des Christlichen Roms.' One circumstance certainly confers an interest on the 'Ecclesiastical Architecture,' which, with the exception of Villa-Amil's, all the other works have totally disclaimed, they being merely "picture-books," and quite null as to letter-press, either descriptive or historical; neither is any sort of arrangement of subjects attempted. Confining himself to one specific class of subjects, Mr Knight has further placed them in chronological order, which is no small convenience in itself, although the examples are too few to enable us to trace distinctly all the progressive changes which church-architecture underwent in Italy. One omission there is which, trifling as it seems to be, is not a little annoying; we mean that of the leading dimensions of the respective buildings, which might have been, in every case, stated in a single line. For this, however, there is still remedy, because the dimensions and some other particulars may yet be given in a tabular—perhaps, therefore, even a better form, at the end of the work.

The introduction gives a more full and clear—explicit, yet succinct account of the early Christian basilica, than has been afforded by any other English writer. Without being actually omitted, such information has generally been slurred over; nevertheless it is most essential in itself, inasmuch as it determines at once the origin and character of primitive ecclesiastical architecture, and removes a good deal of misconception. Owing, apparently, to their ignorance of the real state of the matter, some have applied the epithet "Christian" exclusively to the Gothic or pointed style, although that did not begin to manifest itself before the eleventh or twelfth century of the Christian era. Consequently, even allowing that style to be in itself the most appropriate and the most expressly characteristic, it being purged from all traces of pagan origin, the name so exclusively

appropriated to it is historically incorrect. Pointed or Gothic is of course Christian architecture, but the last is by no means invariably pointed, which style was not only of comparatively late introduction, but was again laid aside within the course of a very few centuries. Such arbitrary limitation of the name would refuse the title of Christian both to the ancient and the modern basilica of St Peter's, and also to every edifice of the kind modelled after the latter, including our own St Paul's, and would consequently rank them as pagan, notwithstanding that they are essentially Christian in many particulars, and markedly so in one feature—the dome, which stamps them with a physiognomy to the full as anti-pagan, as its spire does a Gothic church.

If we cannot at all admit the identity with Christianism claimed for Gothic architecture, neither can we discover in the primitive edifices that architectural symbolism afterwards introduced, and which some are now seeking to revive, as being the manifestation of orthodox religious faith. In fact, on the establishment of Christianity in the fourth century, instead of devising any original and typical arrangement of their own, its followers did no more than convert to their own use, nearly just as they found them, a class of secular buildings, whose very name they retained. Some have supposed that it was their aversion to paganism which induced them to prefer adopting the basilica rather than the temple; yet a far more obvious reason for their doing so is that they found the former infinitely better accommodated to their purpose. While the temples of the ancients were, for the most part, very small and confined within, their basilicas, which served the double purpose of a forum or exchange for merchants in the main body or nave of the edifice, and a court of justice at the upper end, were expressly adapted for a large concourse of people. Besides their spaciousness, even their twofold arrangement pointed them out as particularly suitable for the service of the new religion. What had been the distinguishing feature of the secular basilica became that of the ecclesiastical one; namely, the tribune, or spacious semicircular recess covered with a semi-dome. This, which was before the seat of the prætor and other magistrates, was now appropriated to the bishop and attending clergy; and in front of this was placed the altar, in the centre of the *bema*, or *dais*, which was elevated by several steps above the pavement of the rest of the edifice; and this division of the plan was frequently further marked by a larger arch on columns (*porta triumphalis*) corresponding with that of the tribune; and of which the idea is still retained in the chancel arch of our Gothic churches. The hall or *forum*, with its colonnades and ambulatories, was, of course, assigned to

the laity, nor could any arrangement have been better devised for imparting a visibly august character to the rites and solemnities of the church, than that which was directly supplied by the pagan basilica.

From that, too, was unconsciously borrowed what has ever been considered one of the most obvious expressions of Christian symbolism in plan, namely, the triple division of the main body or larger portion of the edifice into nave and side aisles. At any rate, the symbolism must have been purely accidental, it being furnished by the very same disposition in the original structures. The symbolism attending the cruciform plan is also latent in the early Christian basilicas, such form being rather hinted at than fully expressed, by the transverse portion at the upper end, since that part did not extend outwards; nor was the general parallelogram of the plan at all broken, save by the projection of the tribune or apsis, at the altar end: consequently, not even any tendency to the shape of the cross showed itself externally, except in the upper part, owing to that transverse division being of the same height as the nave, while the side aisles were considerably lower. Externally, indeed, there was scarcely any attempt at architectural design; with the exception of a low portico continued along the front, and originally forming, as at St Clement's at Rome, one side of an *atrium* or fore-court, with similar colonnades on its other sides. In all other respects, the exterior was of very bare and homely appearance; nor did the windows at all conduce to architectural finish and æsthetic expression, as they do in almost the plainest Gothic buildings, they being here no more than naked arched apertures. Even within there was a singular mixture of magnificence and rudeness, of sumptuousness and poverty; numerous columns of the most precious marbles, sometimes of the most exquisite workmanship, and rich mosaics contrasted strangely, although not unpicturesquely, with surfaces of heavy, bare wall above, broken only by mean windows, and with open timber roofs.

Nevertheless, here were the elements of a style which might have been matured into harmony and consistent beauty throughout, had it been further developed in the same direction, instead of being diverted into a totally different one. The church of St Apollinare at Ravenna (plate XI) affords an example of greater nobleness of composition in regard to the colonnades of the nave, which are there of loftier proportions than in the earlier basilicas, owing partly to the greater space between the columns, and consequently span and height of the arches which spring from them; but also in no small degree to an entablature, with an exceedingly rich and deep frieze, being carried

along over the arches, whereby, while that lower division of the internal elevations is greatly extended, and rendered of more uniform richness, the space of wall over it is proportionately reduced. Decoration, however, is not carried on any farther, for the upper wall is quite bare; there is besides one innovation which, so far from being any improvement, is almost fatal to one main and characteristic feature in the basilica type—we mean the tribune, which is here pierced with large arched windows, in such manner that both gracefulness of form and architectural breadth and repose are quite destroyed; whereas not only light but an impressive effect of light might be obtained in such situation by a single opening above, at the vertex of the semi-dome.

It must be acknowledged that in existing examples we find no one complete and perfect model equally satisfactory throughout; yet this very circumstance ought rather to encourage than to deter from adopting the basilica form and character as an ideal for modern churches, as has of late been recommended by more than one German writer on the subject. While it admits of almost every degree of expression, from that of sober and solemn dignity to splendour and magnificence, it is a style undoubtedly ecclesiastical, and one perhaps still more in accordance with the simplicity of Protestant worship than Gothic itself; at all events it may be allowed to have equal if not superior claims, and recommends itself as the very next best, where the other is not to be employed. There is, indeed, this particular recommendation in its favour on the score of economy,—that for churches erected in such style, external embellishment might be dispensed with altogether, and a fine interior be provided within a homely shell, which, at the same time, need not to be vulgar, repulsive, or unbecoming in its general appearance. Mosaics, indeed, may not be thought of for modern English churches; but there is so very little artistic beauty in the early Christian pictures of that kind, that their place might be supplied with no loss of effect by architectural decoration in fresco or in encaustic painting; while added effect and lustre might be obtained by filling in all the windows of the clerestory or upper part of the nave—and hardly any others would be required—with stained glass. Very much might be made of the open timber roof, by carving the beams, and perhaps introducing enriched coffers in the spaces between them, and setting off the whole with colour and gilding; were which done, a fresh element of decorative design would be added to those already supplied by such style. Neither would it be difficult to work out a consistent and characteristic style for exteriors also, there being many hints and ideas of the kind to be derived from the later Lombardic edifices.

To this last there are, indeed, objections; because, unfortunately, routine and barefaced plagiarisms are, in architecture, usually considered more meritorious than any attempt to profit by mere hints, or to display originality of treatment. Owing to the childishly extravagant caprices into which many have fallen, who, destitute of all power of invention or combination, have aimed at novelty, originality has obtained a bad name, and has come to be considered a wicked will-o'-the-wisp, leading us farther and farther astray from the right path. Neither do architects seem to have any idea of taking up an imperfect or but crudely wrought style, and polishing and refining it into a superior one. Whenever the Renaissance or the Elizabethan have been adopted, they have been copied literally in all their worst as well as their best qualities: perhaps the latter have been nearly overlooked, smothered as they are by the others.

Strong as is our own opinion in favour of the basilica character for modern churches, we do not foresee any probability of its being adopted,—at least, not of its being acted upon. There are many prejudices, and very stubborn ones, in the way: the admirers of Gothic architecture—those, more especially, who hold that style to be the only legitimate ecclesiastical and Christian one—will object to the basilica type that it is semi-pagan at the best; and, moreover, quite exotic and deficient in symbolical expression. On the other hand, those who are wedded to the classical system, will reject it as an impure, corrupt, degenerate, and debased mode of building, a mongrel mixture of antique and Gothic; they will say, as they may well do without fear of contradiction, that while the columns of the ancient orders are retained they are ignorantly applied quite contrary to the principles of those orders: certainly; and so, if we come to that, nearly the whole of our pseudo-Grecian and modern *soi-disant* classical architecture is open to the same reproach. One leading trait in the character of the basilica style consists in arches being immediately super-imposed upon columns, or made to spring from their capitals; which is most undeniably contrary to classical principle and practice, and destructive of the character of a columnar ordonnance. A totally different combination takes place, in which arch and column enter into immediate relationship with each other, and each performs itsnatural office. At all events it cannot be urged that the columns are merely brought in for the nonce,—ornamental expletives in the fabric, as is the case with a great deal of our "regular" architecture. Still, it will be said, it is absurd, because columns were originally intended to support horizontal architraves, and not arches. Nor do we dispute it; nevertheless, many things expressly invented for

one purpose are afterwards applied to others;—nor can we understand what particular absurdity there is in employing columns to support arches; and as little can we understand why persons should be so intolerant of this single absurdity, if it be one, when they can all the while regard so many others with complacency. The practice of sticking half columns against arch-piers is to the full as licentious,—nay, even more false in principle; for there two opposite modes are jumbled together, an arcaded ordonnance and a columnar one being both employed at the same time, and the latter superfluously. Still, *we* do not say that this is utterly inexcusable and indefensible, but merely bring it forward as one instance of the inconsistencies into which straightlaced yet one-sided sticklers for principles are apt to fall. Neither do we affirm that the application of the column-and-arch is equally suitable for every occasion, or that the effect attending it is invariably good; on the contrary, all depends upon the actual design, and on *how* the thing is treated. If the columns are too close together, the arches look insignificant, and as if merely scooped out of a horizontal mass; on the other hand, if too wide apart, the composition looks weak, meagre, and sprawling. This will be evident from an examination of the plates in Mr Knight's work, since the examples differ materially in that respect, as to which some of them are in far better taste than others; nor does that depend upon their belonging to any particular period. As we have already remarked, there is no one building which can be proposed as an exemplar in every respect; in the best there is something either to be avoided, or that is susceptible of improvement; and in the least satisfactory, something to be borrowed or to be adopted as a hint. Therefore, if such style is ever to be taken up by us at all, it should be done artistically rather than historically; more with reference to its architectural qualities and capabilities as a whole, than to what it was at particular periods. We possess one great advantage in being enabled in a manner to survey the style in its entire range, and thereby to understand its organization and general principles, and not merely as it exhibits itself in particular examples. The value to architects of examples and publications of the kind, depends upon the use they are capable of making of them as studies; otherwise, as much as they may relish, they will only taste without digesting them.

I.

## Art. IV.—*Strafford.* A Tragedy. By John Sterling. London, 1843.

THIS work has fairly taken us by surprise. On first reading its announcement we had many misgivings. That it would be a work worthy of serious attention, that it would be a work of unquestionable talent, we felt assured; the author's previous writing, various in form, but all the offspring of the same earnest, thoughtful spirit, were sufficient guarantee: but John Sterling a dramatist! The very advertisement was a paradox; and we will venture to assert that hardly one of his warmest friends and admirers (and among the latter we beg to rank ourselves) took up 'Strafford' without an uneasy sense of the author's having chosen a wrong path. We would advise all, therefore, not to be satisfied with a first reading; it was not till our second reading that we fairly estimated it; prejudice and astonishment had marred our judgment, and we had to get accustomed to its excellence before we could believe in it.

Nevertheless we still think the subject an unfortunate one; not because John Sterling is incapable of dramatic poetry, but because historical subjects are mostly incapable of dramatic treatment. The archer in Virgil drew his arrow to the head; but he aimed at the stars, and the arrow fell short. Had Mr Sterling been ten times a greater dramatist than he is, he would still have failed. Even Shakspere is at a disadvantage with historical subjects. We should, indeed, be sorry to lose his historical plays, because we could not part with Fat Jack, Hotspur, Glendower, Prince Hal, Richard II, John, Falconbridge, Henry V, Constance, and others; but with all the individual excellencies which so great a master could not fail to produce, we cannot but believe that these plays are splendid failures, most of them containing much that is "wearisome exceedingly."

Dramatists are so very partial to historical subjects that we may here suggest to their consideration a few of the inherent difficulties which no genius can entirely overcome. Let us at the outset declare that there are some events in history so strikingly dramatic, and some characters so tempting to portray, that our objections do not apply to them: but these are few.

What is the drama?—Passion exhibited in action.* What end does the drama propose to itself?—To move, delight, and instruct a miscellaneous audience by this exhibition of passionate life. The dramatist must, therefore, bear in mind that passion

* Of course we here confine ourselves to the tragic drama.

(in its widest sense) expressing itself poetically, is the grand endeavour of his art; he must not let philosophy seduce him; he must shun pedantry; what historical knowledge he has must form the basis, not the monument; *couleur locale* should be preserved, but it should be subordinate. One violation of æsthetic truth will not be compensated by a thousand historical accuracies; but the work may swarm with anachronisms and inaccuracies, and yet, if its passion be real, these shall count but as motes in the sunbeam. The drama is poetry, not history; to change, as is so often done, history into poetry is useless falsification; to change poetry into history is fatal.

"To the poet," says Goethe, "no person is historical; he merely confers on certain persons in history the honour of borrowing their names:" words full of wisdom, striking at the very root of the matter, as his words usually do. If the poet attempt more than to borrow names, he attempts to rival the historian, and abdicates his own peculiar throne. If he select an epoch, an event, or some striking character, he should make this the ornament not the material of his drama. In attempting to make it the material he is exposed to the temptation of falsifying history to suit dramatic or poetic exigencies; and to the danger of thereby falsifying nature. And in this way: actions are the joint products of individualities and circumstances; events therefore greatly depend on character: sometimes on the weakness of a great man, sometimes on his strength, and sometimes on the sudden strength of a small man. Now, as in physics, if you change one of two determining forces you disturb the accustomed result; so in morals, so in the drama, if you change the nature of one of the forces (character) you must change the nature of the event. Water is presented to you; you decompose it; you change the hydrogen for nitrogen, and are not surprised that you no longer produce water. So a crime is presented to you; on analyzing it you find it a compound of circumstance and want of moral strength; do you substitute heroism, and yet pretend to produce the same crime as before? This is a broad illustration; but who does not see that if in preserving the *events* of history a poet alters the *characters*—idealizes them, as he calls it—he must necessarily falsify human nature and human history? This danger does not await the poet who selects mythic or fictitious subjects, because he makes circumstance and character correlative.

The poet must falsify history. He crowds, sometimes huddles together in one brief event the events of years. He uses a "poetical licence." All that he does well might be better done elsewhere; and he is forced to do much that is wrong, false. Nothing but error can result from attempting to assimilate things

essentially distinct. To poetize history, or to historize poetry, is like painting statues: it is mistaking the natural limits of art. You do not believe a statue to be flesh. Painting it only makes it hideous, and does not alter your conviction. So you do not believe a character in a poem to be a real man: giving him a well-known name and placing him in well-known circumstances does not shake your scepticism, though disturbing your historical impressions. What you believe to be real is the passion, the motives; and the musical delight in verse which expresses these is the delight you seek.

If you must falsify history, it is surely to little purpose that you select its events. You may appropriate any character or any event which you see in history, and working it up in your own way, produce all that is worth producing without falsifying the past. All the audience demands is not that it be true to history, but true to art; not that such men did live and did so act, but that they are true and their actions natural. In a word—passion, not fact.

Are there no subjects, then, from history which the dramatist may select? Truly there are a few, and these we will endeavour to indicate. All mythical subjects are susceptible of dramatic treatment, because they are indeed little more than fictions. So also with early history. Our Alfred, for instance, has so ideal a character to us as to admit of endless repetition: so that a few general features were preserved we should be contented. The reason of such subjects being admissible is that in truth we have little positive knowledge to contradict the poet's fiction. In 'Macbeth' and 'Lear' we have no knowledge of the epochs and circumstances, and we yield our imaginations to the great magician's spell. In the Henries, Richards, and John, the case is reversed: we may enjoy the poetry; but with regard to history, if we are ignorant, we are fearfully misled—if we are instructed, we are unpleasantly disturbed by the falsifications and errors.

Beyond those mentioned above there are some other historical subjects to be admitted: these are, if we may be pardoned the apparent contradiction, such as are non-historical. We will explain. In the story of the past there is much that has a general, universal character, amidst much that is particular; we mean the passions of the man apart from those of his epoch, the events of his life unconnected with those of his nation. Virginius, Don Carlos, Cosmo de Medici, and others will illustrate this position. What have we here? A father sacrificing his daughter rather than suffer her dishonour; a father sacrificing his son rather than endure his rivalry; and a father sacrificing his son suspected of

fratricide. These are the passions of the individual, and of course as dramatic as if they had never occurred in history. What does it signify whether we call them Virginius, Philip, or Cosmo, when these fathers are recognised as real men? Lessing took the story of Virginius and placed it in Italian life, and the passion being the same the effect was the same. What, therefore, the dramatist may select from history is not history, properly so called, but human passion: all that is temporal, contingent,—all that embraces the life of the nation—all that bears on it the impress of the epoch is unfit for the drama, except as subordinate.

We return from this digression to 'Strafford.' What is the *motive* of this play? A great passion, a great character? No: the arraignment and condemnation of a tyrant, the fall of one man from his altitude of power, down to the degradation of a scaffold. It is, we believe, an endeavour to picture a great epoch in as far as that was summed up in a great man. The subject is eminently historical; therefore essentially undramatic. We hasten to add, that its merits both historical and dramatic are of an order rare in such works.

But although the author has been sparing in his "poetical licences," although he has refrained from the inaccuracies usual in this class of composition, he nevertheless has failed to reproduce the past. The events are there, but the spirit is absent. We have not the language, we have not the character of the epoch. It is not that the picture is incorrect, but it wants individuality. The general features are there, but not the look. The vacillating, dastard weakness of Charles, the bigotry of Laud, the earnestness of Pym, the frivolity of Jermyn are given: but we miss their individualities. Nor can the author be blamed; to have given us these characters otherwise, would have drawn him into episodes and digressions utterly incompatible with the length of a poem. The fault lies in the subject, which should have been left to historians and essayists.

We have only to say that Mr Sterling has idealized the character of Strafford, to say that he has fallen into all the snares and pitfalls of the historical drama. If we objected to the picture of the epoch as wanting individuality, still more must we object to the portrait of Wentworth, the "wicked earl," as wanting truth, nay, possibility. Mr Sterling has selected Wentworth, and idealized him into a hero without at the same time idealizing his acts! He has thus committed the mistake before mentioned, of altering one of the forces and yet preserving the result. He has preserved the events, the circumstances in which "the wicked earl" lived and acted, but he has changed the character of that earl into a proud, careless, but high-minded

patriot. Now, there is a logic in the drama, as in everything else, and this logic Mr Sterling has outraged. The circumstances which formed the element in which Strafford had to battle and succumb, could not have had existence, had he been such as the poet has drawn him. It is too bitter an irony to suppose that a high-minded, all-accomplished, most devoted patriot should have excited the universal opprobrium which followed Strafford, and which alone condemned him. His death was illegal, but it was inevitable, for the nation hated and dreaded him. Would a nation have done this for one who had not in some sort merited it? We cannot believe it. But Wentworth was an apostate, a tyrant, a reckless spurner of all justice, a haughty despiser of all men, a royal favourite, terrible from his capacity no less than from his dauntless energy and corrupt soul. He was hated with the deep, exaggerated passion of an insulted, terrified nation; and by that hate he fell.

We regard this mistake of conception as unfortunate for another reason. Consciously or unconsciously, Mr Sterling saw that for a hero, Strafford needed idealizing, or else the sympathies of the reader would not have been enlisted in his cause. We doubt this. We have little faith in pattern heroes, and unbounded faith in human nature. Wentworth *faithfully* drawn, seems to us a superb character for a dramatist; nothing could make him loveable, but nature made him interesting. He had great qualities. He was eloquent, sagacious, adventurous, and dauntless. But he had great vices. He wanted sympathy, honesty, and moral strength. His recorded acts make one shudder; his published letters astonish by their audacity of conception. The mixture of the great and mean in his character would afford a dramatist admirable material. It would then be interesting, as Macbeth is interesting.

What makes the error of Mr Sterling's conception more weighty is that the reader sees all along the Puritans are right. He has not sacrificed the truth of history to his ideal hero. Pym's admirable speech at the trial is a fine specimen of historical philosophy expressed in poetry, and we cite it for its excellence no less than for the illustration it affords us of the danger of altering the character while preserving the circumstances.

> "'Tis not one
> Or other of his deeds, nor all of them,
> Regarded idly and unscrutinized,
> That must convict him. In all human things,
> It is the man's intent and total purpose
> To which his separate motions and effects
> The outward livery lend, but not the being.
> How childish simply one may play with sand,

But bury a man alive with dust, and then
'Tis not this grain or that which does the murder:
It is the accumulation and the mass,
Mark you, the foregone mental concentration
Of twenty thousand minims weightless each.
And every single one of this man's crimes,
Done without forethought and connecting will,
Had made him guilty, yet perhaps no traitor.
Then what avails it that in each one act
No treason is? It is not here nor there,
But everywhere, and in the whole we see it,
An ambient and informing spirit of treason,
And know too well the danger it infers.
These deeds of his, the story of his life,
Prove him as full of wicked strength and pride,
As greatly weaponed and possessed for evil
As any that has e'er with dreadful clang
Burst in athwart the quiet of the world.
And like the man himself the work has been;
For while all other dwarfish criminals,
Whipped for their pilferings, or for murderous hands
Hung up to feed the crows, but brave some statute
That with its iron vizard hides from them
The front of Mercy, 'tis this earl alone
Has dared to say the very frame of Law,
The bonds of Justice and Society,
Are but the phantoms of an idiot's brain,
Which blown aside nought else is left behind
But the waste horror of one master's will,
Called by the goodly name Prerogative,
The glittering chain of Asiatic slaves.
In England's name, in God's, it shall not be!
And if this be not treason 't is because
There's something worse.—'Tis treason to pluck down
The royal standard from the vessel's mast,
But he who slinks below and in the hold
Cuts a wide entrance for the drowning sea,
And sinks the ship—that man is not a Traitor,
Because no Law foreknew his villany!"

* *

All the world knows that Strafford's death was illegal in the strict sense of the word; and that he was sacrificed to revolutionary instincts and expediencies. This is excellently put in Pym's harangue, especially at the noble close. But to any one ignorant of history, Strafford would appear here the victim, not of his own reckless tyranny and dreaded capacity, but of the tyranny of others—the hate of fanatics. We see from his enemies that he is the "wicked earl," or thought so; from himself we can only learn that he is a patriot whom all England fears and envies.

See into what errors his subject has led our author! He selected a period of our history of vast and peculiar interest; he studied it with care, and endeavoured to picture it to the reader; and did not see that the thing was barely possible to achieve. He has falsified history; he could not do otherwise. Why then select it? He has falsified human nature; gaining nothing therefore by altering history. All this may be attributed to his unfortunate selection. Others have so failed before him, and others will continue so to fail, whenever they attempt to vanquish the inherent difficulties of the historical drama.

Such of our readers as have followed us in our various dramatic criticisms may have remarked our anxiety always to drag forward the fundamental idea of each play and each character, and by placing that steadily before the mind, to examine whether such were worthy of the trouble of developing, worthy of the poetry in which it might be clothed. We have done so because this is the point which the poet ought to settle for himself after severe scrutiny, and this, unfortunately, is the point which he seldom does so scrutinize. Nevertheless it is the vital principle of every work of art. It is that which makes a poem a work of art, and which demarcates it from mere talk, mere versifying.

A criticism, however, which directs its first judgment to such a point as this must necessarily be in general severe; precisely because this is the point least considered by the author. So that in spite of our constant wish to encourage, perhaps even to magnify any genuine beauties, and to applaud any evidences of future greatness, the tone of our remarks has been less flattering than a less serious criticism would have been warranted in using. Will those whom we have offended by our frankness accept this excuse?

The foregoing observation will explain the apparent contradiction which is presented by the opening remarks on 'Strafford,' and the liberal blame bestowed on its internal structure. We repeat, the work has surprised us by its excellence of execution. Granting the author his subject, and shutting our eyes to his treatment of it, we may warmly praise what to us are the subordinate portions: the poetry, the philosophy. 'Strafford' will be read with pleasure and benefit; but it will not *live*, because its principle is false.

Perhaps the greatest merit in 'Strafford' is *address;* the greatest, because this is one of the rarest in dramatic literature. We mean by it the polished ease with which the various speakers interchange their thoughts. Every one must have remarked the abruptness with which, in general, poets make their persons talk; the transitions in conversation are the rocks on which they split; certain links in the chain are felt to be wanting, and the mind is

startled by the abruptness. We have named Mr Sterling's merit address, because it is precisely this which in men of polished manners gives that harmonious ease to conversation; a man who wants address is always timid or abrupt.

The next quality we would select is the manly, weighty, and expressive poetry. Let us be understood. 'Strafford' has been reproached for its deficiency in poetry.' It is deficient in "azure skies," "spring smiling amidst tears," "opening flow'rets fanned by evening gales," and interminable similies about the stars. It has served no apprenticeship to annuals and occasional verses. It has cast away all that staple of commonplace by which any educated man or woman can produce smoothly flowing verses not absolute nonsense. It is poetry in another sense than that: it is the imaginative expression of thought, not the fanciful combination of images. In one passage Mr Sterling has been seduced into the current style of the day—a passage, we will venture to say, which has received as much approbation as any in the work—a passage to be quoted in all newspapers, and marked by every silver pencil. It is a description of Lady Carlisle:

> "How wise a wit, at home upon her brow,
> Plays in the tangles of that long dark hair!
> How bright a spirit fills those ardent eyes!
> What choice and honeyed words and keen delights
> Bloom in the laughing summer of her mouth,
> While the fair soul looks out in every motion
> An airy sweetness breathing from a flower!"

One might write such poetry as this by the mile. By what fantastic imagery is *wit* supposed to play in the tangles of long dark hair? How can words and delights *bloom?* What resemblance can a mouth have to laughing summer? Every maiden's soul has looked out in every motion for the last twenty years. Yet had the work been full of such passages it might have reached a second edition by this time; and would not have been noticed here.

Compare, however, the exquisite lines on the Queen:

> "Were she not queen she's still a tempting woman;
> *Luxurious daring swims in her dark eyes,*
> And melts or sparkles, but will not keep quiet,
> Nor leave us cold."

That second line is of wonderful felicity. So also this description of Strafford:

> "There's not a mortal man
> Among his friends more sociable and glad,
> *Pouring his heart out like a river of wine,*
> Though to his enemies his face be stern
> *As a bronze bust.*"

And this other:

> "I saw him as he stept out of the house
> *And then his face was dark but very quiet.*
> *It seemed like looking down the dusky mouth*
> *Of a great cannon.*"

We noticed, also, many felicitous epithets and expressions. Such as

> "Men by diverse modes of serving heaven
> Were *mettled* to fierce hatred of each other."

So also "raw *sampler* girls," and "in those limbs so *built* upon the ground." But it is not on account of separate passages, much less individual expressions, that we prize the writing of 'Strafford' as being poetical. It is because the matter is weighty, and well expressed. It is not claptrap. The speaker's thoughts are fully and sonorously expressed in fitting language. Bombast and triviality are equally avoided. There is an occasional incorrectness in the metaphors; such as citizens "whose *coin-stuffed bosoms* have no room for *dreams*;" the "*blackest heart* that ever *inked* the *whiteness* of our *freedom*;" "*sudden-blazing* appetites;" and "*flash* all my knot of traitors into *dust*." These are blemishes which in another edition should be removed. It is difficult to quote specimens which shall adequately illustrate the excellence of the general writing, because the effect of each passage depends on its relation to the whole, and the feeling previously excited; we will select Strafford's soliloquy, however, as an instance of the level writing we have praised:

> "The sun has climbed the archway of the skies,
> And 't is at length the broad and busy day.
> How often have I seen it spread in glory
> Above my native Wentworth's woods and glades,
> Which, save in vision, I shall see no more.
> Who knows? I soon shall learn what of all living
> There is not one on the round globe can tell.
> Well, well, 't is something even for the vanquished,
> That all the hopeless wrestlings of the heart
> Against the fate which overmasters us
> Be stilled in deep unsearchable repose!
> Yet even now my gorge would rise a little,
> To think what shallow knaves have brought me down.
> Not those fierce leaders of the Commons' House,
> Who like true workmen do the work they chuse;
> But sarsnet lords, my brethren of the Peers.
> Psha! what are they or any now to me?
> I'd rather summon to my farewell hour
> The shadows of the dead, the calm and stately,
> Whose brains in quiet foreheads wrought untired;

Who, pent like me within these mouldering walls,
Have found in them their final passage out
From the wide prison of this older world.
Grey Kings and Nobles of an elder time,
Whose bones have sunk to dust in bloody graves,
Ye rise around me all! and hide the figures
Of those to-day's vain men I part from now.
In your pale circle, with your spectral arms,
Bending on gory neck your gazing heads,
Receive me, Shadows! I am one of you;
Thin but imperishable as yourselves.
For Strafford is no more a living man,
And he has nothing left upon the earth
But the dead load, that, like a porter tired,
He must throw down, and be—what none conceive."

Still finer is that passage in the scene between Lady Carlisle and Strafford, where she reproaches him with having cooled towards her:

"Lady, believe me that I loved you truly,
Still think of you with wonder and delight,
Own you the loveliest noblest heart of woman
This age or any knows; but for love ditties
And amorous toys, and kisses ocean-deep
Strafford and this old Earth are all too sad.

LADY CARLISLE (*aside*).

How much more passion has his coldness in it
Than all the blustering sighs of softer men!"

We would also point to the speech of Cottington (pp. 40-3), in that excellently managed debate, as a good instance of historical philosophy; and to Strafford's eloquent, confident speech when he suddenly appears amongst them, and overthrows all their objections.

In conclusion we may say that, although judged by the high and severe standard we are wont to erect as the model of the dramatic poet, the foundations of which are in truth of human passion, 'Strafford' is found wanting; yet, judged by the standard of the day, it is an admirable production. It springs from a cultivated, thoughtful mind, and it bears the marks of its parentage in every scene. Of all the works of its author it is the most perfect and mature. The traces of imitation have almost completely vanished. His mind seems more self-sufficing and sustained. The expression does not struggle with the meaning, as in his former writings; there is less struggle and more victory, less artifice and more art. In his next venture we hope to meet him on less formidable, less ungrateful ground than that of the Historical Drama. G. H. L.

Art. V.—1. *Anti-Corn-Law Tract. No. I.—A Plea for the Total and Immediate Repeal of the Corn Laws: with Remarks on the Land-Tax Fraud, &c.* Fourth Edition, enlarged. London: Scott, Webster, and Geary, Charterhouse square. 1842.

2. *The Constitutional Right of a Revision of the Land Tax.* Being the Argument on a Case submitted to Counsel on behalf of the National Anti-Corn-Law League. Second Edition. London: Printed for the National Anti-Corn-Law League; and sold by James Ridgway, Piccadilly; by Scott, Webster, and Geary, Charterhouse square; and by John Gadsby, Manchester. 1842.

3. *The Income-Tax Act, 5 and 6 Vict., c. 35.* With a Practical and Explanatory Introduction and Index. By John Paget, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. London. 1842.

THE credit of having been the first to call attention to the extraordinary juggle which the landholders of this country have played off upon the rest of the community under the name of the land tax, belongs to the author of the first of the works mentioned at the head of this article. It is not altogether unimportant to notice this; for in the present state of morality on this point there are many persons, both in and out of Parliament, who have as little scruple about appropriating the intellectual property of others, as Mr Jonathan Wild had in regard to property of another kind. These honourable persons consider themselves particularly fortunate when any composition falls into their hands which, containing the results of much labour, learning, and thought, but having no name of note attached to it, may be pillaged and appropriated with a brilliant impunity. Some of these individuals, not content with using quietly what they have thus got, have even laid claim to the first discovery of the treasure, if such it be. Thus a claim has been set up by some ill-advised persons on behalf of Mr Jonathan Duncan, to the honour of having been the first to draw attention to the land-tax fraud; and, in support of the claim, reference has been made to the file of the 'Manchester Times.' But on reference to the report contained in the authority cited, it was found that, on September 1, 1841, Mr Duncan, in one of his 'Lectures,' referred to the subject-matter of the above-named work, viz., 'Anti-Corn-Law Tract,' No. I; and the reporter expressly refers to the said tract as the pamphlet from which the facts can be attested, a large number of the said tract having been circulated in Manchester during the great meeting

in the middle of August of the same year. In 1842 the said Mr Jonathan Duncan published a small volume, intituled 'How did England become an Oligarchy?' in which (particularly from page 50 to page 70) opinions, facts, and parts of sentences are taken in abundance from the works named at the head of this article, without any acknowledgement whatever.

The means by which large masses of property have been acquired in this world are principally two, force and fraud. By force the Romans, and after them the Saxons, took this island from the Britons. By force the Normans took it from the Saxons. By the fundamental laws of the Normans it belonged to their king, not in his private capacity, but as the representative of the power and majesty of the state or nation over which he presided: and it thus continued for a period of no less than six hundred years, that is, from about the year 1066 to 1660. But in the year of grace, 1660, a certain number of the Norman king's vassals, who held a large portion of the said island on certain conditions, imposing certain services which they were to perform, and certain payments which they were to make to the king or state, met together and agreed and voted that they should hold the said portion of the said island for ever after, discharged from all services and all payments whatsoever; but as the state could not do without those services and those payments, some other persons than themselves, who derived no manner of advantage, profit, or benefit from the land in question, should perform those services and make those payments. Was this an act of force or an act of fraud? or was it neither? It is not necessary to mention it further here, but assuredly with so many millions of human beings deeply interested in its consequences, it will not remain for ever "a deed without a name." The wonder is not that these men having the power should use it as they did, but the wonder would be, did we not know that to the rapacity of power unchecked there are no limits upon earth, not even those that self-interest (could it see with other eyes than those of a drunkard) would point out to it; did we not know this, the wonder would be that those men, having had so much, should still put forth their hands for more; that their cry, like that of the daughter of the horse leech, should still be "Give, give;" forgetting that, though there may be no bounds to their rapacity, there are bounds to the endurance even of Oriental slaves; and that a time might come when the long-suffering and over-burthened givers might be tempted to rip up the dark story of their sufferings and their wrongs, and demand at last a stern reckoning for what might otherwise have been allowed to sleep in oblivion for ever.

Much has been said by theoretical writers about forms of government. But the form and the substance are often distinct. Thus, what is in reality an oligarchy is sometimes called a republic, as at Athens, Rome, and Venice; sometimes a monarchy, as in Scotland before the union of the crowns; sometimes a mixed government or a limited monarchy, as in England now. But what specially concerns all men to know, is not what things are called, but what they are. Now of what not the form but the substance of any given government is, in other words, where the sovereignty or sovereign power in that government really resides, there is no test more infallible than taxation. To know who pay and who are exempted from taxes in any given government, is to know who is the sovereign there.

Where the sovereignty resides in any number of persons less than the whole nation, it seems to follow, from the simple rules of arithmetic, that the weight of taxation that falls upon those who are not included in the sovereign number will be in proportion to the largeness or smallness of the sovereign number, that is of the number totally or partially exempt from taxation. Consequently, where that number is reduced to one, it will approximate nearest to what it would be when the sovereign number is the largest possible, or the nation itself; in other words, where the burthen is uniformly distributed over the whole nation. We believe that this abstract proposition will be found to hold true in practice as well as in theory. We believe that the worst tyranny of the worst monarchical despotism that ever existed, is nothing to the cruel, sleepless, hundred-eyed, hundred-headed oppression of an oligarchical despotism. We believe that the mass of the population, under the very worst of the Roman emperors, were better off than under the cruel oligarchy called a republic, that preceded them. We believe that the people of Venice (not the nobles) are far better off under the Austrian yoke, as it is called, than under the dark, sanguinary dominion of their old oligarchy. We believe that the people of Prussia are a hundred times better off under their monarchical sovereign, than the people of Poland were under their oligarchical rule of iron: nay, even that the peasantry of Poland at present are better off under the monarchical despotism of Russia than they were under their own cruel, unrelenting, factious oligarchy.* The case of France before the Revolution may, perhaps, at first sight appear to be an exception to the principle above enunciated; inasmuch as the people of France, under a government that certainly seemed to be a monarchical

* The justice or injustice of Russia's seizure on the property and sovereignty of the Polish oligarchs is another question.

despotism, were more burthened by taxation than even the people of England during the same period under their oligarchy. But a closer examination of the case will show that it supports the general principle. For, in point of fact, France suffered at once under the combined evils of an oligarchy and a monarchical despotism, having at once an absolute king, and a very large privileged class, composed of the nobility and clergy, who were exempt from all taxation.

Applying these general principles to the case of England, what do we find? We find that, for a period of some five hundred years, that is, from the Norman Conquest to the beginning of the seventeenth century, although during nearly all that time a struggle may be considered as going on between the king and the nobility, upon the view of the whole case, and all the successes gained, respectively, by each side being taken into the account, the earlier princes of the Norman and Plantagenet line, and all the princes of the Tudor line, were very nearly, if not altogether, absolute monarchs. At the same time the granting of Magna Charta, and the numerous confirmations of it (there were no less than thirty-two* in all), between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, prove that there existed in the nation elements of opposition to the power of the kings, which might become exceedingly formidable However, this antagonist power, which consisted entirely of the great nobility, aided by the class of smaller nobility, known in England by the name of gentry, in fact, the king's greater and smaller tenants, whether mediate or immediate, though it from time to time succeeded in checking and setting bounds to the king's power of taxing itself, did not attempt to get rid of its own burthen altogether, by shifting it on somebody else, till the seventeenth century. Henry VII, probably thinking that if he could weaken the power of the great nobility he would greatly strengthen the power of the crown, gave additional facilities† to the alienation, and consequent subdivision, of the great fiefs, or large landed estates of the nobility. But the ultimate effect of this, though its proximate effect might be to add temporary power to the crown, was rather different from what its projector, though a cunning man enough in his way, intended. By this subdivision of the large fiefs, the number of holders of land was greatly increased, and thus was formed that numerous and powerful class which in the reign of the Stuarts became too powerful for the crown, and has made laws for the nation ever since the year 1660. There were other causes, doubtless, for this trans-

* Coke 2, Inst. pröem.

† By the Statute of Fines, 4 Henry VII, c. 24.

ference of the sovereign power from the crown to the land-holders, of which one of the principal was the dilapidation of the land revenue of the crown, whereby it was obliged to have recourse for its subsistence, and the expenses of carrying on the government, to the vote of the parliament. Now this dilapidation of these land revenues told in two ways; for while it weakened the crown it strengthened the land-holding oligarchy, by giving to the latter what it took from the former. The result was, that from 1660 to 1832, that is, for 172 years, the holders of land were virtually the sovereign power in England; and they employed, during that time, their sovereign power in making laws, not only to exempt themselves, virtually though not nominally, from nearly all taxation, but also to give themselves a very complete monopoly of the most lucrative manufacture and trade—the production and sale of the people's food.

There is nothing more strongly illustrative of the change that had taken place in the constitution—in other words, in the position of the sovereign power, than the following fact:—Charles I lost both his crown and his head for attempting to levy the tax of ship-money, which was in principle a far more constitutional tax than the excise, seeing that the tax of ship-money was founded on the principle that those who possessed the property of the kingdom should pay for the protection of it; whereas the excise was a contrivance by which, as some of those who voted against it had the honesty to tell the honourable majority to their faces, "every man who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow must pay excise to excuse the Court of Wards;"* that is, to enable the landholders to hold their land for nothing. Yet such was the helpless condition of those they plundered—so incapable were they for more than a century and a half of making the slightest resistance, having, in fact, no voice whatever in the legislature of the country, literally nothing to do with the laws but to obey them, that so far from sharing the fate of Charles I, the perpetrators of these unjust and unconstitutional deeds have as yet only rejoiced and prospered upon them.

The most minute investigation of facts that the nature of the case will admit of only affords further confirmation of the truth of the general principles above laid down. As far as the existing records of the public revenue afford evidence, for above a hundred years after the Norman Conquest, no tax was laid upon personal property.† Indeed, as Sir John Sinclair observes,

* Speech of Mr Annesley in the debate on the Court of Wards, Nov. 21, 1660 —'Parliamentary History,' vol. iv, pp. 148, 149. Comm. Journ. Nov. 21, 1660.

† 1 Sincl. Hist. Reven., 115.

before the reign of Edward I, or at least of Henry III, very few instances occur of impositions upon personal property. And those instances that do occur, even up to the reign of Edward III, were not regular and ordinary, but exceptional and extraordinary cases.* The first complete legal grant of tonnage and poundage was in the reign of Edward III;† and the first subsidy and the first poll tax occur in the reign of Richard II;‡ but in the reign of Henry V a considerable portion of the revenue appears to have arisen from personal property.§ The ordinary income of James I,|| taken on an average of the first fourteen years of his reign, did not exceed the sum of 450,863*l.* At his accession the crown lands yielded 32,000*l.* a-year, and afterwards 80,000*l.* a-year: the mean between these two amounts will be 56,000*l.*

According to a calculation made at the time when it was proposed to commute the feudal services for a yearly rent-charge, the amount of these feudal rights was estimated at the rate of 200,000*l.* a year.¶ These two sums, viz. of 56,000*l.* and 200,000*l.*, will make together 256,000*l.*, which is considerably above half of the whole revenue of the kingdom. Some estimate may be formed as to what these feudal payments would have amounted to at the present day, from the revenues received from their copyholders by the lords of certain manors, such, for example, as Hackney, Hampstead, Manchester, &c. It certainly does seem but fair and reasonable, that as the lands themselves increased in value by the general advancement of population and wealth, the portion of their fruit which was originally appropriated as a render (that is, a return or payment) for the enjoyment of them should have increased in proportion. As the whole amount of personal property in the kingdom now bears a larger proportion to the whole amount of real property than it did in the reign of James I, we do not take upon ourselves to say that the equitable proportion to be contributed to the expenses of the State by real property should be exactly what it was in the above-mentioned reign,—that is, more than half; but beyond all doubt, it should be something very different from what it is, viz., about one twenty-fifth.**

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* 1 Sincl. Hist. Reven., 119, 123. † Ibid. 123. ‡ Ibid. 128, 129.
§ Ibid. 147. || Ibid. 244.

¶ 1 Sincl. Hist. Reven., 233, cites Parl. Hist. vol. v, pp. 264-267; and see also 4 Inst. 202, 203.

** "The land tax, at four shillings in the pound, falls short of two millions a year. This land tax, as it is called, is supposed to be one-fifth, not only of the rent of all the land, but of that of all the houses, and of the interest of all the capital stock of Great Britain, that part of it only excepted which is either lent to the public, or employed as farming stock in the cultivation of land. A very considerable part of the produce of this tax arises from the rent of houses and the interest of capital stock."—Smith's

It will afford an illustration of the manner in which the sum of 256,000*l.* in the reign of James I might have amounted to some twenty-five millions in the reign of Queen Victoria, to observe the manner and degree in which the profits of certain manors have increased during the same period. We may instance, in particular, those manors (such as Hackney) on which much building has taken place.

The history of the land tax is a very instructive commentary upon the doctrine respecting the legislative sovereignty of the landholders since the Revolution. At first we find that it was a substantial *bonâ fide* tax, forming at least something like an equivalent for those taxes to which the land was subject by the terms on which it was originally granted. It was, in fact, found impossible at first to find any other shoulders broad enough to shift the burthen upon; but the utmost art and ingenuity of the legislature and their servants, the so-called ministers of the crown for the time being, was exerted to devise methods for attaining the end in view, there being always power sufficient to put those methods and devices in practice when discovered. Thus, towards the end of the reign of George I, we find—

"Subsisting, thirty-eight branches of customs, twenty-eight branches of excise, and nineteen branches of inland duties; in all, eighty-five different kinds of taxes; many of which branches affect a great variety of sorts of goods; and the laws relating to them make by far the greatest part of the many large folio volumes of statutes that have been enacted since the Revolution; whereas all the statutes from the beginning of our monarchy to that famous era, are (including the original French and Latin, and the English translation) contained in two folio volumes, of which those that relate to taxes make but a very inconsiderable part."*

The present income tax is another commentary upon the same text. The passing of the Reform Bill, and perhaps some recent events, have suggested to the imposers of taxes that it might be dangerous, or at least inexpedient, to attempt to take more from the very poorest classes, who had borne a very great share of the burthens which the landholders had cast off their own shoulders ever since the time when they substituted the excise for those feudal dues which constituted the purchase money of their estates. Accordingly, the minister, properly speaking, not

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Wealth of Nations,' b. v, c. 2, pt. i. Mr M'Culloch in his new edition of the 'Wealth of Nations,' published in 1839, subjoins the following note to the above passage of Adam Smith:—"The land tax, at two shillings in the pound, does not at this moment certainly exceed *one-fifteenth* part of the rent of the land, independently altogether of the rent of houses and the interest of stock."

* 'Cunningham's History of the Customs,' &c. p. 248.

of the crown, but of the landholding oligarchy, considering that there was no more gold for the present to be squeezed directly out of the sweat of the very poor, bethought him of squeezing the moderately poor, or middle class of the community; for that purpose fixing the limit of the tax at incomes of 150*l.* a year. The method by which he contrived to throw the burthen on the industrious middle classes was by taxing income from property, whether real or personal, and income from personal exertion in the various trades and professions, exactly alike. The base injustice of this arrangement (which would have rendered its passing into law quite impossible but for the circumstance of a majority of the law-makers having a sinister interest in passing it), has been frequently commented on; but as it cannot be so too much, we shall endeavour to add some further illustrations of it.

In the debate on Mr Pitt's income tax on the 24th of December, 1798, Sir John Sinclair said, in the course of a somewhat long speech,—

"How is it possible to demand at the same rate from a person who has an income without a capital, and from one who has both income and capital? One person, for instance, draws his subsistence from an income of 600*l.* a year from the profession of the law; at 10 per cent. he is charged with 60*l.* to the Exchequer, which he must deduct from his income. Another person has 20,000*l.* of 3 per cent. consolidated annuities, producing him 600*l.* At 10 per cent. he will only pay 60*l.* also, though, by selling only about 120*l.* of his 3 per cents., according to the price of the stocks, he pays his tax, and only loses about 3*l.* 12s. per annum of his income. Where, then, is that boasted equality which is said to be so much in favour of this plan, and which renders it so infinitely superior to every other?" *

The hardship of the inequality may perhaps be made more apparent by an example. Take the case of two brothers, the elder of whom inherits the family estate, say of 2,000*l.* a year; and the younger going to the bar, succeeds, after some twenty years of hard and incessant labour, in earning a professional income of 2,000*l.* a year. What equality, what equity, what justice, is there in taxing the income of these two men alike? The one has toiled not, neither has he spun; he has passed his days in ease and luxury; and when he dies, that which has furnished him with whatever means of enjoyment 2,000*l.* a year can purchase, will descend to his children. The other, by submitting to long years of self-denial, and of the most unattractive but systematic drudgery,—after thus long, to use an expression attributed to Lord Eldon, "living like a hermit, working like a horse," has succeeded at length in obtaining an

* See 2, Sincl. Hist. Reven. 237.

income, the fruit of well-directed and unremitted toil, equal to that enjoyed, without any exertion of his own, by his idle and luxurious elder brother. But the very nature of the exertion, the incessant anxiety and wear and tear of mind necessary to insure a continuance of this professional income, renders the health and even the life on which it depends peculiarly uncertain and precarious. A stroke of paralysis, for example, brought on by excess of mental labour, unaccompanied by the necessary bodily exercise, destroys in a moment mind and body, and at the same time of course destroys the source of that income which the property-holding legislator taxes at the same rate as his own income, derived from a source so very different.

The mode of providing against such contingencies, which science and modern civilization suggest to a prudent man thus circumstanced, is the system of life assurance. A fixed annual payment, determined in accordance with the law which has been found to regulate the rate of mortality, is made by him during his life, in exchange for a stipulated sum, to be paid back to his representatives on his decease. Now the question here is, what is the yearly sum which the man with 2,000*l.* a year derived from a profession, must pay to secure to his family on his death the same provision which the family of the man with 2,000*l.* a year derived from property, real or personal, will have? in order to make this tax press with equality, from the income of the professional man must first be deducted as much as will be sufficient to secure to his family what the property man will leave to his, and then the tax must be levied on the residue.

But some go farther than this, not without much appearance of reason, though we do not say that we go the whole way with them. Thus the author of the 'Plea for the Total and Immediate Repeal of the Corn Laws,' in a letter published in the 'Anti-Bread-Tax Circular' of February 14th, 1843, contends that the injustice of the income tax consists in taxing the annual gross product of labour, which may be wholly expended from week to week in maintaining the labourer and his family, whilst the landholder and capitalist are only assessed, at the same rate in the pound, on the annual value, or rent of their property; thus taxing the one species of property on the *principal*, and the other on the rental or annual value, or making 100*l.* of the one pay 2*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*, and 100*l.* of the other pay only 2*s.* 11*d.*, taking its annual value at 5 per cent. Now there certainly are thousands of persons with incomes from 150*l.* to 1,000*l.*, or even 2,000*l.* a-year, arising from the exercise of their industry in some profession or trade, who (with the exception of what may be paid in the shape of a premium to some life assurance society, and the produce of this, be it remembered, will be liable to taxation

afterwards as capital or property) expend, within the year, every farthing which they earn within the year. Such incomes are such persons' property,—their whole property; and it really does not appear a very unreasonable question to ask what right any minister has to tax such property at the rate of 2*l*. 18*s*. 4*d*. per cent., while he taxes his own property, and that of his supporters, at the rate of 2*s*. 11*d*. per cent.?

Such a mode of taxation was never attempted till the government of the country became an oligarchy, composed of the rich in land and money. While the government was a feudal monarchy, the land paid the taxes; and while it was a commonwealth, property in general, whether real or personal, paid them. The mode in which the taxes necessary to supply the exigencies of the state were raised during the period of the Commonwealth, appears fully and clearly from one of the enactments for the year 1656, preserved in Scobell's Collection (part ii, p. 400). From this it will be seen that the sum required was raised by a pound rate on real and personal property, or—

"On all lands, tenements, hereditaments, annuities, rents, profits, parks, warrens, goods, chattels, stock (farm), merchandises, offices, or any other real or personal estate whatsoever, according to the value thereof; that is to say, so much upon every twenty shillings rent, or yearly value of land, and real estate; and so much upon money, stock, and other personal estate, by an equal rate, wherein every twenty pounds in money, stock, or other personal estate, shall bear the like charge as shall be laid on every twenty shillings yearly rent, or yearly value of land, as will raise the monthly sum or sums charged on the respective counties, cities, towns, and places aforesaid."

If it should be contended that the practice of the Commonwealth cannot be cited as a precedent in strict law, we answer, that there is a close, a complete analogy to the above principle of taxation to be met with in the positive law of the country, and in the practice founded thereon. In the case of the King against S. White and others, in Trinity Term, 32 Geo. III,* the Court of King's Bench confirmed a rate towards the relief of the poor of 1*d*. in the pound on all lands, and 3*d*. for every 100*l*. of ships and stock in trade; on a calculation that every 100*l*. of which any inhabitant was possessed, did or might produce interest to the amount of 3*l*. per annum, such interest of 3*l*. per cent. per annum being considered as a test of the ability of such person, and such person is charged in the sum of 1*d*. for each pound of such supposed interest. And in the subsequent case, of the King against Thomas Mash,† a similar doctrine was established.‡

* 4. 'Term Reports,' 771.

† 6. 'Term Reports,' 154.

‡ The property assessments during the reign of Charles II. were on the

Let us hear no more, then, of the impracticability of taxing property. The impracticability never existed anywhere but in the wish, "the father to the thought," of those who make it the business of their lives to devise means to wring from the industrious a still larger and larger proportion of their hard-earned pittance; to make the poor poorer; the laborious more laborious; the miserable more miserable: in order that the rich may be richer; the proud prouder; the luxurious more luxurious; the idle and the profligate more idle and more profligate. But this state of things will not last for ever. Property has been taxed in this country before now, and, even though we may not live to see it, we feel sure that the day will come when it will be taxed again. And however little such may have been its author's intention, we also feel pretty sure that the income tax will act as one of the means of hastening it.

Such a measure as this income tax of Sir Robert Peel (as well as that of Mr Pitt) is a discouragement to industry and prudence—an encouragement to idleness, folly, prodigality, and vice. Whatever may be said of just and equal taxation, surely, of such taxation as this, it cannot be said, "taxation no tyranny." On the contrary, such taxation is a very gross and intolerable tyranny; in one word, it is a downright robbery. It is nothing else whatever but the rich man, though himself possessed of large flocks, taking the poor man's one ewe lamb, and killing it, to add to his already overgorged repletion, altogether heedless of the misery to which he thereby reduces his poor injured neighbour. The rich legislator of to-day cares just about as little for the prayer or petition of those whom his legislation makes poorer, that he may be richer, as William the Norman cared for the prayers and petitions of the miserable and oppressed Saxons. It remains to be seen whether these modern oligarchs can resist the claims of justice of the plundered many as long as the Norman tyrant and his successors were able to do.

The reference to William the Conqueror has more meaning in it than may at first sight appear. For what the body of landholders did in 1660, did in effect, though not in name, amount to a fresh conquest of the country:—

"For an act by which certain valuable immunities, which had been secured to one class of British subjects, by a course of settled

same principle as in the Commonwealth, except that personal estate was assessed on 6*l.* the assumed interest of money. With two or three exceptions they extended to agricultural produce. The same principle was followed after 1688; but as the land tax exempted agricultural produce, it would appear that manufactured produce was let alone, contrary to the after-intention of making it primary subject, and real property the subsidiary.

law that had continued for six hundred years, were at once, without compensation, taken from them, and conferred upon another class, though it may not have the name, has all the operation of a conquest. If the landholders can make out, to the satisfaction of their fellow-countrymen, that they conquered the island of Great Britain, and acquired the same to them and their heirs for ever, discharged of all conditions, at the Revolution of 1688, my argument, in a constitutional point of view, falls to the ground. But if they fail in establishing that conclusion, I apprehend that all the consequences for which I contend inevitably follow."—'Argument on the Constitutional Right to a Revision of the Land Tax,' p. 53.

We shall add, in this place, the recapitulation of the legal argument from which the foregoing extract is made.

"The land was held on certain well-defined conditions, which conditions were, in the strictest sense, the purchase-money of that land. That purchase-money may be very accurately described to have been made payable as a perpetual annuity to the state, increasing in value as the land increased in value, just as tithe is payable to the parochial clergy, or copyhold profits and other rents to the landholders; with this similarity, as compared with these, that the feudal profits bore a fixed proportion to the annual value at the time the payment became due. But in the year 1660, a body of individuals, who were holders of a considerable portion of the land in question, calling themselves a convention parliament representing the whole nation, voted, at least two more than half of them voted, they should be totally exonerated from the future payment of this perpetual annuity, which was the purchase-money of their estates; and that the said annuity or purchase-money should, for the future, be paid by other people, who had no share in the land for which they were thus made to pay. However, about thirty years after, the parliament laid a tax upon land, which served, when first imposed, as some equivalent for the perpetual and variable annuity, the payment of which had been shifted from the shoulders of the landholders. This tax upon land, which was continued for several successive years, was a tax of 4*s*. in the pound upon the actual yearly value of the land at the time of assessing thereof, and was, consequently, like the perpetual and variable annuity of which it may be considered as intended to be the substitute and representative, to increase with the increasing value of the land. But in the year 1697 they contrived to frame the tax (9. Wm. III, c. 10) in such a form that it should not be an annuity increasing with, and in proportion to, the increasing value of the land, but a fixed annuity that should not increase in value. The consequence of this is, that the said annuity remains at the amount at which it was when the value of a large proportion of the land was only a very small fraction of what it is at present. Another consequence is, great unfairness in the apportionment of the sum actually levied. The fact that the imposition of a property and land tax, to be levied by a pound rate on the true value of property,

was the first fiscal act after the Revolution, and that it was annually voted and levied on that principle for several years, proves that property, according to its full value, was recognized by the constitution as a fit subject for taxation. It has also been shown, from the practice which prevailed in Scotland after the abolition of the feudal tenures in that country, that 4*s*. in the pound, on the true yearly value, was the *minimum*, and 8*s*. in the pound the *maximum* assessment during the Commonwealth. It is difficult to estimate with exactness the burthen of the feudal tenures on landholders; but as it is not found that the rates of 8*s*. and 4*s*. in the pound, imposed by the Commonwealth on the land rentals of the feudal landholders of Scotland, were complained of, those rates may be taken to have been considered as a favourable commutation for military service, and the feudal profits." —*Ibid.* pp. 53, 54.

The following extracts will serve to explain why the contrivance to exempt the land from taxation so long escaped observation :—

"The conclusion to which I am led by a careful perusal of the acts themselves, as well as of the opinions of those most likely to have been well informed as to the true construction of them, is, that the statute, 9 Wm. III, c. 10, 1697, of which all the subsequent statutes, by courtesy called land-tax acts, are merely copies, was skilfully framed for the purpose of protecting the land and other real property from paying a tax in proportion to the growing profits thereof, and to transfer the principal part of the burthen on personal property. The rates upon personal property are to be levied on the growing profits, 'according to the true yearly value thereof:' and any unlettered man, being quite unable to penetrate through the successive strata of words under which the true meaning in this, as in most acts of parliament, lies hid, would suppose that the same would be the operation of the clauses relating to real property. This would make the full effect of the contrivance escape the observation of many of those most interested in detecting and opposing it at the time when it was first brought forward; and so from time to time till the form grew into a habit, and acquired some of the attributes of 'venerable antiquity,' by which old abuses come to be considered as laws of nature, a portion of the 'order of the universe.' And the only intelligible reason for making the tax press so lightly, contrary to the provisions of the statute, as the evidence before cited shows it to have done, upon personal property, seems to be the fear, that if the law had been put in force according to the letter, the pressure thereby occasioned upon the owners of personal property would have led to a discovery of, and a remonstrance against, the deviation from the original principle of the land tax."—*Ibid.* pp. 47, 48.—And again : "The very complicated, as well as dry and uninviting nature of the subject, involving at once legal subtleties and financial calculations, must be viewed as

the cause why a change in the constitution of this country, by which a class of its inhabitants, at the expense of all the other classes, secured to themselves advantages such as might have been supposed attainable only by the sword of a conqueror, was at first permitted, and has been so long endured by a nation of men who have shown, on many occasions, such capacity to redress grievances and to rid themselves of oppression."—*Ibid.* p. 52.

The conclusion to which the foregoing reflections lead us is not that it would be practicable or expedient now either to resume the crown lands, or to revive the feudal services, but that on the principle laid down by Burke, that in every civilized community every citizen has a right to be protected in the free and uncontrolled use of his industry and his faculties; and in the beneficial enjoyment of that property to which, by the course of settled law, he was born, or to be provided with a fair compensation, with an equitable equivalent for it; that on that principle every Englishman has a right not to be deprived of that exemption from taxation to which he was entitled by a course of settled law that had continued for more than five hundred years without an equitable equivalent for it. Will any man, will any reasoning being who is capable of adding two and two together, say that saddling him with the excise or with any other tax that takes from him a portion of the hard-earned fruit, either of the sweat of his brow or the labour of his brain, is an equitable equivalent for withdrawing from the service of the state that portion of the rent of land which the constitution and laws of his country, established for nearly six hundred years, had appropriated to that purpose? It is not pretended that any fresh conquest of the country was made, by which the whole course of law and of title to property would have been altered.

It is true that a body of individuals, calling themselves a convention representing the whole nation, voted, at least two more than half of them voted, that the land should be held discharged of those fundamental constitutional conditions on which it was originally granted, without an equitable equivalent. But this was a change in the constitution of their country, which could be legitimately made by no other mode than a fresh conquest of the country. Oliver Cromwell, with fifty thousand veteran soldiers at his back, might have done such a deed, and pointed to his sword as the *ultima ratio* by which he demonstrated the virtue of it. And as long as the dynasty of Oliver lasted, the men who held their lands under that dynasty and by virtue of that title, might have fairly pleaded such a plea in bar of any claim made under another title. But we have abolished

Oliver's dynasty, and we live under the dynasty of, and hold our lands, public and private, by titles derived from William the Conqueror.

What that equitable equivalent is would be no very difficult matter to compute. Those who calculated the compensation for tithes and copyholds could easily calculate it. Moreover, the land tax was at first evidently intended as something of an equivalent for those taxes to which the land was subject by the terms on which it was originally granted. For it was at first and for several years, nay even for several reigns, a substantial *bonâ fide* tax, and it would seem that the revision of it, which was rendered necessary in order to re-adjust the proper proportion it had to bear to the taxes on personalty, was only neglected or omitted in consequence of the true nature of the tax for which it was substituted as an equivalent having in the course of time been altogether lost sight of. There is a table subjoined to the 'Argument on the Constitutional Right to a Revision of the Land Tax,' which shows the proportions in the various reigns since the Revolution.

It appears from this table, that at its first institution the land tax was more what it is in its proportion to the other taxes in the other kingdoms of Europe, than it now is. Thus, from the year 1689 to 1702, its annual average was thirty-four per cent. on the total revenue of the country. From 1702 to 1714, its annual average was thirty-eight per cent. The annual average on the whole reign of George I was twenty-three per cent. The annual average on the whole reign of George II was twenty-two per cent. In the year 1761 the proportion of the land tax to the total revenue was twenty-two per cent. But from that time the proportion went on diminishing through the reign of George III, till, in the year 1815, it reached the zero of two per cent. In 1831 and in 1841 it was four per cent. It surely cannot be contended that this is an equitable equivalent for the benefits and advantages which the holders of land obtained by the abolition of the feudal tenures. The proposition is monstrous, and altogether untenable for a moment. By a careful comparison of the produce of the feudal tenures about the time of their abolition with the produce of the land tax for about the first twenty years after its institution, it appears beyond a doubt that the land tax was intended as a *bonâ fide* substitute and equivalent for the feudal dues; and that the evasion of this intention is consequently a flagrant violation of the fundamental constitution of this realm.

If it should be contended, on the other side, that it would be unjust, and particularly a great hardship upon those who have purchased land since, to disturb an arrangement that has

now stood as law for a period exceeding one hundred and fifty years, the answer is, first, that this very arrangement was introduced in the place of a totally different one, which had been the law of the land for a period of six hundred years; and if the landholders, for their benefit, altered a law that had stood for six hundred years, the rest of the community, who are not landholders, would be perfectly justified in altering a law for their benefit which has stood one hundred and fifty years: secondly, that those who have purchased land during the period that has elapsed since the law was altered as above-stated, have thereby exempted their capital from the tax that pressed on personal property, and consequently having enjoyed an undue exemption from taxation during the said period, cannot with justice complain now if they are called upon to pay a somewhat more fair proportion of the taxes of their country.

In reference to the objection that the statute 38 Geo. III, c. 60 (1798), which made the then payment on account of the land tax perpetual, subject to redemption, has cut off all further right to increase or alter the *modus* then established; it is thus answered in the argument already referred to:—

"The answer to that argument is, that all that was done by the above act was to guarantee to those who were willing to purchase a perpetual annuity, secured on the land tax, that a less sum should not be levied by way of land tax, thereby providing a security for the payment of the annuity they had purchased. But this is a totally different thing from securing to them the payment of a larger annuity than they had contracted and paid for, which would be the effect of holding that there could be no increase of tax laid upon the land on which the former land tax had been redeemed. In fact, this view is supported by the provisions made in section 37 of the act itself, for the case of any person redeeming the land tax who has not an estate of inheritance. By that section of the act it is provided, that any person not having an estate of inheritance, but nevertheless being entitled, under section 35 of the act, to redeem the land tax, redeeming the land tax out of his own estate, and declaring his option to be considered as a purchaser, shall hold the land tax redeemed as an annuity issuing out of the lands (subject to the reversioner's right of redemption, under section 18); and when any such person shall not, at the time of entering into the contract for the redemption of such land tax, whereby such lands, &c., will be exonerated from the tax, have declared his option as aforesaid, such lands, &c., shall become chargeable for the benefit of such person, his executors, administrators, or assigns, with the amount of the 3 per cent. Bank annuities, transferred as the consideration, with interest equal to the land tax redeemed."—'Constitutional Rights,' pp. 51, 52.

B.

ART. VI.—1. *Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica di Roma.* 8vo. Roma, 1829-1842.

2. *Bullettini dell' Instituto, &c.* 8vo. Roma, 1829-1842.

3. *Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria in 1839.* By Mrs Hamilton Gray. With numerous Illustrations. Hatchard and Son.

4. *The History of Etruria.* By Mrs Hamilton Gray. Part I. Hatchard and Son.

IT is some consolation that while the analysis of classical history has to a great extent disproved its genuineness, and rejected as dross much that had been accounted of value, our knowledge of the ancients should at the same time have been greatly increased from other sources;—that while the audible voice of antiquity has been brought into discredit, we should have drawn from its silent documents the most eloquent truths. The spirit of investigation which has taught us to regard many of the classical heroes as fabulous existences—mere personifications of principles, or symbols of events, and most of the incidents of early Greek and Roman history as mythical or poetical legends,—though almost wrecking our faith in one direction, has moored it securely in another. As lovers of ancient lore, we may mourn over our old credulities, so long and affectionately cherished among the Lares of our imagination, when we behold them cast from their shrines and shivered at our feet; but we are cheered by the prospect of other and worthier objects, which the same spirit of investigation has set up for our adoration; they are truths founded on the clearest induction,—truths connected with the internal history of the old world; that history of which written chronicles seldom make more than incidental mention,—which as it is now made known to us, limited and fragmentary though it be, comes to our minds with irresistible force, admitting neither of doubt nor of denial. Such are the results of investigations in Greece, Asia Minor, and Egypt; of the disinterment of Pompeii, and of the more recent researches in Etruria.

The last-named country is the present subject of our consideration. Its external history, as there are no chronicles extant, is to be gathered only from indirect notices in Greek and Roman literature. Its internal history, till of late years, was almost a blank; but by the continual accumulation of fresh facts, it is now daily acquiring form and substance, and we

trust ere long will be as distinct and palpable as that of Egypt, Greece, or Rome.

To what are we indebted for this knowledge?—To musty records drawn from the dust and oblivion of centuries? to rolls of parchment, or leaves of papyrus? No: this species of history can be written and read without such instruments; we owe it to monumental remains and other durable documents—those founts of historical truth which, though not perennial, are never impure—those landmarks which, though often few and far between, are the surest guides across the bewildering expanse of distant ages. As the geologists of to-day, trusting to nature alone for guidance, have embraced opinions of the antiquity and formation of our globe widely at variance with the notions previously entertained, so modern antiquaries, by an analogous course of investigation, have elicited a somewhat similar result with regard to the early inhabitants of Italy. They have found in the bowels of the earth minute descriptions of national dress, customs, and modes of life, social and domestic; records of political states, of popular traditions and habits of thought, of religious creeds and observances, that had lain in oblivion for 2,000 years; of all which history, properly so called, is either silent, or makes but incidental mention; add to which, records of individual life so minute as to bring us into personal cognition of the dead of twenty or twenty-five centuries ago. They have found tongues in walls of rock, books in broken pottery, sermons in stones, and knowledge in everything extracted from these sources. The pages they have consulted are painted sepulchres or graven rocks; the chronicles to which they refer as to a sacred, infallible text, are inscribed on sarcophagi, funeral urns, vases, pateræ, mirrors, and a thousand et ceteras of personal adornment, and of domestic or warlike furniture, found within the tombs of a people long passed away, and whose existence was till lately remembered by few but the traveller or the student of classical lore. Verily, forefathers,

> "There are more things in heaven and *earth*
> Than were dreamt of in your philosophy."

Whoever would trace the progress of these discoveries, and gain some insight into Etruscan antiquities, will consult the volumes which head this article. Those of Mrs Gray are perhaps the most accessible to the reader, and this lady has the merit of having rendered the subject familiar to the British public by details of the highest interest; but the two Italian works named in our list rank high as authorities. They are published by an institution which was established at Rome in 1829, under the aus-

pices of the present King of Prussia, for the purpose of bringing the archæologists of the various countries of Europe into communication, in order, by means of a joint-stock bank of knowledge, more effectually to promote the common object. The institution collects information from its correspondents, who are spread over the old world, and diffuses it again in the shape of a yearly volume of Annals, and a monthly Bulletin; the former devoted to essays on antiquities, whether known for ages or only recently discovered; to the discussion of disputed points, and to the review of works on Archæology;—the latter containing the correspondence of the institution, descriptions of antiquarian tours, records of the progress of excavations, and of fresh discoveries, intelligence of which is immediately transmitted to the secretary. The Bulletin, in fact, is the Gazette – the Annals are the Magazine of the institution. Both take cognizance of all the countries of classical antiquity; but passing over their valuable notices of Egyptian, Grecian, and Roman archæology, we have now to regard them in reference to Etruria alone. Little is known on this interesting subject which is not to be found in these volumes. Before their publication, indeed, much had been written on Etruria, by Dempster, Gori, Passeri, Lanzi, Micali, Inghirami, Orioli, Vermiglioli, Müller, and others; but much that is valuable in their works here re-appears in a condensed form; with the additional opinions and experience of many others whose learning and research entitle them to equal respect; in proof of which we have but to mention the names of Bunsen, Stackelberg, Kestner, Lepsius, Gerhard, Braun, Abeken, Campana, Canina, Panofka, Gell, Kellerman, Campanari, Capranesi, Lenoir, as writers of articles on Etruscan antiquities. The latest discoveries and newest theories, the results of every excavation, and descriptions of every article of peculiar interest are to be found in this storehouse of archæological knowledge.

The field of inquiry into Etruscan antiquities which is here embraced is wide and diversified; the painted tombs, the sarcophagi and funeral urns, the statues and reliefs, the coins, the bronzes and figured pottery, which modern researches are bringing to light in such abundance. And then the language, that "geological literature," as it has been aptly termed,—that mystery which promises no solution more recondite than the Egyptian hieroglyphics, which has baffled all the learning and penetration of Dempster, Maffei, Gori, Passeri, and Lanzi, in the last century, and of many more, Sir William Betham included, in this—which, like the Basque, seems an utter alien to every known family of languages. Each of these topics

merits deliberate consideration. As we cannot do justice to them all within the limits of an article, we select that branch of the subject which stands naturally the most prominent, and which, moreover, has perhaps been the least handled,—the Architectural Monuments of Etruria.

Whoever travels through that part of Italy which has been designated Etruria Proper, will meet numerous traces of a people who, ages before the straw hut of Romulus arose on the Capitoline, had attained no small degree of civilization. Should he also have visited the remains of those wonderful cities of early Italy, which are generally termed Cyclopean, he will be struck not only with the distinctive character, but with the evidences of superior civilization in the architectural monuments of Etruria. We will point out some of these distinguishing features, which are observable in the sites as well as in the masonry of the respective cities.

The Cyclopean towns whose remains are scattered so thickly throughout certain districts of Central Italy, are found generally raised high on the slopes, but often perched, like eagles' nests, on the very crests of mountains, at such an elevation as to strike amazement into the traveller who now visits them, and to bewilder him with speculations as to the state of society which could have driven men to such scarcely accessible spots for habitation, and to entrench themselves therein with such stupendous fortifications.* Many of these sites are still occupied by villages, and have been so probably from the earliest times; while other villages similarly situated seem to point out the sites of other fortresses of which no remains are now extant. The choice of such sites seems to indicate a state of society little removed from barbarism, in which there was no security nor confidence between the several communities, and the only law was

> "The good old rule—the simple plan—
> That he should take who has the power,
> And he should keep—who can."

The cities of Etruria, on the other hand, stood on comparatively low ground,—not from necessity, for the land is intersected by several lofty mountain-chains, lateral branches or limbs of the great spine-bone of the peninsula—but on these are no traces of cities in such situations as those just mentioned. In the northern part of Etruria the cities sometimes stood in commanding situations—Fiesole, Cortona, Perugia, Volterra,

* Cyclopean remains are sometimes found in low situations, but they form the exceptions to the rule which is as above stated.

for example. Some few — Pisa, Gravisca, Pyrgi, Alsium— stood on the level of the coast; but the greater part, particularly in southern Etruria, were built on plains elevated above the sea; yet were not unprotected by nature, these table-lands being intersected by numerous ravines, the clearings of the earth under volcanic action, which form natural fosses of great depth round the precipice-girt islands, on which the towns were built. Such was the situation of Veii, Cære, Sutrium, Tarquinii, Falerii, and other cities celebrated in history. There is evidently nothing in such situations inconsistent with a high degree of civilization, and a peaceable and orderly state of society. They are certainly not such accessible sites as would have been chosen in later times, but it should be borne in mind that the political constitution of the people of early Italy, as of Greece, was entirely municipal—that cities were states, and citizens soldiers—and strong fortifications were as indispensable to the cities of old, as standing armies and fleets are deemed to be to the states of modern Europe.

Nor did the Etruscan cities differ from the Cyclopean* more widely in situation than in the masonry of their fortifications. The walls of the latter are formed of huge blocks of limestone or other calcareous stone, in some cases untouched by chisel, as in the walls of Tiryns, in others more or less hewn into irregular polygonal forms, and fitted together with various degrees of skill—invariably without cement. The Etruscan walls are composed of parallelopiped blocks, generally of tufo or other volcanic stone, arranged in a neat and regular though massive style of masonry, and also without cement. These are the characteristics of the two styles, but there are not wanting exceptions, tufo being in a few instances cut into polygons, and limestone into parallelopipeds. The polygonal style, moreover, occurs in three cities of Etruria— Cosa, Saturnia, Pyrgi; the Etruscan is to be found in many parts of Latium, Umbria, and Campania. That the Cyclopean style is the more ancient, we have little doubt—the rude, shapeless, random-piled masses of its original character, gradually improved and smoothed down into irregular polygons, the absence of anything like ornament, and the ignorance of the arch displayed in all its stages, are satisfactory proofs of its very high antiquity. The earlier Etruscan seems nearly allied to this — huge blocks, rectangularly indeed, but of

* We use this term in a generic sense, applying it to all those structures of massive irregular masonry which abound in Central Italy, whether composed of unhewn masses in what is specifically called the Cyclopean style, or of polygonal-shaped blocks in that style which is usually attributed to the Pelasgi, but by some to the Casci Sabines, Latins, and other people of early Italy.

various sizes and irregularly arranged, witness the walls of Fiesole, Volterra, Cortona; and in some few instances, as at Populonia and Russellæ, smaller pieces are inserted between the interstices of the large blocks — a characteristic of the Cyclopean. The later Etruscan style is more regular, the courses generally of equal height, the blocks smaller, of more equal size, more neatly cut, and laid lengthways and endways in alternate courses. 'Such were the walls of Tarquinii, Cære, Sutrium, Nepete, Falerii, the walls of Servius Tullius, under the church of St Balbina, the substruction of the Tabularium on the Capitol, the *Pulchrum littus*, or the embankments of the Tiber, and that finest mural remain in all Rome, attached to the so-called Forum of Augustus—besides many other works of Roman times.

From the fact of the Etruscan style not being confined to Etruria Proper, Niebuhr (i, 130, transl.) suggests that it may have been derived by the Etruscans from the earlier possessors of their land, the Tyrrhene-Pelasgi, but we see no necessity for this hypothesis. Its extension throughout Italy is easily accounted for by the fact that the Romans adopted it under their kings, and continued to use it, till it was generally superseded before the close of the Republic by the isodomon masonry of the Greeks, or by massive structures of brick faced with marble. We might add that the late Roman imitations of it, as in the walls of Præneste, are easily distinguishable from the genuine Etruscan. We know that the Greeks also used this style of masonry, which they called ἔμπλεκτον, but they have left us no instances of so early a date as are found in Central Italy — and it seems quite as probable that they derived it from the Etruscans as that the latter learned it from the Tyrrhene-Pelasgi. Besides, the Pelasgi would have been more likely to teach the Etruscans their own style of masonry, of smooth-faced polygons, which was occasionally imitated by the Romans, as in the substructions of the Salarian and Valerian ways, though that people more frequently followed the Etruscan style. Micali (i, 152) seeks to prove that the polygonal walls of Cosa and Saturnia are of Roman construction, but to our mind they tend rather to show the prior existence of Pelasgic cities on the same sites, particularly as in the case of Cosa, rectangular volcanic blocks are based on polygonal masses of limestone. That the Pelasgi did build in this style there is no doubt, though it may be disputed whether every Cyclopean structure is to be ascribed to them; that Etruria was at an early period colonized by the Pelasgi, who were driven out by the Rasena or Etruscans, is a fact affirmed by the ancients and admitted by the moderns;

and that certain cities of Etruria, as Cortona, Agylla, Pyrgi, Falerii, and others, had been founded or possessed by the Pelasgi is also agreed, so that it would be matter of wonderment if they had left no traces in the land. We could show how history bears out our view in these particular cases, but must content ourselves with asserting that the existence of these few Cyclopean walls in the heart of Etruria does not prove that such was at any time the Etruscan style of building. We would not, however, maintain that the style of masonry is an infallible index to the constructors, for in some cases it may have been determined by the character of the stone in the neighbourhood, though in every instance in Etruria where limestone was used, with the above-named three exceptions, we find it hewn into blocks completely or nearly rectangular; nor would we contend for an absolute local separation between the constructors of the polygonal and rectangular styles. It is enough for our argument that the instances above named are exceptions to the rule. We would not even seek to deduce from the masonry alone, any superior skill on the part of the Etruscans. The Cyclopean walls must have required at least equal mechanical powers for their erection, and the later, smooth-faced, polygonal structures, no inconsiderable skill—rather, however, in fitting the blocks accurately together than in the cleavage, which in this limestone is greatly assisted by nature. The superior character of Etruscan architecture is sufficiently demonstrated by other means, which we shall presently have occasion to point out.

Sir William Gell, in his 'Topography of Rome and its Vicinity,' describes a portion of the walls of Veii, where immense blocks of stone are laid upon courses of long thin bricks. We cannot verify his statement by personal observation, for though we have hunted far and wide among the wood which covers that side of the city, we have not had the good fortune to stumble upon this remarkable bit of masonry. It suggests to us, however, one explanation of the fact, that so few remains of the walls of Etruscan cities are now extant in comparison with those of Cyclopean architecture;*—they may, as Pliny (N.H. xxxv, 49) and Vitruvius (ii, 8) tell us was the case with Arretium, have been formed in great part of bricks, which we know to have been employed at a very ancient date; and when the cities fell into decay, the bricks would have formed a

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* It may, indeed, be doubted whether the Etruscan cities were in all cases completely enclosed by walls. The steep cliffs on which many were situated would often render fortifications superfluous. But the small size, the lightness, portability, and facility of cleavage of the tufo blocks would alone explain the destruction of the Etruscan walls.

quarry of ready-made materials for the construction of villages in the neighbourhood.

It is in the gateways and vaults of Etruscan architecture still extant, as compared with those of Cyclopean, that we find the most striking evidences of superior civilization. The Cyclopean gates of Italy, like those of Greece, are generally square, one enormous stone serving as architrave, as seen in the annexed view of a postern gate at Mycene (see fig. 1*), which, however, is less massive than the generality of Cyclopean gateways. In a few instances there are rude attempts at the arch, by the blocks being arranged in a gradually converging order so as to meet at the top; as in the famed gallery of Tiryns in Argolis, a representation of which is annexed (fig. 2†). This style is to be seen in a gate at Arpino in Latium, which is almost the counterpart of a gate at Mycene; and something resembling it exists in the "Porta Sarracinesca," of Segni, whose converging sides are united by a horizontal architrave. But the true arch is never found in connexion with this style, and indeed seems inconsistent with it. In some few and very early instances of vaults in Etruria we find similar rude approximations to the arch, as in a fountain at Fiesole, now blocked up,‡ and in the much-talked-of tomb at Cervetri, discovered a few years since by the Arciprete Regulini, which is vaulted very like the gallery of Tiryns.

But the characteristic of Etruscan gateways and vaults is the perfect arch, formed of massive uncemented stones. Even the still more recondite principle of the flat arch, where the architrave is composed of several cuneiform blocks, holding together though without cement, was known and practised in Etruria—witness the Piscina of Volterra, and the gates of the Theatre of Ferento, near Viterbo, which are evidently of more ancient date than the rest of the structure. Of the perfect arch many specimens remain in Etruria, which have usually been referred to Roman architects, because it has hitherto been the current belief that the arch owed its origin to that people. As a very simple and early instance of the arched vault we may cite the remarkable tomb near the walls of Cortona, vulgarly called the "Tanella di Pitagora," now in ruins, but which was vaulted over by five enormous stones more than nine feet long, laid around two semicircular blocks which crowned the masonry at opposite ends of the chamber. The noblest specimen of an Etruscan gateway existing is the Porta all'Arco

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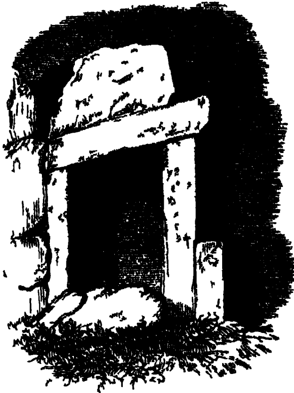
* From 'Gwilt's Encyclopædia of Architecture.'

† Ibid.

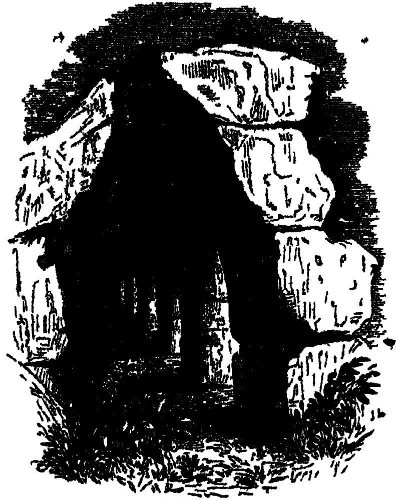
‡ *Vide* 'Annali dell' Instit.' 1835, p. 8—an article written by Signor Inghirami.

Fig 1



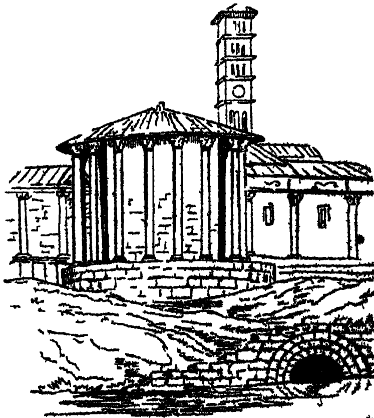
POSTERN GATE, AT MYCENE.

Fig. 2.



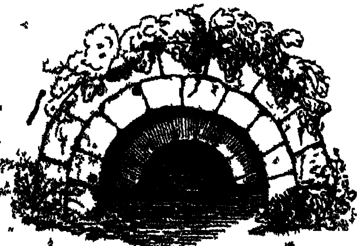
CYCLOPEAN GALLERY OF TIRYNS.

Fig 3.



MOUTH OF THE CLOACA MAXIMA.

Fig. 4.



CLOACA MAXIMA.

of Volterra: and who that has visited that city can forget the simple majestic character of its portal—its massive masonry—and the three grim heads around its arch, stretching forward as if eager to tell the approaching traveller the strange scenes and events they have witnessed?

Of Etruscan bridges, formed on strictly correct principles, there are several in existence, standing as firmly as when first crossed by Etruscan feet; having by the solidity of their construction defied the ravages of twenty or twenty-five centuries, and capable of enduring as many more. The most remarkable is the Ponte della Badia, in the neighbourhood of the ancient Vulci—a colossal structure, and in its present state one of the most singular relics of the olden time preserved in Italy. So little frequented is the district in which it stands, that twenty years ago its existence was unknown to antiquarians. We subjoin a description of it in the shape of an extract from the manuscript journal of a tour very recently made in Etruria, and as yet unpublished.

"After passing the Ponte Sodo we entered on a vast moor, bare, wild, and without a tree; a shepherd's hut of rushes here and there rising from its surface, being the only signs of life save the dark castle, standing in lonely pomp in the midst, about three miles before us. 'All this moor,' said my companion, 'up to yon tower, ay, and beyond that too, is the necropolis of Vulci.' 'And that high conical mound, half way between us and the tower?' 'That is the cucumella, a sepulchral tumulus.' As we proceeded I became convinced of the existence of this vast cemetery by the numerous pits cut in the soil, which, on examination, proved to be passages recently opened to the tombs which lay deep below the surface; the entrances to all, however, had been reclosed with earth. * * * * On reaching the castle we dismounted, and I followed my companion through the yard and across a narrow bridge which spans the deep ravine, on whose verge the castle is situated. Not till I had crossed had I any idea of its character. My friend hurried me down a slope towards the stream; at length he stopt, turned, and exclaimed, 'There's a bridge for you!' It was, in truth, a magnificent structure, spanning in one vast arch the rocky ravine, through which, at a great depth below, flowed the Fiora. But my eye was immediately arrested by the extraordinary accumulation of stalactites which overhung this side of the bridge, depending in vast sheets from the upper edge of the parapet, and forming a line of grotesque, jagged masses, broken at intervals, along the top of the bridge. How came they there, fixed against a wall which rises so high above the bridge itself as to block the view as you cross? The natural solution is, there must have been an aqueduct; but no channel for water is visible in the section of the wall which is broken at the north end of the bridge. I turned to Mrs H. Gray,

and found (p. 289) 'the outer wall of one side of this bridge is strikingly peculiar, showing evident traces of an aqueduct, the bridge having thus served the double purpose of a viaduct and an aqueduct to the city of Vulci:' but no explanation of what constitutes this 'striking peculiarity.' On further examination I found the stalactites projecting several feet from the surface of the masonry, and depending to a depth of fifteen to twenty feet below the parapet. The whole upper part of the bridge is also coated, more or less, with the same material. I looked to the rocks around and found them fretted in the same manner, and then comprehended that the streams flowing through the table land of the necropolis had decomposed the travertine of which it consists, just as at Tivoli, and that the water once carried through the aqueduct in the parapet, had filled up its own channel, by the precipitation of the earthy matter it had held in solution, and continuing to ooze out through the uncemented masonry, had formed this glorious natural drapery to the bridge. Independently of its remarkable conformation, its colouring, a clear yellowish white, combines with the grey or reddish masonry, to add to the effect of the whole structure. Then the solemn-looking castle, high on the cliff on one side, rearing its dark red tower against the bright sky—the huge masses of rock in the hollow—the slopes covered with ilex and shrubs—the river boiling and struggling through the narrow cliff—the steep, frowning cliffs seen through the arch—are so many accessories in keeping with the principal object, forming with it as striking and picturesque a scene as I remember to have witnessed. * * * There is a second and smaller arch in the bridge, not spanning the stream, but formed merely to lighten the effect of the long wall of masonry on the north bank. There is a third arch still smaller, close under the castle; but it is merely recessed in one side, and does not perforate the structure."

This bridge is described in a paper on 'Etruscan Tombs,' in the 'Annali of 1832,' by M. Lenoir, who gives ninety-six feet (French) as the height of the central arch, sixty-two feet as its span, fifteen only as that of the side arch, and two hundred and forty-three feet as the length of the whole. Signor Vincenzo Campanari, who gives a description of it (Ann. 1829, p. 194), speaks of it as of pure Etruscan architecture, but according to Lenoir it is disputed whether it be wholly Etruscan or partly Roman, as in some respects it resembles the Ponte Nonno, near Gabii; but he suggests that it may be the work of Etruscan architects, modified by Roman influence.

What says the journal?

"The bridge does not seem of the same date throughout. There are three piers of reddish tufo much weatherworn, which seem the most ancient part, cased in neater masonry of grey and harder tufo, which forms the body of the structure; both, however, being in the

genuine Etruscan style of masonry, but the return facing of the piers of the arches, which is of blocks of travertine, seems of later date, and may be referred to the Romans, as perhaps also the construction of the aqueduct. The date of this might, however, be determined with tolerable accuracy. First ascertain the date of the castle, for the aqueduct was broken through for its erection. This must have been many centuries since, in the heart of the middle ages. Then observe the rate at which stalactites are formed in this neighbourhood; ascertain the size of the channel of the aqueduct; calculate the number of cubic feet or inches in this incrustation, and you have the date, or something near it. Doubtless it must have required centuries to form such an enormous mass as this; yet, lest one should be inclined to refer it to too remote an antiquity, there is a parallel case at Tivoli, where a vault in the face of the cliff, lined with Roman reticulated work, has had its mouth blocked up by an immense sheet of this fantastic formation, many tons in weight. It is possible that even the aqueduct is the work of the Etruscans. The skill of that people in hydraulic structures is so well attested as to have given rise to the opinion now generally entertained, that to them are the Romans indebted for this description of edifice."

Another remarkable Etruscan bridge is at Bieda, the ancient Blera, situated five miles south west of Vetralla. There are, indeed, two bridges, both claiming a like origin; but one, in its present state, is so remarkable as alone to repay a visit to this secluded village. They are described in the same journal.

"Before reaching the town we crossed the stream by a bridge, which Father Cecchi had warned us not to pass without examination. It was of one arch, wide, well formed, based on the rocky banks of the stream. That on the side of Bieda being more elevated than the nearer bank, the arch is raised high above the water, and is approached by a gradually ascending causeway of masonry, extending thirty or forty yards from the bank. The whole structure is of blocks of reddish tufo, cut from the cliffs around, each course being about eighteen inches deep; but in order to accommodate the masonry to the ascent of the road, upon the two lowest courses lies one of wedge-like form, which gives to those above a slight elevation towards the arch. The bridge is about fifteen feet wide, and retains traces of parapets, which have been overturned, perhaps by man, but more probably by the large shrubs which flank it on either side, insinuating their roots among the uncemented masonry, and threatening ultimately to destroy the whole structure. It is singular that this is still the only means of approach to Bieda from this side."

The other bridge is thus described:—

"On emerging from this defile we saw the triple-arched bridge

immediately before us. The duke drew up at its foot and told us we must dismount, as it was not passable by beasts. Before crossing I stopt to admire the elegance of its arches and the beauty of its construction. The central arch was a true semicircle, thirty feet in diameter; the side arches were more contracted, only ten feet in span. They were all formed of rusticated blocks, with edges so sharp and fresh that it was difficult to believe it the work of two hundred years since, let alone two thousand; but the first step I put on the bridge was sufficient to convince me of its great antiquity. The central arch has been split throughout its entire length, probably by an earthquake; the blocks being uncemented have been much dislocated, but few have fallen. It is clear this split must have occurred at an early period; for, in order to cross the bridge, passengers have been obliged to step clear of the gaps, which in some parts yawn from one to two feet wide, and by treading in each others footsteps, have worn holes deeper than did ever pilgrims' knees in the stone at à Becket's shrine or in the Santa Scala of Rome. They have worn a hollow pathway almost through the thick masses of rock, in some few spots indeed entirely through a perpendicular depth of more than three feet. The bridge is of tufo, it is true, yet of a tufo neither flaky nor friable, but of a peculiarly close, hard character, as is shown by the wonderful sharpness of the rusticated blocks. And it must be observed that for many ages the bridge must have been impassable to beasts, for the same earthquake that split the arch caused the outer part of it on one side to fall; this, however, having been repaired during the middle ages, as the masonry attests, all further necessity of following the foot-worn track was obviated, yet it was still scarcely practicable for beasts.

I remarked that the rusticated masonry of this bridge was precisely similar to some I had seen in tombs unquestionably Etruscan. From its superior neatness I have little hesitation in assigning to this bridge a later date than to the other. It may possibly be of Roman times; but this part of Etruria was not conquered before the fifth century of the city, and if it were constructed subsequently to that, it must still be admitted to be in the Etruscan style, and in all probability was built by Etruscan architects, as is the case with almost every public work in Rome and her territories which belongs to the earlier ages of the city. I own it is an error into which many fall to claim for the relics of past ages too remote an origin; but I cannot understand why others should be so loath to concede to a work that antiquity to which it seems entitled, simply on account of its excellent preservation, or because the date claimed is a century or two on the wrong side of the Christian era, or because it enters that period of which we have no contemporary history. If we can admit that a structure has endured in a high state of preservation 1,600 or 1,800 years, we ought scarcely to doubt its capability of enduring as many more; why then, when its style does not contradict the supposition, should its state of preservation prevent us from

assigning to it an antiquity of 2,000 or even 2,500 years? Surely, when we begin to talk of thousands, a few centuries more or less can make little difference.

"I know that Blera lay on the Via Clodia, but I do not believe that this bridge was on that road, which seems to have crossed the Biedano at a middle point between the two bridges, at a spot where it is now spanned by a bridge of the middle ages. The first of the two ancient bridges, however, must have been in the direct route of the Via."

It is singular that we find no mention of these bridges in the records of the Archæological Institute.*

There is a bridge at Veii of undoubted Etruscan architecture. It has but one arch, twenty feet in span. The piers are of peperino, but the vault is of tufo. Remains of two other Etruscan bridges are also to be seen at Veii.

That no stone bridge was erected at Rome before the year of the city 575—the date of the Pons Æmilius—may appear singular; but it does not call in question the antiquity of such structures among the Etruscans. The original, and, for centuries, the only bridge at Rome, the Pons Sublicius, was of wood, and in that state was maintained as a religious duty; for, being constructed so as to be readily taken to pieces, it served as a drawbridge; and it was not till after the conquest of Etruria, and the downfal of Hannibal, and when all fear of foes at the gates of the city was removed, that a permanent bridge was constructed.

We have already said enough to show the existence of a considerable degree of civilization among the Etruscans. This is still more clearly proved by their roads; for no surer test of civilization is there than the attention paid to the means of internal communication. Not that many remains of pavement can be proved to be Etruscan, but in the neighbourhood of most of their cities there are traces of roads cut through the rocks to shorten distance. This is remarkably the case at Veii, on every side of which you may trace these excavated roads; yet, owing to the extremely soft and friable nature of the tufo, there would, in some instances, be difficulty in determining their antiquity, were it not for a circumstance we shall presently mention. Some of the most remarkable specimens of these excavated roads that occur to our memory, are on the approaches to the before-mentioned village of Bieda. We find them thus described in the journal:—

"On crossing the bridge we entered a road cut deep in the tufo

* The set of these volumes in the library of the British Museum is very incomplete.

rock. Had this been its sole peculiarity it might have been the work of a few centuries, or merely of a few years since; but there was that which stamped it as a genuine Etruscan formation. The wall of rock on either hand was hollowed out for the reception of the dead, not as at Veii, in square or upright niches, which could hold but an urn or vase, but in low-arched recesses of sufficient length to contain a body, with a deep hollow for it to lie in, and a groove round the back of the recess, either for a lid of stone or terra-cotta, or what is not less probable, considering its slope forwards, to carry off the water which might trickle from the face of the rock above—just such recesses, in fact, as are common in the tombs of Sutri. Moreover, there are not wanting in this road instances of sepulchral chambers excavated in the cliffs. And what was not a less decided stamp of Etruscan antiquity, was the water-channel or gutter formed in the tufo on the side of the road, to keep it dry and clean, and free from deposits of mud from the hill above.

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"The duke led the way down the descent. We presently entered a narrow cleft, sunk some twenty or thirty feet in the tufo, with a channel or furrow in the middle, so deep and narrow that our horses could scarcely put one foot before the other, much to their discomfort; so we were obliged to proceed with the greatest care, adhering to the Horatian maxim, *in medio tutissimus*, and restraining all their attempts to rise to the high ground on either side, lest they should crush our legs against the wall of rocks. Thus we continued for a considerable distance, almost down to the bridge. . . . . The duke declared that the bridge puzzled everybody, as none could perceive by what road it had anciently communicated with the town on the hill above—the cleft by which we had descended not being commonly deemed of sufficient antiquity. But to me it was plain as the cliffs that rose around me, that that very cleft had formed the ancient approach to Bieda from this side, for I had observed almost throughout its length traces of the water-channels recessed at the foot of its rocky walls, just above the original level of the road; and it was equally clear to me that the deep and narrow furrow along which we had steered with so much difficulty, had been worn by the feet of beasts through many ages, as from the narrowness of the cleft they had been constrained always to keep in the middle."

Etruscan roads are seldom without these water-channels; but, in some cases, as in the neighbourhood of Veii, where the tufo is too soft to form a durable kennel, pipes of terra cotta, about three inches in diameter, are inserted in it, and may be traced for a considerable distance, giving place to gutters of the other sort, when they meet a tufo sufficiently hard or less friable. Drainage seems to have been a subject of much attention among the Etruscans. It is further proved by the care they took to keep their tombs and other excavated structures

dry and clean, sometimes by means of indented channels along the walls, sometimes by holes or reservoirs sunk in the middle of the chamber. But it is more particularly evidenced by their system of public sewers. We do not remember the site of a single Etruscan city which does not retain traces of these indispensable aids to cleanliness and comfort. Would we could say as much for modern Italian towns.

The Etruscan sewers are mostly high, narrow passages excavated in the rock, opening in the cliff a little below the city walls. Such we see at Toscanella, Bomarzo, Bieda; and passages very similar still exist in the Capitoline hill of Rome, and probably date from the days of the Tarquins, or it may be from those of the ante-Romulan town of Saturnia. Those of the Etruscan town near Bomarzo are shaped somewhat like a sugar-loaf, of seven or eight feet high, and one and a half or two feet wide. In some instances, as at Fiesole and Volterra, the sewer opens in the walls themselves in a square hole of no great size, with a projecting stone beneath; and similar conduits are also found in the walls of some of the Cyclopean cities. There are not wanting instances of vaulted sewers in lower situations, or opening on rivers, as the Cloaca Maxima of Rome, the mouth of which is shown in fig. 3, at page 152. Such is the scarcely known arch on the banks of the Marta, between Corneto and the sea, which seems to mark the site of the ancient Gravisca. The masonry of this arch is more massive than that of any other we remember in Etruria, the blocks of tufo which form its voussoirs being no less than five feet deep, measuring from within the arch outwards, equal to those of the Cloaca Maxima.

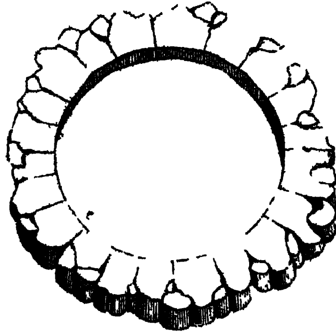
It is now generally agreed that the last-named work is of Etruscan architecture. Livy (i, 56) tells us it was built by Tarquinius Superbus,* and implies that it was the work of Etruscan architects, who were sent for expressly to finish the Temple of Jupiter on the Tarpeian rock. The vast size and massive character of its triple vault (see fig. 4, at page 152) for ages

* Pliny, however (xxxvi, 24), and Dionysius (iii, 200, ed. Sylburg), ascribe the Cloacæ of Rome to Tarquinius Priscus. So does Livy (i, 38), stating that the last-named king formed sewers, leading into the Tiber, to drain the low parts of the city about the Forum, and the other hollows between the hills; but he expressly mentions the Cloaca Maxima as the work of the last Tarquin. Dionysius and Pliny, in the passages cited, seem both to refer to the Cloaca Maxima, for the former mentions it as being large enough for carts to pass through; and the latter, as admitting "a waggon heavily laden with hay." It is a point, however, of little consequence which of these monarchs constructed it—both were of Etruscan

puzzled archæologists, who were at a loss to comprehend how the city, in its infancy, could have needed or produced so stupendous a work; but it is easily explained now that modern researches have shown us that it was the custom of the Etruscans to form an efficient system of drainage through all their cities, a custom which Strabo (v, p. 235, ed. Casaubon) informs us was neglected by the Greeks. The vast size of the Cloaca Maxima, about fourteen feet in height and width, is also in some measure explained by its situation between the hills on which Rome was then built, and by its being intended to receive the entire filth of the city. Perhaps, also, Livy's hint about the Temple of Jove on the Capitoline (i, 38) will apply with equal force to the *Cloacæ* formed at the same time—that Tarquin, in determining its size had a prophetic sense of the future grandeur of the city. The material of which it is constructed forms an additional argument in favour of its antiquity and Etruscan origin, being *tufo*, apparently from the Tarpeian rock, instead of the *peperino*, which came into use among the Romans at a later period. Of the solidity of its construction, Niebuhr remarks, that "earthquakes, the pressure of buildings, the neglect of the last 1,500 years, have not moved a stone from its place; and for ten thousand years to come these vaults will stand uninjured as at this day."

In every direction throughout Etruria we have abundant evidence in gates, bridges, sewers, and tombs, that the arch was well known and extensively used by the Etruscans, ages before it was practised in Greece; and that the Romans, who have long enjoyed the credit of its invention, derived it from the Etruscans, at a very early period of their history, is now set beyond a doubt. There seems no reason, indeed, why we should hesitate to ascribe its invention to the Etruscans. No instances of it occur in any Cyclopean structure in Greece or Italy. The few instances of it in Egypt and Nubia are of very doubtful antiquity. Some approximation to its principle is evinced in the Treasury of Minyas at Orchomenos, and in that of Atreus at Mycene, in which horizontal courses of stone are made, by gradually converging till they meet at the top, to form a rude dome—a far easier invention than the perfect arch. The same structure seems also to have been originally employed in the lower chamber of the Tullianum prison at Rome; it occurs in some of the tombs of Tarquinii in Etruria, and in several of those remarkable and most ancient sepulchres of Sardinia, called Nuraghe. That the Greeks of very early days made use of cuneiform blocks, tending to a common centre, like the voussoirs of an arch, is proved by the Treasuries of Minyas and

Fig. 5.



NTIENT CIRCULAR CHAMBERS IN BEOTIA.

Fig. 6.

ROMAN COLUMBARIUM AT THE VILLA RI FINI.

Fig. 7.

FLESH-HOOK FOUND IN ETRUSCAN TOMBS

Atreus, a horizontal section of which is represented in fig. 5; but that they were aware that the same arrangement would enable a semicircle of this character to stand when raised from the horizontal to a vertical position, has yet to be proved. All the world knows that the invention of the arch was ascribed by Posidonius to Democritus of Abdera, who died 361 B. C., and that Seneca (Epist. 90) denies this, stating that arched gates and bridges must have existed at an earlier period. We can agree, to a certain extent, with both—with the former, by supposing Democritus the first who introduced it into Greece, though this would be a rather earlier date than is commonly assigned to that event—and with the latter, by referring its invention to the Etruscans, who were undoubtedly acquainted with it in the time of the Tarquins, and in all probability discovered its principle long prior to the foundation of Rome.*

We cannot agree with a German antiquary,† who, while ascribing the first use of the arch in Italy to the Etruscans, denies them all the merit of the invention; regarding it indeed as no invention at all, but merely as the further development and necessary consequence of their skill in stone-cutting—a result to which they were driven by the character of their building materials, tufo being too soft to form architraves of a single stone to wide gateways, like the limestone of the Cyclopean masonry. We cannot grant the premises—still less admit the conclusion. Necessity is doubtless in one sense the mother of invention, but to deny merit to those who evince originality is tantamount to declaring the human intellect a mere piece of mechanism, regulated by laws of absolute necessity.

We are now led to consider a class of works of which the Etruscans have left some remarkable specimens, namely, tunnels — *cuniculi* and *emissarii.* The first that occurs to our memory is that of Veii, bored through the mass of rock, vulgarly called Il Ponte Sodo, because it forms a bridge across the stream which washed the walls of the ancient city. Sir William Gell says that "the Crémlia beyond a doubt ran originally round the foot of the ascent from below, but a more direct passage for the water was afterwards cut through the rock immediately below the entrance" to the city. He adds, "It is,

* The earliest arched structure mentioned in history, and still extant, is the Cloaca Maxima, unless the vault of the upper Tullianum prison be really that ascribed by Livy (i, 33) to Ancus Marcius, which is doubtful; and the perfection of the Cloaca compels us to suppose a long previous practice in the construction of arches.

† Abeken: Mittelitalien, p. 154.

however, difficult to conceive why a subterraneous passage should have been made in preference to an open and deep ditch, for it must be confessed that this was the most assailable point of Veii.

The writer of the journal before quoted, referring to this statement, says—

"I could see no traces of the former channel of the stream, and were it, as Sir William supposes, the steep and lofty sides of the hollow through which it now flows would betray some traces of art. The sinking of such a channel would be a most arduous undertaking, and scarcely worth the labour, when the natural bed of the stream, though a little more distant from the city, might have been enlarged and fortified. I am inclined to believe in the natural character of the hollow by which the stream approaches the Ponte Sodo, and to think that there was also a natural channel through the rock, enlarged and shaped into its present form; probably to prevent the river overflowing the fields higher up its course. Be it wholly or only partly artificial, it is still an Etruscan excavation—a tunnel through the rock, nearly one hundred feet long by twenty wide, and nearly as many in height. It may have given to Camillus the idea of the *cuniculus* by which he entered the citadel, if that had not been already suggested by the sewers in the cliffs above him, or by the recently-formed emissary on the Alban Lake. Antiquity-hunters have wasted much time in searching for this mine. To me it seems just as likely to be discovered as the secret of alchemy, or the philosopher's stone. Camillus was surely not so Bœotic as to leave open the way by which he had entered and taken the city, when he was in the midst of a hostile country, and threatened by the powerful force of the Etruscan confederacy."

A far more remarkable work than the Ponte Sodo is the emissary of the Alban Lake. Livy seems to sanction our ascribing to this an Etruscan origin. He tells us (v, 15) that it was suggested by a Veiintine aruspex, who, after foretelling that, till the overflowing waters of the lake were drained off, the gods would not desert Veii, proceeded to declare by what sacred rites a draining should be attended (*quæ solennis derivatio esset*), and adds (v, 17), that to the same Etruscan "the military tribunes committed the superintendence of the Alban prodigy, and the due appeasing of the gods." It is most probable that his duty consisted in something more than the mere religious ceremonies connected with the undertaking—the priesthood in similar states of society has generally been the depositary of scientific secrets. That such works were constructed by the Etruscans the numerous emissaries around the now-drained Lake of Baccano abundantly attest. Niebuhr (i, 132) says that "in the territory of Perugia and in the Suburbicarian Tuscia, there are traces of many such lakes, which are completely dried

up; the tunnels are unknown and never cleared out, but still work." Pliny (iii, 20) testifies that the Etruscans were wont to regulate the course of rivers, that they made *flumina fossasque* to carry the waters of the Po through the low grounds at its mouth. Though the architecture at the mouths of the Alban emissary—the rusticated arch and walls on the shores of the lake, and the conical vault at the opposite extremity—be not inconsistent with an Etruscan origin, we would not lay much stress on this—for it may be of subsequent date to the tunnel. Yet we think the probability is greatly in favour of the supposition that the Roman constructors of this emissary were indebted to the Etruscans for something more than the mere suggestion—that a tunnel more than a mile and a half in length through the solid rock was the result of the skill and science of a nation whose practice in mining, delving, and burrowing, in various ways, was notorious, rather than of a people who were comparatively rude and barbarous.

That the Etruscans were skilled in tunnelling, excavating, and giving form, use, and beauty to shapeless rocks, is impressed on the mind at every step through Etruria. Beside the instances already cited, and their tombs, which are glorious mementoes of their skill in this particular, there is one grand relic of Etruscan art, little more than thirty miles from Rome, and not more than three from the high-road yearly traversed by thousands of Englishmen, but which is visited by so few, that the arrival of a stranger is almost an epoch in the annals of the village;—we refer to the amphitheatre of Sutri, one of the most remarkable of Etruscan remains, unique in its character, and as valuable to the artist as to the antiquary.

It is matter of history that Rome derived her theatrical exhibitions from Etruria. The *ludi scenici* were imported thence in the year of the city 390.* The Roman theatres of that day were temporary structures of wood, the first permanent theatre being that erected by Pompey, A.U. 699, which still exists in Rome. Livy (i, 35) tells us that the Circus Maximus was laid out by Tarquinus Priscus, the Etruscan monarch of Rome, who sent for race-horses and pugilists to Etruria, where such and kindred games must have been common, as they are represented on the walls of many of the tombs recently brought to light, and on numerous sarcophagi, funeral urns, and vases. It is well known that the gladiatorial combats of the Romans had a genuine Etruscan origin. (Nicolaos' Damascenos ap. Athenæus, iv,

* Liv. vii, 2.—Val. Max. ii, iv, 3.—The very name, "*ludi*," marked their origin as being from the Etruscans—the descendants of the *Lydi*, or Lydians. —Tertull. de Spect. ii.

39.) The first Roman amphitheatre was one of wood, erected by C. Curio, who died in the civil wars of Pompey and Cæsar (Plin. N.H., xxxvi, 24); the first permanent building of this description was that of Statilius Taurus, erected in the reign of Augustus; and the Coliseum and the other remarkable amphitheatres extant, at Pola, Verona, Nismes, Arles, Capua, Pompeii, Catania, and elsewhere, were all constructed during this empire. But this of Sutri has every characteristic of an Etruscan origin,* and an antiquity much prior to imperial Rome. As Sutrium fell into the possession of the Romans at an early period, only a few years after the capture of the city by the Gauls (Vell. Pat. i, 14), the question naturally arises, how, if this amphitheatre were then formed, and similar edifices existed in the other cities of Etruria, there were none built at Rome till the time of Cæsar? We know that the Romans had most of the games of the amphitheatre long previously, so we may conclude that, till fashion introduced that description of building, they were content to hold their wild-beast fights and their *naumachiæ* in the Circus, and their gladiatorial combats in the Forum, at the banquet, or at the funeral pyre.

The amphitheatre of Sutri is thus described in the journal before us:—

"Imagine an epitome of the Coliseum, or of any other amphitheatre you please, with *præcinctiones*, *cunei*, and vomitories—the seats in many parts perfect, and the flights of steps particularly sharp and fresh; imagine such an amphitheatre, smaller than any you have seen, not built with masonry, but in its every part hewn out of the solid rock, and most richly coloured; green and grey weather tints, contrasting with the warm red hue of the tufo; the upper edge of the whole not merely fringed with shrubs, but bristling all round with forest trees, which, on one side overshadow it in a dense wood—the classical ilex mingling with the dark cypress—and you have a sylvan theatre of the most picturesque character. Apart from these natural charms, I regarded this amphitheatre with peculiar interest, as being, perhaps, the type of all those magnificent structures raised by imperial Rome—even of the Coliseum itself. To me, it bears satisfactory evidence of its Etruscan origin. To say nothing of its decidedly anti-Roman mode of construction, its architecture—I should say, its carving—is genuinely Etruscan, corresponding in character with that of the neighbouring tombs which are hewn out of the rock. The *podium* which surrounds the arena is moulded with an Etruscan cor-

* It is generally admitted to be Etruscan. Till very recently it was supposed that the amphitheatres of Fiesole, Arezzo, and Volterra were also of Etruscan construction, but further investigation has determined them to belong to Roman times.

nice; and several doors in it, opening into a vaulted corridor, are exactly like those of so many Etruscan tombs—narrower above than below, and with a heavy, overhanging architrave. The arena is an ellipse; in length, according to my measurement, 162 feet, and in breadth, 132. One peculiarity about this amphitheatre is a number of recesses about half-way up the slope of seats. There are twelve in all, at regular intervals; but three of these are vomitories; the rest are alcoves slightly arched over, and containing each a seat of rock, wide enough for two or three persons. They seem to have some reference to the municipal economy of Sutrium, and were, probably, intended for the magnates of the town. I counted four *præcinctiones*. Above the upper one, on the north side of the amphitheatre, where it is overhung by the garden Savorelli, rises a wall of tufo, with slender pilasters carved in relief on its face, and a cornice above, but both so ruined, or concealed by the bushes which clothe the rock, as to make it difficult to perceive their distinctive character. In the same wall, or cliff, are several upright niches, high enough for a man to stand in, but which, being elevated above the level of the *præcinctio*, seem to have been intended to hold the statues of the gods in whose honour the games were held. Such a thing was unknown, I think, in Roman amphitheatres; but I remember something like it in several Spanish bull-rings—a chapel of the Virgin in a similar position, in the very roof of the gallery, before which the matadores kneel on entering the arena to encounter the bull. The sharpness of the steps, in some parts, is surprising; but is explained by the fact of the amphitheatre, only within the last six or seven years, having been cleared of the rubbish which had choked it, and the trees which had covered it for centuries; so that its existence was unknown to Dempster, Gori, and the early writers on Etruscan antiquities. The same fact accounts for the excellent preservation of the vaulted vomitories and the staircases within them. Along these walls, and also in the great entrance-passage, I observed deep grooves cut in the rock to carry off the water which might percolate through the porous tufo; and similar channels are visible in other parts of the amphitheatre, and confirmed my persuasion of its Etruscan origin.

"The exterior of this structure exhibits no 'arches upon arches,' no 'corridors on corridors;' it is in keeping with the simplicity and picturesque character of the interior. Cliffs of red tufo, in all the ruggedness of nature, coloured with white and grey lichens, hung with a drapery of shrubs or ivy, and crowned with a circling diadem of trees, with the never-to-be-forgotten group of ilices and cypresses on the table-land above—Sutri itself at a little distance, on another rocky height, the road running up to its open gate, its church spire shooting high above the mass of buildings—the deep, dark glens around, with their yawning, sepulchral caverns, dashing with a shade of mystery and solemnity the ideas excited by the contemplation of the amphitheatre."

We now come to the consideration of the most numerous, and

in some points most interesting remains of Etruscan architecture—their sepulchres. The universal feeling of all the nations of antiquity seems to have attached great importance to this subject. The pyramids will attest to all time the reverence paid by the Egyptians to their dead. The Greeks, beside their recorded opinions, have left us, both in their own country and numerous colonies, palpable memorials of the value they set on well-furnished and decorated sepulchres; to such a pitch, indeed, were they inclined to carry their extravagance in this particular, that their legislators were at times obliged to control it by what we may call sumptuary laws for the dead. The Romans, actuated by the same spirit, raised still prouder mausolea—in some cases such extravagantly vast piles, as serve their descendants for theatres or fortresses. A similar desire to do honour to the dead existed among the Etruscans, and prompted them—fortunately for us of the nineteenth century—to decorate their tombs with choice works of art, and such a variety of warlike and domestic implements as unveil to us the arcana of Etruscan life, almost as fully as though a second Pompeii had been disinterred in the heart of Etruria—going far to compensate us for the loss of the native annals of the country, of the chronicles of Theophrastus, and the twenty books of its history by the Emperor Claudius.

Our limits will not allow us to enter on the consideration of that exhaustless subject, the interior decorations of Etruscan sepulchres — we must confine our observations chiefly to their external and architectural peculiarities. And first, their situation. With the Greeks and Romans it was a general, with the Etruscans an invariable, custom to bury their dead outside their cities, and not immediately without the walls, or by the side of the highways, as obtained among those people, but generally in a district set apart as a public cemetery, on some neighbouring height, often separated from the city by a wide and deep ravine. Nor did the Etruscans act on the principle of Plato's code, which forbade that land capable of culture should be applied to purposes of interment; for they occupied vast tracts with their sepulchres, heedless of the natural fertility of the soil—witness the immense necropoleis of Vulci and Tarquinii, the former of which yields great wealth in corn to its present proprietors, and the latter, though not naturally so rich a soil, covers a space, as Lanzi tells us, of eight miles by six, an extent greatly exceeding that of the city itself. It seems to have been a matter of indifference to the Etruscans on which side of a city they formed the necropolis; this was determined by the disposition of the ground and the nature of the soil;

where these were favourable we sometimes find the cemetery carried in a girdle round the city. So also we find their tombs facing all points of the compass, though sunny aspects were more generally chosen.

In Etruscan tombs there is a great variety of character; in none is there any resemblance to the Roman, in most respects they differ from the Greek, but they are very similar to the Egyptian. Their varieties are divisible into two grand classes —those excavated in the face of rocks, and those below the surface of the ground. Of the former class we may cite those of Cervetri and Sutri as examples. The latter admits again of three subdivisions—those without any superincumbent monument, as at Vulci, Pomarzo, Volterra, Veii—those covered by architectural tumuli, as at Tarquinii—and those dug at the foot of cliffs which are hewn into sepulchral monuments, as at Castel d'Asso, Norchia, Bieda, and Sovana. In all cases the grand characteristic of Etruscan tombs—the hollowing out of the rock —is alike preserved. There is nothing in all Etruria like the Roman sepulchres, in the eternal city itself, on the Via Appia, or at Pompeii, built up above the surface of the ground, with the exception of the Grotta di Pitagora at Cortona, and the singular half-sunken tombs of Saturnia, which are probably not Etruscan, but Pelasgic. Even the *Conditoria* and *Columbaria*, the underground tombs of the Romans, the latter of which is represented in fig. 6, at page 161,* bear no resemblance to Etruscan tombs: niches, it is true, are occasionally found in the latter, but of a different character, and evidently for a different purpose, the Roman being intended to hold *ollæ* of ashes—the Etruscan, vases or lamps, or sometimes being lengthened out to receive a body.† The Roman sepulchres have rarely those ledges or benches of rock so common in the Etruscan, for the support of sarcophagi; and what paintings they contain are of a totally distinct character from those of Clusium and Tarquinii, the latter being representations of religious symbols, rites, or ceremonies, of national customs, or individual portraiture; the former being arabesques, or mere fanciful adornments, without any discernible relation to the place. In fact, in this as in most other particulars, the Etruscan sepulchres display much closer affinity to the Egyptian than to those of their more im-

* From the 'Dictionary of Antiquities,' published by Taylor and Walton, a work of invaluable assistance to the classical student.

† The few instances of *Columbaria* in Etruscan cemeteries, as at Sutri, Toscanella, and the Mercareccia of Corneto, are decidedly of Roman origin. The niches in the rocks on the north-east of Veii alone have a doubtful claim to be considered Etruscan.

mediate neighbours.* But the grand distinguishing feature between Roman and Etruscan sepulchral architecture, if we may apply the term to excavated structures, is, that while the former is *sui generis*, unlike Roman temples or Roman houses, in the latter there is generally an imitation, more or less obvious, of the abodes of the living. And this is a point of intimate analogy between the tombs of Etruria and of Egypt. On this subject let us refer again to the journal. The writer is speaking of Bieda:

"I had been struck, both at Sutri and Castel d'Asso, with the street-like arrangement of the tombs, and at Norchi with their independent house-like character; but I had been unwilling to consider those features as other than accidental, and had ascribed them to the natural peculiarities of the ground. But here, I felt convinced, they were intentional, and that this assemblage of sepulchres was literally a necropolis—a city of the dead.

"Here were rows of tombs, side by side, sculptured in the cliff, each with its gaping doorway; here they were in terraces, one above the other, united by flights of steps carved out of the rock; here were masses fallen from the cliff, and hewn into tombs, standing out distinct like separate abodes, shaped too into the very forms of houses with sloping roofs, forming an angle at the apex, with overhanging eaves on the gable, and a grand central beam to support the rafters. I am speaking only of the exterior of the tombs. Enter any one of them, and the resemblance is still more striking: the broad beam, carved in relief along the ceiling—the rafters resting on it, also in relief, sloping gently off on either side at the angle still usual in Italian buildings (that angle, be it observed, which, being just sufficient to carry off the rain, is naturally suggested in a climate where snow never lies a day)—the inner chamber in many, with a window on either side of the partition door, all hewn in the same form, narrower above than below—the triclinial arrangement of the rock-hewn benches, as though the dead were still, as represented on their sarcophagi, revelling at a banquet; these things are enough to convince me that in their sepulchres the Etruscans in many respects imitated their habitations."

Viewed in this light, Etruscan tombs have a peculiar interest and value, as conveying an idea of the outward form and internal arrangements and decorations of Etruscan houses, of which, as time has left us no trace, and history no definite description, we must gather what information we may from analogical

* The necropolis of Sovana (*antiquè* Suana), very recently discovered by Mr Ainsley, contains tombs of a more Oriental character than are to be found elsewhere in Etruria. The overhanging cornice nearly allies them to Egyptian and Persepolitan architecture.—*Vide* 'Gentleman's Mag.' Oct. 1843.

sources. It is most probable that the paintings in the tombs show the style, though perhaps not the subjects, of the internal decorations of Etruscan houses. We subjoin another extract, descriptive of the necropolis of Cære:

"I have here to repeat the conviction forced on my mind at Bieda, that the necropoleis of the Etruscans were often intended to represent their cities. Here, in the Bandittacia of Cervetri, we have streets on streets of tombs, hollowed out of cliffs only twelve or fifteen feet high —not piled one on another as at Bieda, but on the same level, running parallel to each other, and sometimes branching off laterally into lanes or alleys. That they are not natural or accidental formations is proved by the cliffs being hewn into smooth upright walls, the corners of the streets rounded off, and the whole surmounted by an ornamental cornice. Nay, we have here spacious squares, like modern piazzas, but surrounded by tombs instead of houses. The most of these tombs, like others at Perugia and Vulci, have many chambers, all opening on one principal one, and all lighted by windows cut in the wall of rock which serves for a partition. This principal chamber doubtless represents the *atrium*, which we know existed in Etruscan houses, whence it was borrowed by the Romans; and it has sometimes a massive pillar left in the centre, which can scarcely be necessary for the support of the roof. I could not find an instance of the *compluvium* of the Etruscans,—the hole in the centre of the roof of the *atrium*, as in the Mercareccia tomb at Corneto, and in some of the tombs of Civita Castellana. The ceilings are here unperforated, with longitudinal and transverse beams as usual, and in one instance the same fan-like ornament in relief, as at Vulci, which we may hence conclude to have been at one time fashionable in Etruscan houses. Walls, too, panelled in relief, and—come, see and believe, ye incredulous!—*easy arm-chairs with footstools attached*, all carved out of the living rock at this 'dead city' of Cære. * * *

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"Then the articles of sepulchral furniture bear out this view; else what mean the innumerable vases, the amphoræ, jugs, goblets, drinking horns, the wine coolers, glass bottles, the plates, cups, saucers, spoons, cauldrons, and the endless variety of table and culinary apparatus in bronze or earthenware; the perfume vases, the mirrors, the strigils, the rings, necklaces, chaplets, and other articles of the toilet; the lamps, the tripods, chafing dishes, and images of household gods; the armour and weapons, the portions of horse trappings and of chariots, the grappling irons or flesh hooks (fig. 7, at page 161), the bronze handles to pieces of furniture, which being of wood, have themselves long since perished? What mean all these as sepulchral furniture, if the belief were not entertained, that departed spirits would in another state have similar necessities to what they had in this; and if the tomb were not intended to be to a great extent the counterpart of the abode of the living?"

This is no fresh discovery. The similarity has been remarked by several writers on Etruscan antiquities. Professor Orioli says that "He who would carry out this analogy would never finish." And, in truth, there are more points of resemblance than those mentioned in the above extract: one tomb at Norchia has a roof cut in the form of a trapezium, rising above the façade like a skylight, and representing the roof to that sort of *cavædium* which Vitruvius (vi, 3) terms *displuviatum*. A tomb at Castel d'Asso has an opening in the floor, with a flight of steps leading to a lower chamber; evidently showing that Etruscan houses were not always single-storied. In many of those cases where the superincumbent cliff is hewn into the form of a house, there are broad projecting ledges of rock, representing the flight of steps leading up to the portal. A tomb at Falerii has a portico of three arches hewn out of the rock, surmounted by a cornice of masonry. Some Etruscan sepulchres, it must be allowed, bear less resemblance to houses than to temples; we may instance the spacious, single-chambered tomb "of the Cardinal" at Corneto, or that with the bas-reliefs on its interior at the same place; but these may have been the burial-places, not of the *profanum vulgus*, but of the most illustrious families, like that of Mecænas, *atavis editus regibus*; or what is yet more probable, of distinguished members of the priesthood. There are not wanting tombs which externally bear the same resemblance to temples; the idea is sometimes carried beyond the tombs themselves. Many of the funeral urns of Chiusi, Volterra, and Perugia are evident representations of temples. There is a sarcophagus in the British Museum, found at Bomarzo, which has a similar character; and in proof that the custom of representing the abodes of the living in the receptacles for the ashes of the dead was not confined to the Etruscans among the early people of Italy, we may cite the curious terra-cotta urns of Albano, which are exact imitations of rude huts formed of boughs and covered with skins. In some Etruscan tombs the resemblance to buildings is not so decided; in those surmounted by tumuli, for instance; but it has been suggested that these may represent altars, or funeral pyres,* and it should be re-

* Annali, 1832. 'Tombeaux Etrusques,' by M. Lenoir. This can hardly be the case when the cones are of vast size, as at Monterone, and the Cucumella at Vulci; or where they contain many tombs, as the Regulini tumulus at Cervetri, and the Poggio Gajella, near Chuisi, which, with its honeycomb of tombs of various forms — with its corridors and its labyrinthian passages cut in the rock—is one of the most singular monuments of Etruria.

membered that the analogy is not always both external and internal, many tombs of this description showing it most clearly in their interior. The same may be said of the numerous tombs below the surface of the ground, which, with the flight of steps down to their doorway, bear an external resemblance to cellars, and within have the usual house-like character. What, then, shall we say of the remarkable well-tombs in the plain of Ferento, described by Orioli, who descended into the shafts, by means of holes which he found niched in the rock* to serve as a ladder, in one instance to a depth of eighty, in another of one hundred and twenty feet; and then found subterranean passages leading to sepulchral chambers? Tombs approachable by similar shafts have also been discovered at Tarquinii, but not at so great a depth below the surface.† In other sepulchres the analogy is confined to the exterior; such are a few at Sutri and Civita Castellana, which are surrounded by recesses, the length of a human body, in several tiers, precisely like the sleeping-berths in a steamer's cabin; and such are a few at Norchia and Castel d'Asso, which contain a double row of coffins sunk in the rock, with a pathway down the middle of the chamber, reminding us of the wards of a hospital.

There are, however, sepulchres in Etruria which bear no resemblance, internal or external, to houses or temples. Such are the circular tombs with a central column, and tiers of benches around, as the Grotto of the Cecinæ at Volterra; the narrow, pointed-arched, passage-like, cone-crowned tombs, of which the Regulini at Cervetri is a good specimen, and the cromlech-like sepulchres of Saturnia.

Several instances of Etruscan tombs with temple-façades hewn out of the rock are extant. Some very interesting specimens have recently been discovered at Sovana, in Tuscany, by Mr Ainsley, who will shortly give to the world illustrations from his own pencil of these and all the other most striking architectural remains of Etruria.

The most remarkable instance of a temple-tomb in all Etruria is at Norchia. We know no description of it in English, and shall, therefore, subjoin one extracted from the same journal:—

"Our anticipations were excited to a lively pitch. Momently, as

* Apud Inghirami, Monumenti Etruschi, iv, 189.

† Illustrations of these may be seen in that most interesting and valuable work, Byre's 'Hypogæi of Tarquinii,' recently published in London, by Mr Frank Howard, the well-known artist.

we followed our guide down these glens, we expected to reach the famed necropolis. The few tombs we did see here and there in the cliffs only served to whet our appetite. At length, where the glen contracts considerably, we turned a corner, and lo! a mighty range of monuments burst upon us. We simultaneously exclaimed—'This beats Castel d'Asso hollow!' There they were—an unbroken row of sepulchres, high up on the face of the cliff which forms the right-hand barrier of the glen, two or three hundred feet above the stream—an amphitheatre of tombs! for the glen here swells out into that form. Nothing in the whole compass of Etruscan necropoleis is half so imposing as this valley. The eye, as it ranges along the line of corniced sepulchres, singles out one of the most remote—one, whose projecting and ornamented pediment gives it, even at this distance, an unique character. We knew that this was the much-talked-of tomb,' and eagerly hastened towards it. In our way we passed huge masses of rock-cornice, split off from the cliffs above, lying low in the valley—some with inscriptions upturned. It was a steep scramble to the tomb. On reaching it I found it to be two tombs, or rather a tomb and a half; for the half of one of the pediments has fallen. The peculiarity consists in this—that whereas all the tombs around are of the usual severely simple style, decidedly approximating to the Egyptian, these are highly ornate, and of a Greek character, yet with features purely national. Instead of the horizontal, bold cornices which surmount the other tombs, here we have Greek pediments and Doric friezes, supported on columns; and, what is to be seen on the exterior of few other Etruscan tombs, the *tympana* are occupied with figures in high relief. The wall of the vestibule is also adorned with bas-reliefs, at least under the remaining half of the broken tomb.

"Our first impression was the modern date of this tomb, compared with those of archaic character around it; and then we were naturally led to speculate on its history. Who had made this his last resting-place? Was it some merchant-prince of Etruria, who had grown wealthy by commerce—or, it might be, by piracy—and who, not content with the simple sepulchres of his forefathers, obtruded among them one on the model of some temple he had seen in his wanderings in Greece or Asia Minor? Was he a hero, renowned in Etruscan annals?—some conqueror of Umbrians or Pelasgians—some successful opposer of that restless, quarrelsome, all grasping state recently arisen on the Seven Hills? There, in each pediment, were figures engaged in combat—some already prostrate—others sinking to their knees, and covering their heads with their shields; one rushing forward, sword in hand—another raising a wounded warrior. All this, however, may have been the ornament of the temple from which these tombs were copied; or it may have had a symbolical meaning. Yet that he had been a warrior seemed to me certain, when I contemplated the relief within the portico; for there were shield, mace, and sword suspended against the wall, as if to intimate that he had

fought his last fight*; and beneath was a funeral procession of figures as large as life. Could he have been a Greek, who, flying from his native land, like Demaratus of Corinth, became great and powerful in this, the home of his adoption; yet, with fond yearnings after his native soil, raised himself a tomb after the fashion of his kindred, that, though separated from them in life, he might, in some sort, be united with them in death? No—he must have been an Etruscan in heart and creed; for in this same procession we see the winged genius of Death, and three other figures in long robes, bearing twisted rods—those mysterious symbols of the Etruscan Hades—conducting the souls of two warriors with funeral pomp, just as in the celebrated Typhon tomb at Corneto, and on various sarcophagi. The surface of this rocky wall is so much worn, that doubt must hang over certain parts of it. It is clear that the ground of the whole has been originally coloured red, and traces of the same are visible here and there about the figures.

"I have spoken of columns. Not that any remain standing; but it is evident that the heavy projecting entablatures have been so supported—that of the entire tomb by four columns, traces of whose capitals and bases are very decided; and that of the broken one, whether by the same number, or by six, is not so distinguishable. In neither case do the columns seem to have been more than plain, square pillars—*antæ*, in fact; the inner ones similar to those at the angles of the *pronaos*. The entablatures, which at first sight seemed Greek, are singular. The pediments terminate on each side in a volute, within which is a gorgon's head, or, at least, a grim, grinning face with prominent teeth; and over two of the three remaining volutes is something which, from below, seems to be a shapeless mass of rock, but which, on close examination, proves to be a lioness—specimens of the *acroteria*, with which the ancients were wont to ornament the façades of their temples."

Here we must pause. We would fain have noticed the relics of the other arts of the Etruscans, but must content ourselves with saying that from them we could have deduced still more abundant proofs of high civilization than are yielded by the architectural and structural remains.

The grand result of researches into Etruscan antiquities has been to demonstrate, that at an early period of the world's history there existed in Italy a nation which had attained a high pitch of civilization and refinement; that Rome, so far from having reclaimed the rest of the peninsula from barbarism, learned, herself, the modes of civilized life, received her chief lessons in art and science, and many of her political, religious, and social institutions, from Etruria, ages before she had direct intercourse with Greece; facts which she was loath to admit, as is seen in the silence or merely incidental acknowledgement

of her historians and poets, who would willingly have referred her refinement to a Hellenic source.

That Rome did not fully acknowledge the debt she owed to Etruria is a fact which may be attributed to several causes. 1. To national hatred. The Etruscans were her hereditary foes. For nearly five centuries after her foundation she was engaged in warfare, almost without intermission, with some one or more of the Etruscan cities. 2. To jealousy. She must have felt Etruria to be the most formidable of the neighbouring nations, and the most capable of crushing her rising power. The Sabines and Samnites were more warlike, but they were scarcely to be dreaded beyond their native mountains; they had not the power which Etruria possessed, through her naval supremacy, of swooping down unexpectedly on any part of the Roman coast. 3. To pride. That sole trait in the character of the early Romans which has descended in undiminished force to their modern representatives, must have been ever galled by the superiority of Etruscan civilization—a superiority which Rome seems to have acknowledged by her silence, and by the exaltation of her own martial prowess in opposition to it; just as the wealthy, illiterate man will affect to despise what he has not, and will set an undue value on what he has.

Again, it is certain that Rome at an early period of her history was under Etruscan domination, whether as it may be mythically set forth in the coming of Lucumo from Tarquinii, or in her capture by Porsenna; and it is but consistent with human nature for so proud a people, on freeing itself from a foreign yoke, to strive to wipe away all remembrance of its disgrace. The distance of Greece from Rome must have obviated the hatred and jealousy which the latter manifested towards Etruria. Though the Greeks, from the days of the Trojan war, were constantly filling the earth with the fame of their warlike deeds, yet as—

> "Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures
> Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta"—

their exploits were too remote to excite the jealousy of Rome, they could only have called forth her sympathetic admiration or generous emulation. And when she was at length brought into actual contact with Greece, it was but to establish the superiority of her own military prowess; so that, in the pride of her resistless arms, she could afford to pay the just tribute of homage to the superior civilization of the vanquished. Greece, proud to see the conqueror of the world sitting at her

feet, flattered her illustrious pupil, who in return paid her the compliment of setting her up as a model, and of ascribing to her the source of all her own refinement.

When we attribute to Etruria a high state of civilization, we wish to be understood as measuring her by the standard of her own day. It was high compared with that of most nations in those early ages, though not the highest to which society even then attained. The treasures of her tombs attest a state of wealth and luxury which can only result from long-established society and extensive commerce. Whoever has visited the Etruscan Museum of the Vatican, or that of the Cavaliere Compana at Rome, will have reason to doubt that in physical refinement—that state, we mean, in which the arts and sciences are made to minister to luxury—the ancient Etruscans were surpassed by the Romans, even in imperial times. In this respect they were inferior to no contemporary nation; and to the Greeks alone in intellectual eminence. In one important test of civilization—the treatment of the female sex—her monuments prove Etruria to have been far in advance of Greece. They attest also her knowledge of practical science and skill in the fine arts; history admits her acquaintance with astronomy, physics and mathematics, with navigation and military tactics; and we have recorded evidence that she possessed a national literature—tragedies, histories, poems, and religious books—to study which the Romans, even as late as the fifth century of the city, sent their sons into the land of their foes,* just as in more modern times the "old Christians" of Spain sent their youth to receive a knightly education at the Moorish courts of Cordova and Granada.

Yet with all this we must admit that in one most important point the Etruscans fell short of true civilization. They wanted political freedom. We cannot concur with Niebuhr in thinking that the public monuments of Etruria still extant prove the existence of a state of political bondage. The great historian of Rome seems to adopt that opinion in conformity with his theory, that the Etruscans were a rude people from the Rhætian Alps, who conquered the Tyrrhene-Pelasgi, the then possessors of Etruria, and reducing them to bondage, compelled them to exercise the arts they were acquainted with for the benefit of their taskmasters. We cannot here discuss the origin of the Etruscan race and the source of their civilization,

* Livy (ix, 36), though he records this on the authority of other historians, seems unwilling to admit it; but it is corroborated, as far as regards the study of the "sacred discipline" of Etruria, by Cicero (de Div. i, 41, a de Leg. ii, 9), and by Valerius Maximus (i, 1, 1).

and state our reasons for dissenting from Niebuhr's theory. We can only say, that though we allow public works on a grand scale to be scarcely compatible (in that age of the world at least, and in small communities) with a flourishing condition of popular liberty, seeming to evince that the state absorbed every individual interest, though we admit that works of extreme magnitude must be the offspring of the all-compelling will of one man or of an united few, that they can rarely be produced in that medium state between tyranny and true freedom, when the people have power enough to resist, and in some measure to control, their rulers, but when their thousand opposing interests are not harmonized and their multitudinous wills brought to find one expression by means of the representative system, we still see nothing in the monuments of Etruria, either as regards their magnitude or their character, which involves the necessity of supposing them the work of enslaved hands, or of attributing them to other than native talent and skill. Our opinion is confirmed by the wide difference existing between the public works of Egypt and Etruria (a difference pointed out by Niebuhr himself): the former vast, ostentatious, useless piles, the known result of slave-labour; the latter, without exception, works of public utility, and such as might be produced in industrious, commercial, and yet warlike communities, of no great extent, and under the influence of even more popular freedom than we know to have existed in Etruria. Look at the temples of Pæstum, Agrigentum, Segeste, and Selinus, for example. That the Etruscans possessed slaves, like all other nations of antiquity, is well known, but that the great body of the people was enthralled, we do not think can be deduced from their public works. It may be learned from other sources.

In external form the government of Etruria bore some resemblance to a federal republic; several states, or cities as representatives of states, each having a distinct individual government uniting in a league of amity and mutual assistance. Such a confederacy, in fact, as existed in early times among the cities of Greece. Yet the internal government of each state was an aristocracy: for the kings we read of occasionally in Roman history seem to have been only the chief magistrates, chosen out of the body of the nobles, like the Doges of Venice. The Lucumones, or nobles, of Etruria appear to have been also priests and military chiefs; and with this triple sceptre of [illegible], religious, and military authority, they ruled the people, to use the words of Micali, "as the soul governs the body." Like the Babylonians, Egyptians, and Hindoos, the Etruscans were subject to an all-dominant hierarchy, which assumed to

be a theocracy, and maintained its sway by its arrogant and exclusive claims of intimate acquaintance with the will of heaven and the decrees of fate. But these ecclesiastical pretensions were not in this case separated from the civil powers, so that it would be difficult to conceive a system more calculated to enslave the minds and bodies of a people than that of the aristocratical augurs and Aruspices of Etruria.

The religion of Etruria in her earliest ages bore some resemblance to that of Egypt, but more to the other systems of the East. In consequence of her subsequent intercourse with Greece it became assimilated in great measure to the mythology of that land; but she held it, not as something apart from all political systems—not as something to be resorted to only in times of doubt, trouble, or peril—not as a set of doctrines which deep-probing philosophy and shallow superstition could hold in common, and each invest with his own peculiar meaning. No—it was with her the all-pervading principle of existence, leavening the whole mass of society, ever present in one form or other, admitting no rival, all-powerful, all-regulating, all-requiring. It wrought one beneficial effect—it bound its adherents in fetters, if not of complete harmony, at least of peace. Those civil contests which were the disgrace of Greece, which impeded her civilization, and ultimately wrought her downfal, seem to have been unknown in Etruria. Yet it was her system of spiritual domination alone that rendered her inferior to Greece. She had the same arts, an equal extent of scientific knowledge, a still wider commerce: in every direction had the Etruscan mind full liberty to expand, save in that wherein lies man's highest delight and glory. Before the gate of that paradise where the human intellect revels unfettered among speculations on its own nature, on its origin, existence, and final destiny—on its relation to its Creator, to other minds, and to society in general—stood the priestly Lucumo, waving in one hand the double-edged sword of secular and ecclesiastical authority, and holding forth in the other the scroll of the doctrines of Tages, exclaiming to his awe-struck victims, "Believe and obey!" Liberty of thought and action were as incompatible with the assumption of infallibility in the governing power in the days of Tarchon and of Tages as in those of Gregory XVI.

In conclusion, we heartily recommend the consideration of Etruscan antiquities to our readers, hoping that more labourers will enter into this vineyard, which has hitherto been too little cultivated. Researches into the antiquities of any race or period are valuable, not intrinsically alone, but for the reflected

light they throw upon the antiquities of other states, and different ages of the world. And all such knowledge amassed is a hoard of wealth to the philosopher and historian. To increase our knowledge of mankind is the grand end of such researches. The mere study of antiquities has a tendency to narrow the mind. Too close an attention to detail imparts a near-sightedness to the understanding. He who is for ever intent on flowers or stones, sees not the glories of nature around him—the fertile plain, the wide ocean, the cloud-capt mountains, the blue canopy of heaven—in which prospect the objects of his interest form but atoms. The mere antiquarian, useful though he be, is but the pioneer, the purveyor to the philosopher; his is but the jackal's office; he is to be accounted no more than the collector of the stones with which the historian rears up his parthenon. Let him, however, who would enter on this field of research keep in mind that as "it is not every man's lot to reach Corinth," as all are not gifted with the ken of a Niebuhr or a Müller, so must each adapt his pursuits to his own capacities—*parvum parva decent*—resting assured that how humble soever be the sphere of his labours he will reap therein an abundant harvest of satisfaction, and experience the truth of the saying, "He who calls departed ages back into being enjoys a bliss like that of creating." G. D.

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ART. VII.—*The Classical Museum.* No. III. W. Parker.

THIS excellent periodical has undertaken the defence of Niebuhr, in reply to our late observations on that writer. The answer also, very properly, proceeds from one of the translators of the third volume, Dr W. Smith, and it requires that we should return to the subject. The question is worth the examination of all students; for it does not appear to us to have been settled.

Dr Smith commences with differing from our views of Niebuhr as an artist. This is a point which to discuss would require much explanation: we will, therefore, leave the difference as it stands. But Dr Smith also "protests, in the name of philosophy," against our criticism on Niebuhr as an historical philosopher.

If the reader will refer to page 388 of the article in our last number, he will see there a passage quoted from the historian, wherein the greatness of Rome is attributed to *fate*, and *destiny;* a few lines onwards Philip's inaction, as well as that

of Mithridates, are pronounced "events in which we cannot but recognize the *finger of God;*" and, finally, Rome is "demonstrated" not to have been "naturally unconquerable," and "demonstrated" not to have been so by the fact that a few warlike nations resisted her, and—were overpowered.

We called this one of the worst general reflections ever made; and we call it so still, in spite of Dr Smith's "protest in the name of philosophy." Dr Smith says, "If there is a God, who regulates and controls the affairs of this world, it is the duty of the philosophical historian to recognize his hand in the events of a nation's life; and it is only a shallow philosophy which would shut out God from the government of a people." Now this strikes us as an utter misconception of the nature and aim of science, which differs from theology in always endeavouring to discover proximate causes and general laws, instead of explaining everything by the introduction of the Deity. Neither Niebuhr nor Dr Smith appear to have seen that the finger of God must be as visible in one event as in another, in the most trivial as in the most important. God rules the world, and *all* the world's events. Dr Smith's argument implies that God only rules particular events, since only in these can his finger be recognized. Is it not obvious, that if *all* events are ordained by the Deity, to say that *some* are so ordained is trivial? As God rules the world, philosophy, when interrogating any particular event, does not content itself with stating the general dogma, but seeks to discover the secondary causes by which the event was produced: seeks *how* and by what *means* it pleased the Deity to control events. God rules the physical world as unquestionably as the moral world. Suppose, then, a chemist, anxious to discover the laws of chemical affinity, were to content himself with declaring that "he recognized in them the finger of God," what opinion should we entertain of his science? in what respect would he be above every other Christian? A comet is certainly an extraordinary appearance, but what does it benefit astronomy to declare that its appearance is the act of the Deity? Dr Smith mistakes, in this, the nature of science. He does not see that Niebuhr's "explanation," so far from being philosophical, is only one which any old woman might have afforded him. God rules the world by laws invariable in their nature; these laws it is the province of the philosopher to discover; and he merits lasting gratitude in proportion as he makes the discovery, or smooths the way for others to discover them.

This is all commonplace enough, but since Dr Smith did not see its force, we were bound to repeat the objection.

Passing on now to his examination of M. Poirson's charges, we must confess that there we meet with a more athletic adversary. His blows are better planted, and we do not come off unbruised. Nevertheless, one of them, which he conceives to be "a hit, a palpable hit," we firmly believe to have been spent on the air. It is this:—Our charge against Niebuhr, of having falsified Livy, is retorted on ourselves: "the Reviewer himself has most unpardonably, we will not say intentionally, falsified Niebuhr. For after perusing the Reviewer's remarks, would not any one presume that the above-cited passages of Livy were quoted by Niebuhr to prove that *the election of the dictator* was in the *hands of the senate*, and *not in those of the consuls*, and that he had purposely omitted the words referring to the consuls, in order to establish the former point? But what will be the astonishment of the reader, when he is told that they are not quoted for anything of the kind?" This is rather startling. M. Poirson accuses Niebuhr of falsification; we repeat the charge; Dr Smith retorts it on both of us. This, at any rate, seems to prove that Niebuhr's clearness is not very great. However, on turning to Niebuhr, vol. i, note 1,254 (Dr Smith's own reference), we find two of the cases of falsification noticed, viz., "Dictatorem dici A. Servilium placet," and "dictatorem dici C. sulpicium placuit," introduced by Niebuhr in these words, and only these: "The following passages *also apply to the election by the senate.*" Dr Smith says that Niebuhr quoted them for nothing of the kind. We prefer Niebuhr's own expression of his intention. Two out of the five cases cited by us being thus distinctly and indisputably meant, as we said they were, to prove the election of the dictator by the senate without the consuls, let us now examine the other three.

It will be remembered that the question was not as to whether Niebuhr was right in his opinion, but whether Livy's testimony was fairly cited. The three remaining passages are in a note to Niebuhr's declaration, that "still oftener throughout the first decade of Livy do we read of a decree of the senate, whereby a dictator was appointed without any notice of the great council of the patricians." Upon this Dr Smith remarks: "Niebuhr omits the words referring to the *dictio* of the consuls, simply because they have nothing to do with the point he is endeavouring to prove, whether this *dictio* was a simple *proclamation*, as Niebuhr maintains, or an absolute *appointment*, as the Reviewer believes, was not the question which Niebuhr was then discussing."

Here Dr Smith follows Niebuhr in assuming that the cre-

ation of the *office*, and nomination of the *person*, were the same. But this is the point at issue. Niebuhr says, that the senate "elected" Rufinus dictator; Livy says, they did so *ab consulibus*, and these words Niebuhr omits. Niebuhr may be right, but we can hardly be accused of having falsified him, when we said that he wished to prove, by Livy, that "the election of dictator was in the hands of the senate, and not in those of the consuls," which Dr Smith declares he did not wish to prove.

While thus defending ourselves on the above point, let us candidly admit that Dr Smith has convicted M. Poirson of a decided case of falsification from *Pliny*, and consequently we, who repeated M. Poirson's statement (page 343), must bear a portion of the blame. We will not endeavour to excuse it. We ought not to have trusted to any one, in such a case. We admit, also, that *mandatum*, inasmuch as it applies to the "command of a superior to an inferior, may therefore be applied to the "command of the senate or *populus*."

Quitting here the controversy, let us now say a word upon the present number of the 'Classical Museum,' which shows decided progress; a progress we are delighted to acknowledge, in spite of our differences. The first article, by Mr Dyer, on the chorus of the "Eumenides," is elaborate and erudite; but it has the very common fault of the writings of scholars — want of distinctness in exposition. The author does not "construct" his essay with a view to beginning, middle, and end. So indistinct is it that we read it once without feeling at the end quite certain which opinion the author had decided on. With this exception, the essay is valuable. We will only observe, that when Mr Dyer says—"it is notorious that only three Furies were recognized in the ordinary mythology of Athens," he appears to us hasty. Their number is generally considered to have been indeterminate, even as late as Æschylus, which is the most important point in the argument. Mr Dyer will remember that Virgil, who was learned in these matters, has a strong passage in the sixth book of the Æneid, in which he speaks of the troops of furies—"vocat *agmina* sæva sororum" (v. 572). And that the passage apparently the most explicit of Æschylus: εγειρ' εγειρε και συ τηνδ' εγω δε σε—"arouse our sister there, as I awaken thee," does not *necessarily* imply that there were only three; it may mean that the three principal furies, Alecto, Megæra, and Tisiphone, were sleeping *in front*, and that the command only referred to them.

The second article is a continuation of Mr Ainsworth's 'Memoir illustrative of the Geography of the Anabasis of Xenophon.' This is followed by Mr Whalley's 'Excursions

from Rome.' Mr Blackie treats of the 'Rhythmical Declamation of the Ancients,' with more acuteness than any previous writer with whom we are acquainted. It is, however, still a *vexata quæstio*. Mr Blackie has evidently brought the result of a long study to bear upon the subject; and many of his illustrations are very apposite. The whole essay is well worthy the attention of the scholar. The remarks on the pronunciation of Latin ought to be placed before all teachers. Heinrich's 'Juvenal' is ably reviewed by Mr Long. "It is not," he remarks, "a mass of matter, good and bad, heaped together indiscriminately, like Ruperti's 'Commentary,' which will explain an author; nor is a great parade of authorities a proof of learning, much less of sense. With the ample means now at our command for the illustration of ancient writers, there is some risk of the subsidiary being viewed as more important than the principal, and of the author being considered less than the commentary." Oh that commentators would think with Mr Long!

Mr G. C. Lewis has assembled a curious collection of the various meanings of the words "civilization," "civilis," "civile," "civiltà," "civil," in order to elicit the true meaning of our word, "civilization." Mr R. H. Horne has some pithy "Remarks on Translators," in which he justly reprobates the substitution of the translator's mind for that of his original. The essay is very sober, sensible, and well-timed. The gist of it lies in this passage:—

"Let us know what the writer *did* say, in his own words, as closely as they can be rendered by equivalents, and not what you think he *meant* to say. If you do not consider his meaning clear enough, another may find it quite clear; and if the original be really obscure, that is not your fault. Do not venture on a remedy which would open the door for future licence, and destroy our confidence. We want to know, as nearly as we can, through the medium of another language, what that man *said*, not what you can *make*, of his words."

It is, indeed, very desirable that the system Mr Horne criticises should be completely exposed; not only, as he has done here, by general argument, but also by numerous illustrations. We will venture to add a specimen, and a glaring one. Catullus, in his description of his little galley, betrays his scepticism by rather sarcastically referring to his bark having escaped the perils of the seas, although never placed under the protection of the Gods:

"Neque ulla vota litoralibus Diis
Sibi esse facta, cùm veniret à mare
Novissimo hunc ad usque limpidum lacum."

This is quite in conformity with the reigning infidelity; but M. Noel, a French translator who piques himself on his fidelity, quite forgetting this passage, translates the following from the same poem:—

> "Ubi iste, post phaselus, antea fuit
> Comata sylva: nam Cytorio in jugo
> Loquente sæpe sibilum edidit comâ,"

in this "improved style,"—"ou jadis il s'enorgueillait de son feuillage, ou ses rameaux prophétiques ont murmuré des oracles." Thus the rustling of the leaves is converted into the prophetic murmur of oracles, and a religious sentiment thrown into the very poem which contains a sneer at the Gods!

G. H. L.

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Art. VIII.—*The Highlands of Æthiopia.* By Major W. Cornwallis Harris. 3 vols. 8vo. Longman and Co.

MAJOR HARRIS'S book, although ushered into notice by newspaper panegyrics, will greatly disappoint the expectations of the public. Its title is a misnomer. The work is called '*The Highlands of Æthiopia* DESCRIBED, *during Eighteen Months' Residence* of a British Embassy at the Christian Court of Shoa.' Having no intention to be hypercritical, we will not quarrel with the exclusive appropriation of the name of "Æthiopia" to *Abyssinia*, nor with the author's giving the designation of "highlands" to what is in reality a high *land* or elevated plateau; but neither "Æthiopia"—that is to say, Abyssinia—nor the "eighteen months' residence," is "described." The first volume is almost exclusively devoted to a description of the *low* lands of the Danákil or Adaiel; its close only bringing "the Embassy" up the talus of the table-land—styled by Major Harris the "Abyssinian Alps"—to near Ankober. The second volume, which includes the description of a slaving expedition among the Galla, in which the Embassy took part, and an excursion along the north-western frontier of Efát, may properly be said to give the account (such as it is) of the proceedings of the mission; and of this upwards of seventy pages are devoted to episodical romances, entitled 'Medoko the Rebel,' 'Mohammad Graan,' and the 'Necromancer;' whilst the third volume is principally filled with treatises on

the 'House of Solomon,' the 'Lineage of Shoa,' the 'River Gochob,' the 'unexplored countries to the south,' &c., &c.

All this is little in accordance with the title of the work. We look in vain for some account, geographical, historical, or otherwise, of Abyssinia. We have, it is true, the "*religious* history of Æthiopia;" but this is an oft-told tale, and not what we seek. Abyssinia was, some thirty years previous to Major Harris's mission, visited and described by another British "Ambassador," Mr Salt, and we certainly had a right to expect the history of the country to be taken up where that gentleman left it, or to be told the principal changes that have occurred in the interval which has since elapsed, so that we might have been enabled to connect the two missions in our minds, and to understand what bearing (if any) the one has upon the other. So far from this being the case, not a single allusion is made to Mr Salt's mission, and we believe his name is not once mentioned by Major Harris. His work is an account—and a very confused and unintelligible account too —of that portion of Abyssinia which Mr Salt describes as the "southern provinces of Shoa and Efât, which form an independent state."

The title given by the author to his work, 'The Highlands of Æthiopia,' is about as correct as if one were to spend eighteen months at Boulogne, and after an excursion or two into the adjacent parts of Normandy, to come home and write three volumes with the sonorous title of 'The Plains of Gallia.' The author perhaps wishes us to fancy that he never condescended to look into Mr Salt's work; we are very much mistaken, however, if he did not, although but to little good purpose, for his deficiency in a knowledge of the political affairs of Abyssinia is sufficiently evinced by his speaking (vol. ii, p. 301) of "Oubié, the *late* Nero-like Dedjasmach of Tigré." Surely, if Major Harris knows Oubié so well as to be able to compare him to Nero, he ought to know that he is *still* alive and ruler of Tigré.

The *classical* spelling of the name Æthiopia in the title page and throughout the work must, we dare say, have struck the reader. The first page is graced with four Greek verses from Homer; but we are not aware that the author, whatever may be his other acquirements (and we have no doubt he has many), would wish, from the extent of his classical researches, to be considered an authority among scholars, and yet if not, how comes it that when all our native classics, all our travellers, write *Ethiopia*—Major Harris alone should spell the word '*Æthiopia*?' Is it affectation, or what is it? We think we

possess a clue to the mystery; but we cannot unravel it until some other matters have been elucidated.

As to the "eighteen months' residence" in *Shoa*, we are kept just as much in the dark as we are about Abyssinia. *Dates* there are next to none: there is no journal; nothing like a connected narrative of events. How, when, and why the Mission quitted the country; whether it was recalled; whether it parted from the King of Shoa in friendship or in enmity;—of all these subjects not a word is said, not a hint given. What the results of the Mission are, what good or evil is likely to accrue from it, no one from reading the work before us can form the slightest conception. It is true that, in the last pages of the second volume, we are tantalized with a vague reference to a "commercial convention betwixt Great Britain and Shoa," and to certain "evils" which the king of the latter country agreed to "annul for the good of *his* people;" but we are kept altogether in the dark as to what was done "for the good of the people *of England and India*," who will be called on to pay the outfit and expenses of this costly mission, together with the "many thousand star-dollars of the reign of Maria Theresa" which it took up with it from Aden.

The author tells us, in his Introduction, that, "as a public servant, the freedom of his pen has now, in some measure, been curtailed;" but we humbly conceive we might have had, even from a public servant, a more orderly and satisfactory detail of *events*, if nothing more. When the papers relative to the British Mission to Shoa are laid before Parliament, as they will be forthwith, the particulars of the "Convention" will be made public; so that, on this head, we shall not long remain in ignorance. Still, as the British public is naturally unacquainted with almost everything relating to this out-of-the-way country of our new ally, we looked to be supplied with such preliminary information, at least, as would have enabled us to commence the discussion with some previous knowledge of the subject. Notwithstanding the evident attempts of the author to impress us with the idea that his mission has been pre-eminently successful, in spite too of the endeavours of friendly pens to laud him to the skies, there is a very strong impression, both at home and abroad, that "the British Embassy to Shoa," has been a complete failure.* We have given ourselves more than ordinary trouble to ascertain *facts* as they

* "Cairo, May 22.—The latest intelligence from Abyssinia confirms the report of the failure of the English Mission sent to Shoa for the purpose of concluding a commercial treaty. Notwithstanding the valuable presents

really are, and we have come to the decided conclusion that the Mission is a complete *coup manqué;* and not merely so, but that it has actually injured instead of benefiting the position of Great Britain with regard to Abyssinia.

From the work itself, we repeat, we can gain little information. So mixed is fiction with truth, romance with reality, that we know not where the one ceases and the other begins. So stilted, bombastic, and meretricious is the style, that the simplest matter of fact becomes distorted so as to be no longer recognizable; and the want of knowledge displayed by the author on common and well-known subjects is sometimes so great as to destroy all confidence in his powers of observation and judgment.

We meet with an instance in the very first pages of the first volume:—

"During a full week there seemed no termination to the influx of bags containing dates, rice, and juwarree, and scarcely a shorter period was occupied in the selection from the Government treasury of many thousand star-dollars of the reign of Maria Theresa, *displaying, each in its turn, all the multifarious marks and tokens most esteemed by the capricious savage:*"—(p. 8.)

whilst in page 62 these "*star* (?) dollars" are styled "*Virgin Mary* German crowns of Maria Theresa, 1780." Now these "*multifarious* marks and tokens" consist of THREE only, well known to all travellers in Abyssinia, and described by several of them in their published works. These *three* distinguishing marks *have always remained the same* throughout all Abyssinia since the time of the introduction into that country of the Maria Theresa dollars; and therefore there is nothing "capricious" in the matter. Neither is the preference of one particular coinage of foreign money anything peculiar to the "savage;" since even in *civilized* Europe the "*pillar*" dollar (*colonnato*) of Spain is taken in many cases in exclusion of those of equal value, but without that emblem. And what, in the name of all that is incomprehensible, are "*Virgin Mary* German crowns?" Did the author ever examine one of these "Virgin Mary" crowns? Did he ever take one in his hand? That the ignorant Abyssinian should imagine the effigy of the Empress *Maria* to be the Holy Virgin is not at all unlikely or unnatural; but that a civilized European should deliberately adopt such a childish absurdity

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offered to the princes, and accepted by them, the negotiations did not terminate in any favourable result. The Abyssinian princes are afraid to hold any intercourse either with France or England."—*Times*, June 28, 1843.

almost passes belief. It may be objected that the question about "German crowns" is of little moment. In itself we admit it may be; but *ex pede Herculem.* If the author, from whatever cause, commits such blunders on so trifling a matter, at the very threshold of his work, and where the means of knowing better were as much within his reach, as within our own for the exposure of his blunders, we cannot be expected to place much dependence on his statements of grave and important matters, more removed from our ken, and where the means of checking them are not so easily to be obtained.

A few pages further on we have another example:—

"An interesting trait in the children of nature was witnessed on the occasion of the slaughter of the rank buck goat presented to the Embassy by Loheïta ibn Ibrahim. No sooner had the razor-like creese been drawn across the throat, with the concomitant ejaculation, '*Bismillâhi rahmâni, rahim,*—in the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful,'—than a savage threw himself upon the expiring animal; and having, vampire-like, quaffed as much of the hot flowing blood as he could obtain, besmeared his greasy features with the residue, and wiped them on the still quivering carcass. No tiger could have acted in more ferocious guise, or displayed a greater relish for the tide of life."—Vol. i, p. 155.

Now this *blood-drinking* "savage" is one of the "Dankáli nation"—"rude barbarians saturated with Moslem intolerance as with mutton fat"—elsewhere described by the author as

"Bigoted Mohammedans, punctual to the call of the Muezzin, praying three times in excess of the exactions of the Prophet, often passing the entire night in the mosque, or sitting in council at its threshold; sedulously attentive to the outward forms of their creed, though few have sufficient energy to undertake a pilgrimage to the Kaaba, and content, like other hypocrites, with a rigid observance of externals."—Vol. i, p. 56.

What are we to think of the whole incident as related when, thanks to such works as Lane's 'Modern Egyptians,' the veriest tyro knows that the invocation of the Deity, so formally recorded by the author, is never used by Mohammedans at the slaughtering of animals. Mr Lane expressly says—

"It is forbidden to employ, in this case, the phrase so often made use of on other occasions, 'In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful!' because the mention of the most benevolent epithets of the Deity on such an occasion, would seem like a mockery of the sufferings which the animal is about to endure."—Vol. i, p. 113.

As to the drinking of blood by Mohammedans, we know that it is absolutely forbidden them by their law, as it was to the

Israelites by the Law of Moses. "*Ye shall eat no manner of blood:* . . . . Whatsoever soul it be that eateth any manner of blood, even that soul shall be cut off from his people."—*Levit.* vii, 26, 27.—"Ye are forbidden (to eat) that which dieth of itself, *and blood*, and swine's flesh, and that on which the name of any beside God hath been invoked."—*Koran*, ch. v, v. 4. See Lane, vol. i, p. 113.

In the next page but one we are told of another of these Mohammedan Danákil, who is not only a "destroyer and devourer of filthy hyenas," but a "*veritable* cannibal." We cannot afford to lose a word of the description given of this individual.

"Amongst other Mudaïto visitors, there came one of the Galeyla, an outcast from his clan, who bore amongst his fellows the reputation of being a *veritable* cannibal. This villain became at once the cynosure of every eye, and stood confessed the vilest of the vile. A coil of putrid entrails which encircled his neck had been distended with mutton fat into the figure of monstrous sausages; and the shaggy mane of a filthy hyena, that he had destroyed and devoured the preceding day, being twined in a becoming wreath around his dark brow, mingled wildly with his dishevelled locks. Under the gaze of so great a crowd, his calm repose was calculated to elicit the highest admiration; and fully sensible of his own merit, the man-eater endured the scrutiny of the curious populace with an air of conscious dignity, which was scarcely disturbed when the temerity of the more juvenile spectators called imperatively for the interference of his heavy mace."—Vol. i, p. 157.

This man-eater, it is to be understood, was a *Mudaïto*, the tribes of that name occupying "the entire plain of Aussa" (p. 182), which town—

"Is still the abode of all the Uleemas, Aukál, and learned doctors, for whom the Mudaïto have ever been renowned;" (p. 183.)

therefore, *one of an instructed Mohammedan people!* We should be unwilling to conceive the idea that the author, as a British officer and a gentleman, however he may like to embellish, or even to avail himself to the full extent of the "traveller's licence," could intentionally give utterance to anything untrue as regards sheer matter of fact. He conscientiously *believed* this Mohammedan Mudaïto to be a man-eater, or he would not have said so. Consequently we can only come to the conclusion that he must have been imposed upon—grievously imposed upon by some wag among the "savages" as to the cannibalism of this individual, or else he must have been led into error by some misconception arising from his ignorance of the languages spoken by the people.

We will, in our turn, relate an occurrence, which we have on the authority of one of Major Harris's party on the journey down from Shoa. One day a Dankali was met, who had a portion of the skin of a hyena—the mane or tail—twisted round his head, and whom the native escort pointed out as "a bad man," —as "no true believer." On being asked the reason, they replied, "he has on his head the skin of a wild beast—an unclean animal, *one that eats men.*" Now, supposing some grossly ignorant and easily gullible person were to be told this story, and that he should understand and relate it as the negro preacher did the miracle of the prophet Jonah—" Now, breren, you know a man, call um Jonah; *he swallow um whale:*"—singularly enough it would be *transmogrified* into a tale as like that of the author, as 'one pea is like another.' But remarkable as the coincidence may be, we can scarcely suppose that there exists the remotest connexion between the two occurrences, since "the Embassy" met the man who eats hyenas and men on its journey *up* to Shoa in June, 1841, whilst our informant saw the skin of the hyena that eats men on the way *down* in February, 1843.

When we assert (as we have just done) the author's ignorance of Arabic, Dankali, and Amharic, the languages spoken among the people visited by him, we do so quite advisedly; and we may add that, in spite of his long stay among them, he is likewise lamentably deficient in an acquaintance with their manners and customs. His work teems with proofs of both. "Mirsa good Ali" (vol. i, p. 45), is translated "the source of the sea:" it means "the cove of Hood Ali,"—or "Good Ali," as it is called in p. 99,—a small islet in the *Goobut el Kharab*, or inner bay of Tajura; which *Hood Ali* we find, on reference to Mr Isenberg's *Dankali Vocabulary*, may be translated "the low mountain."

Describing the entrance to this inner bay, the author says:—

"Barely three quarters of a mile across, this passage is divided by a barren rocky islet styled 'Bab,' 'the door,' as occupying the gateway to the inner bay of Goobut el Kharab, 'the basin of foulness.'"—Vol. i, p. 43.

It is the *passage* itself, and not the island, which is the "bab,' *entrance* or *straits;* in the same way as in the *Bab*-el-mandeb close by; whilst "Goobut el Kharáb" means "the bay (basin, if you will) of *ruin* or *desolation*" (خراب *kharáb*, see Richardson's 'Persian and Arabic Dictionary'), than which, from the character of the surrounding country, no name could be more appropriate.

In page 20, the author talks of "the spouse of the bigoted

*Islâm*" of Aden. "Islám" is the designation of the Mohammedan *faith*, its *professor* being a "Moslem." And this error is the more inexcusable in the author, since the *classic* expression of the school of florid writing to which he belongs is "the bigoted Moslem," as every novel-reading young lady can vouch for.

"The gadfly attacks the flocks [of Aussa] from the setting-in of the rainy season until the termination of the fast of Ramzan, when the waters have again subsided."—Vol. i, p. 181.

So the author has been upwards of twenty years in the service of the East India Company, and does not know that the Mohammedan month of Ramadhan moves all round the solar year, being sometimes after, sometimes before, and sometimes during, the rainy season!

Even in the most trifling particulars of the Arabic language, we have proofs of want of knowledge. In p. 239, we have "'Tis of no consequence, *maphish*, no importance whatever;" *maphish* is an out-of-the-way-looking word which certainly has a good-looking effect in the middle of the phrase, but would never have come there if the author had been aware of its meaning; and yet we are much mistaken if ما في شي *ma fi shey*, contracted into *ma-fish*, is not the very first phrase that every European not previously instructed in the Arabic, picks up on his arrival in a country where that language is spoken, since it affords the readiest answer to the swarms of beggars by whom he is surrounded, asking for money: *ma-fish*, "there is none."

Of the Amharic, we do not profess to be scholars, but we know those who are; and besides, it requires no great acquaintance with the language to discover that the author has *none*. In vol. i, p. 383, "*amole alliche bir*" is translated "salt to sell for silver," which we are told is the cry of the Christian women who "flit through the busy fair with eggs and poultry, *and other produce of the farm*." The custom of the country is, for the possessor of any article which he or she wishes to sell, to go *through the town or village*—at market or fair there is no occasion to do so — and to seek a purchaser by proclaiming what it is, at the same time stating what article is wanted in exchange. "I have," or (quite literally, like the Arabic *fi*, of which *ma-fish* is the negative) "*here are* fowls—grain;" *i. e.* I want grain. "Here are *amole*—dollars." This is the proper translation. "*Egzia behere maskin*"—*three* words (vol. i, p. 385), should be *Egziabher emásgin*, "The Lord be praised." See Isenberg's *Amharic Dictionary*. In this phrase we have one of

many proofs of what will form the subject of a graver charge against the author. At present we will merely say that if he had been led merely by *his own* ear, he would not have inserted the syllable *ab* of *Egziabher*, which is never heard in speaking, the word being pronounced *Egzihér*. Of this, indeed, the author himself affords an example, in vol. ii, p. 26, where he gives "*Egzia isto*," "may the Lord reward thee," as the form of thanks returned by the Negoos (king) to a subject on the receipt of a gift. But even here there is an error: it should be "Egzi*hér* isti*kh*." At the end of the third volume we have a highly-wrought tale of the death of "Etagainya," the wife of "the Master of the Horse," of whom we are told (p. 370) "the neighbours were wont to say *that which her name implies*, 'Where shall you find her equal?'" Where shall we find *the author's* equal? The fact really is, that among the Abyssinians there are two names of very common occurrence, *Wándam-agáñhue*, "I have got a brother," and *Het-agáñhue*, "I have got a sister;" of a character corresponding very closely with that of the name given by Leah to her first-born,—*Reu-ben*, "behold a son." "I have got a sister," is therefore the lady's name, which the author has first mutilated into "Etagainya," and then *translated* after his own peculiar fashion.

We are fearful of having already trespassed too much on our readers' patience in citing these *few* examples from a list of errors, the whole of which would fill our pages, and we will therefore add but one instance more. In vol. ii, p. 301, we are told of the "evil eye of the *Boudak*," which is *translated* at foot, "the blacksmith." This is the "Buda" of every one else who has hitherto written on Abyssinia; the terminational *k* being added for no earthly purpose that we can perceive, but that it may be incorrect. Should our readers wish to peruse a curious account of the witchcraft believed in Abyssinia to be practised by this class of persons, we can refer them to '*A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce*,' vol. i, pp. 287—289, and vol. ii, pp. 239—242. The meaning of the word "Buda" is "sorcerer" or "witch," not "blacksmith."—See Isenberg's *Amh. Dict.*

Before proceeding to graver matter, we will briefly give a few specimens of the author's style, that the reader may form a perfect idea of the character of the work.

One of the chiefs of the Danákil is thus described:—

"Lucifer, when gazing forth upon the newly created Paradise, and plotting the downfal of the sinless inmates of the Garden of Eden, *looked not half so fiend-like as Mohammad Ali*, whilst, trembling with

jealousy and rage, he demanded the reason of [his] having been so insultingly omitted in the distribution of valuables."—Vol. i, p. 49.

The following is from a description of the salt lake, Assal:—

"No sound broke on the ear; not a ripple played upon the water; the molten surface of the lake, like burnished steel, lay unruffled by a breeze; the fierce sky was without a cloud, and the angry sun, like a ball of metal at a white heat, rode triumphant in a full blaze of noontide refulgence, which in sickening glare was darted back on the straining vision of the fainting wayfarer, by the hot sulphury mountains that encircled the still, hollow basin."—Vol. i, p. 100.

Surely A. K. Newman and Co., and not the staid firm of Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, should have been the publishers of the three volumes before us.

On the way up to this lake, saith the author, were—

"Blocks and boulders varying in size from an eighteen-pound shot to *that of Ossa piled upon Pelion.*"—Vol. i, p. 92.

manifestly a plagiarism of the American phrase "from July to eternity."

One more extract, and we have done:—

"Around, the prospect was wild, gloomy, and unearthly, beetling basaltic cones and jagged slabs of shattered larva—the children of some mighty trouble—forming scenery the most shadowy and extravagant. A chaos of ruined churches and cathedrals, *eedgahs*, towers, monuments, and minarets, like the ruins of a demolished world, appeared to have been confusedly tossed together by the same volcanic throes, that when the earth was in labour, had produced the phenomenon below; and they shot their dilapidated spires into the molten vault of heaven, in a fantastic medley, which, under so uncertain a light, bewildered and perplexed the heated brain."—Vol. i, p. 115.

On first reading this passage, we thought that the "la*r*va" talked of was an error of the press, or more probably an instance of that vulgar introduction of the *r* to lengthen the vowel sound, of which there are more than one in the work; but on reconsidering it, we are led to the conclusion that the author really means the "larva"—not of *earth-beetles*, but — of "unearthly beetling basaltic cones," which, had they, when "the earth was in labour," been duly hatched, would have become regular "cones," like the rest; but having been "shattered" in the "throes," the poor "larva—the childrenof some mighty trouble"—remained only "jagged slabs." The originality of the figure no one will dispute with the author.

But enough of this. Let us turn to more serious matter.

Whilst mentioning the words "*Æthiopia*" and "Egziabher emas*k*in," we said we had to give an explanation, and bring a charge. We proceed to do both. These two points are connected with the question of how far the author is indebted to *others* for the information contained in his work without acknowledging the obligation. In his Introduction (p. xi) he, apparently with great candour and ingenuousness, records that, "to the Rev. Dr Krapf, the thanks of Government have already been conveyed, *for the valuable co-operation derived from his extended acquaintance with the languages of Abyssinia;*" adding, "but the author gladly avails himself of this opportunity publicly to record *his personal sense of obligation* to the active and pious missionary of the Church of England." "His personal sense of obligation!" For what? Why, of course (would every one say), for the "co-operation" for which Mr Krapf had already been thanked by Government. No one would, from this brief acknowledgment, be led to form the least conception of the very great assistance rendered by Mr Krapf, not merely to "the Embassy," but to the author of 'The Highlands of Æthiopia.' And yet a very considerable portion—the far greater part indeed—of all that is of any value in the work, was obtained from Mr Krapf; wrapped up and concealed—smothered, we should rather say—in the verbiage of the author. The dry matter-of-fact details of the worthy missionary, who gave up not only his time and labour, but his whole heart and soul to the Embassy and its members, the author especially, will still from time to time peep out; and however misconceived, distorted, and spoiled by ignorance and fine writing, they are, in many cases, still to be identified by an ear-mark quite *unconsciously* put upon his property by the real owner!

Mr Krapf is a native of Southern Germany (of Wirtemberg, we believe), and, like many of his countrymen,—another traveller in Abyssinia, Dr Rüppell, is a remarkable instance—from some defect both of mouth and ear, he cannot correctly distinguish between the hard and soft sounds of consonants—between *b* and *p*, *d* and *t*, *j* and *ch* (DS*h* and TS*h*), *k* and *g*. Hence mistakes in pronunciation and spelling, which no *Englishman* ever commits;* and hence, likewise, whenever we find in the work before us instances of such errors, we have conclusive proof that the substantial raw material was

* The vulgar mistakes of *English* pronunciation—which are not participated in by Germans—are the wrong insertion or omission of the aspirate, the confounding of the *v* and *w*, and the introducing an *r* where it has no business; as in "Maria*r*," "Sophia*r*," and in the author's "Gu*r*guddee" for the "Gagade," of Isenberg and Krapf's *Journals*, &c.

supplied by the German missionary, whatever may be the flimsy texture into which it has been manufactured by the British ambassador.

Mr Krapf, although intimately acquainted with the English language, is yet a foreigner; and trifling idiomatic errors will still occasionally be made by him. Whenever such occur in the work, they not less surely point to their source. It would be too severe a task to go through the whole three volumes to hunt up every instance: a few examples, taken at random, as they prominently stand forth, will suffice. The expression, "the *strong* monk," as applied to Unquies, the Bishop of Shoa (vol. ii, p. 20), and which occurs frequently thoughout the work, is the German "der *strenge* Mönch," Mr Krapf being led into so natural an error by the resemblance of the two adjectives, "streng" and "strong." It should be "the *strict* monk"—"the ascetic." The commencement of the monarch's speech (vol ii, p. 28), "You may listen," is evidently "Ihr möget hörchen," literally translated. The corresponding English would be "Listen, I pray." The "De*ch* Agafari" in the story of "Medoko the Rebel" (iii, p. 143), and elsewhere, should be "De*j* Agafari;" the "Gumbi*d*chu" Gallas (iii, 45) are "Gumbi*t*chu;" the Abi*d*chu (iii, 45) are Abi*t*chu; the *Ch*arsa (iii, 38) are *J*arso. "The river Goc*h*ob" (iii, 337) is the Go*j*ob; or, as Dr Beke writes it, "Gódjeb (we have something to say about this river by-and-bye);" *D*umbaro (iii, 61) is *T*ambaro or Tzambaro; "Egziabher emas*k*in" (i, 385) is "Egziabher emasgin," &c. &c. And not to continue further a tedious list of expressions taken by the author 'from the German,' we will merely add, that even his un-English "*Æ*thiopia" is manifestly derived from the same source; for though we may look in vain for such a spelling of the name in our English Bible, in our English classics, or in the works of our English travellers, we need only turn to the first *German* work to satisfy ourselves that, amongst German scholars and travellers, "*Æ*thiopien" is the way they generally write "Ethiopia!"

From the journal of Mr Assistant-Surgeon Kirk, a member of the British Mission, published in the 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol xii, pp. 221—238; from that of the Rev. Mr Krapf, recently published by the Church Missionary Society in an interesting volume, styled 'Journals of the Rev. Messrs Isenberg and Krapf,' and from various other sources, both private as well as public, we are enabled to supply not merely the *dates* of events which are for the most part wanting in Major Harris's work, but many particulars respecting the Embassy, which are in vain to be looked for there.

The Mission, consisting of Major (then Captain) Harris, Captain Douglas Graham, Mr Assistant-Surgeon Kirk, Dr Roth (a German naturalist), Lieut. Sydney Horton, Lieut. Barker, Mr Assistant-Surgeon Impey, Mr Bernatz (a German artist), Mr Scott (surveyor), and Mr Hatchatoor (British agent at Tajura), with two sergeants and fifteen rank and file (Europeans), an assistant apothecary, a carpenter, a smith, and two tent lascars, together with a number of Indian servants, left Aden for Tajura on the 15th May, 1841, on board the H. C. brig 'Euphrates.' They arrived at Tajura on the 17th, and remained there till the 30th of the same month, when they proceeded on their journey inland to Shoa. Of the members of the Mission, Lieut. Sydney Horton and Messrs Impey, Bernatz, and Scott, together with a few of the soldiers, remained behind—we cannot altogether say from what cause—with Mr Hatchatoor at Tajura; but Messrs Bernatz and Scott subsequently went up to Shoa; Messrs Horton and Impey returning to Bombay. Shortly after the arrival of the Mission at Ankober, Lieut. Barker returned to Aden; whilst subsequently to his departure Mr Charles Johnston went up from thence in charge of stores.

On the 7th June the Mission arrived at the station Goongoonteh, where it remained encamped till the morning of the 9th. During the night of the second day (8th June), the party was attacked by the natives, and three Europeans killed. We do not know what notice has been taken of this occurrence by the authorities in India or at home, but to us the account given of it is most unsatisfactory. The Embassy had been forewarned of the danger of the spot:—

"The guides objecting strongly to the occupation of the caves after nightfall, *on account of the many marauding parties of Eesah and Mudaito, by whom the wady is infested,* every one, as a measure of precaution, slept in the open air among the baggage, half a mile lower down the ravine, where the caravan had halted."—Vol. i, p. 124.

Of these two tribes, the Eesah and Mudaïto, we have just before been told (p. 96), that the Eesahs, "that hostile portion of the Somauli nation," make "frequent forays into the country of the Danákil," and that the pass of Rah Eesah (only thirty-two miles from Goongoonteh; see *Kirk*) has "proved the arena of many a sanguinary contest;" whilst, as regards the Mudaïto, we have, in p. 179, a highly-coloured description of the "bitter feud and animosity" existing between them and the tribes of Debenik-Woema who formed the escort of the British Mission, which feud and animosity are carried to such an extent that—

"Under whatever circumstances the hated and hereditary foe may be discovered, the unarmed bosom of the lone, sleeping, or un-

suspecting wanderer, rarely fails to prove a sheath for the murderous knife of the assassin."

Even at Tajura itself, "the ashes of ancient feuds were still smoking on the arrival of the British" (p. 64)—and this not between hostile, but among the allied tribes of the same kin who were to form the escort. Nevertheless, with the knowledge of all these facts, what precautions are taken? The author shall tell his own story:—

"The straitened figure of the bivouac rendered it impossible to make arrangements with much regularity in view to defence. The horses were picketed in the centre of the ravine. The European escort occupied a position betwixt them and the northern side, and the scanty beds of the officers of the party were spread close to the southern bank. A strong picket of the Danákil was placed a little distance in advance; and in addition to the numerous other native guards in various quarters, *the usual precaution was observed of mounting a European sentry, whose beat extended the length of the front of the encampment.*"—P. 125.

So, the "precaution" was taken of mounting *one European sentry*, and the valuable public property in charge of "the Embassy,"—one hundred and seventy camel-loads—and, yet more, the lives of at least thirty of her Majesty's subjects were entrusted to the care of a "strong picket of the Danákil," and "numerous other native guards in various quarters"—of whose quarrels with the Embassy, and among one another, the work thus far is little more than a series of details, and of whom, as a nation, the author himself says, in a subsequent part of the volume:—

"Reprisal and revenge form the guiding maxim of all. Monsters, not men, their savage propensities are portrayed in a dark and baleful eye, and the avenger of blood is closely dogging the footsteps of one half of the population."—P. 344.

Is it, then, at all surprising that the British Mission should have been attacked as it was? The only thing which astonishes us is that the onfall should not have been made on the previous night, when an excuse for the unprotected state of the party might be sought in the fatigues they had undergone on the day's march to Goongoonteh, which, if they were but a part only of those so vividly described by the author, might have induced every individual of the party, from pure exhaustion, to prefer the imminent risk of death to being debarred of his rest. The fact, however, is, that they had slept and rested a whole night and day on the spot.

We must give the account of the catastrophe without mutilation:—

"The first night, although awfully oppressive from the heat ex-

haled from the baked ground, and the absence of even the smallest zephyr, passed quietly enough; and after another grilling day, which seemed to have no termination, spent within the caverns, *the same nocturnal arrangement as before was observed,* WITH UNDIMINISHED PRECAUTION. An hour before midnight a sudden and violent sirocco scoured the wady, the shower of dust and pebbles raised by its hot blast, being followed by a few heavy drops of rain, with a calm, still as the sleep of death. The moon rose shortly afterwards, and about two o'clock a wild Irish yell, which startled the whole party from their fitful slumbers, was followed by a rush of men, and a clatter of hoofs, towards the beds of the Embassy.

"*Every man sprang instinctively on his feet, seized a gun,* of which two or three lay loaded beside each, *and standing on his pillow with weapon cocked, prepared for the reception of the* UNSEEN *assailants.* Fortunate was it that no luckless savage, whether friend or foe, followed in the disorderly retreat, or consequences the most appalling must have ensued ; [was not the death of three Europeans *appalling* enough ?] but the white legs of half-naked and unarmed artillerymen having passed at speed, were followed only by a crush of horses and mules that had burst from their pickets. So complete was the panic caused by a sudden start from deep sleep to witness the realization of the murderous tales of midnight assassination which had been poured into their ears, that the flying soldiery, who in the battle field had seen comrades fall thick around them, and witnessed death in a thousand terrific forms, *were rallied with difficulty. But a panic is of short duration* IF OFFICERS PERFORM THEIR DUTY, *and the word 'Halt!' acted like magic* [where then the 'difficulty ?'] *upon the bewildered senses of the survivors,* who, falling in, formed line behind the rifles.

"Hurrying to the spot which they had occupied, a melancholy and distressing sight presented itself. A sergeant and a corporal lay weltering in the blood with which their scanty beds were deeply stained, and both were in the last agonies of death. One had been struck with a creese in the carotid artery immediately below the ear, and the other stabbed through the heart; whilst speechless beside their mangled bodies was stretched a Portuguese follower, with a frightful gash across the abdomen, whence the intestines were protruding. *Aroused in all probability during this act of cold-blooded murder,* AND ATTEMPTING TO GIVE THE ALARM, *he had received a fatal slash* AS THE DASTARDS RETREATED; but almost instaneous (?) death had followed each previous blow of the creese, which, *whilst the back of the sentinel was turned,* had been dealt with mortal and unerring precision.

"*Two human figures being perceived at the moment the alarm was first raised,* crossing the lower gorge of the ravine, and absconding towards the hills which bounded the further extremity of the camp, were promptly pursued by Mohammad Ali and his band of followers, who had seized spear and shield with the utmost alacrity; and although the moon shone bright, and the stars twinkled in the clear

firmament, the broken and stony nature of the ground facilitated the escape of the miscreants under the deep shadow cast by the overhanging mountains, where objects could not be distinguished."—Pp. 125—128.

Upon this relation our comments shall be very brief. Taking everything to be simply as stated, without colouring, without romance,—for we presume that on so serious a matter the author would, for once, descend from his Pegasus to deal with simple facts—one thing instantly strikes us as most incomprehensible, the conduct of the European artillerymen—some ten or a dozen—who "rushed" from the place where they were sleeping "towards the beds of the Embassy," over which they "passed at speed, followed by a crush of horses and mules that had burst from the pickets." We cannot understand how the mere fact of the assassination of their comrades, occurring and *discovered* in the manner stated, should have caused this sudden and complete demoralization. How did the poor "Portuguese follower" act, and how the members of the Embassy? The former, "aroused," "attempted to give the alarm;" of the latter, "every man sprang instinctively on his feet, seized a gun, and prepared for the reception of the *unseen* assailants." *Unseen!* when "the moon shone bright and the stars twinkled in the clear firmament" (the moon was, at the time, five days past the full, and only about two hours from the meridian), and when it is expressly stated that "*two human figures were* PERCEIVED *absconding, when the alarm was first raised!*"

We are told of the "white legs" of the dozen European artillerymen; but nothing is said of the *dark* ones of the Indian followers, probably some dozen more. Did they remain at their posts, or did they continue sleeping when the alarm was given? And above all, where was the *one* European sentry, and what was he about? *His back was turned* when the blows of the assassins were dealt; but surely it did not continue so. And these blows, mortal and unerring as they were, were not followed by *instantaneous* death; for the sergeant and corporal, when visited after the "*flying* (!) soldiery," had been rallied, were only still "in the last agonies of death." If, then, the noise of the approach of the assassins, of the blows dealt by them to their sleeping victims, or the death-struggles of the latter, were sufficient to "arouse" the sleeping Portuguese, and his cries to scare the soldiers in the way described, they ought, surely, to have attracted the attention of the sentinel, if at his post and alert.

The more we examine and compare the several details of the occurrence, the more unsatisfactory the whole account is to our minds. And the matter is rendered only worse if (as has been

stated in the public prints) it be true that the assassins turned out to be, not of the hostile tribes of the Eesah or Mudaito, but of those allied to the Embassy's escort, of whom the "strong picket," and "numerous other guards in various quarters," were composed. Infatuation could scarcely have led to a more signal display of utter want of judgment and precaution!

It is with great unwillingness that we have adverted to this melancholy theme. With feelings of unmingled sorrow we had passed it over in silence, when an incident related in a subsequent part of the same volume (p. 339), induced us to turn back to its perusal. The particulars of this subsequent occurrence are as follows:—The Mission had arrived at Farri, the frontier town of Shoa, after its reception by the Governor of the frontier province, and a list had been made (for the second time) of all the stores, by the King's scribe, when during the night there was an escort of "300 matchlock men;"—the British "guards and sentinels," which, *since* the surprise at Goongoonteh, had "patrolled under an officer of the watch" (on the principle, we suppose, of shutting the stable door when the steed is stolen), were still mounted; but now—

"Sad to relate, the first breach of discipline was detected on the part of the guardian of the camp, who, worn out by incessant vigils, was in this, his last watch, lying fast asleep upon his post, with a pistol in each hand!"

With whatever official notice Major Harris, as the officer in charge of the Mission, may have considered it his duty to visit this "breach of discipline," we have nothing whatever to do; neither will any one attempt to question the author's abstract right thus to expose in print the fault of a brother officer and fellow traveller; but we think there will be but little difference of opinion among his readers as to the good feeling or good taste of so doing; and it comes with the worse grace from one who, throughout his work, has studiously laboured to keep out of sight a very special service performed by members of the Mission, and to bring himself constantly before the reader as personified by "the Embassy." If the author wished to act up to the maxim *suum cuique*—be it for good or ill—why did he not openly say what was done by Major Harris, what by Captain Graham, what by Dr Roth, what by Mr Kirk, what by Lieut. Barker, &c., and above all, what by Mr Krapf? We cannot, therefore, quit this subject without asking one question:—at Goongoonteh, when the three men were murdered, whose fault was it? Who was sleeping at his post?

But to resume. Leaving this scene of calamity, the Mission proceeded westward, and reached Dinomali, the frontier station

of Shoa, on the 15th July, and on the following day the town of Farri, the march from Tajura having occupied 47 days,—"a weary and perilous pilgrimage,"—so saith the record (vol. i, p. 361), "*performed without once taking off the clothes!*"

Such of our readers as may wish to peruse a "plain unvarnished tale" of the route, had better consult Mr Kirk's 'Journal;' whilst that of Messrs Isenberg and Krapf gives a full and excellent account of the country traversed, and its inhabitants.

At Dinomali, Major Harris and his party were welcomed by two Europeans then resident in Shoa, the Rev. Mr Krapf and Dr Beke. Seeing that the members of the Mission are passed over in silence (except in the list of their names at the commencement of the first volume), the latter of these gentlemen can have no cause for complaint that his existence in the country has not been even alluded to. The case of Mr Krapf is different. From the copy given in his 'Journals' (p. 250), of the first letter written by King Sahela Selassie to the Government of Bombay, it is quite clear that it was in his representations to that sovereign of the advantages of an alliance with England that the British Embassy originated. His great and manifold services to the Embassy in Shoa are indeed imperfectly recorded in the brief acknowledgment given in p. xi, of the Introduction, from which it would seem as if the "valuable co-operation derived from his extended acquaintance with the languages of Abyssinia" was the sole score on which the Embassy—we talk not now of the author personally—had reason to feel indebted to Mr Krapf. Unless we are misinformed, Mr Krapf was the life and soul of the Embassy: to his influence over the mind of the suspicious monarch and his principal chiefs, as well as of the inhabitants at large, acquired by his exemplary conduct during the years that he had been a quiet but zealous labourer in Christ's vineyard, previously to the (for him) unfortunate arrival of the British Embassy, is to be attributed what little success the latter may have obtained;—we are almost given to understand as much by Mr Krapf himself, in his account of his parting from the King ('Journals,' p. 270), "He repeatedly expressed his regret at my leaving him, as *he would then have no one to advise with in his proceedings with the British Embassy!*"—and it was not until when, after a time, he (not less unfortunately for the Embassy) was induced to quit the country, that the Embassy fell into that disrepute which (as we are assured), if it had not been for its voluntary return, would probably ere long have led to its expulsion.

It was not till Monday ('Harris,' vol. i, p. 398), the 2nd of

August, eighteen days after its arrival at Dinomali, that "the Embassy" was honoured by the King with its reception audience; and two days afterwards, August 4th (see 'Kirk'), the members of the Mission removed to Ankober, the capital. Here they passed the rains, which had already set in; after which, at the feast of *Maskal*, the "invention of the cross," they attended the yearly review at Debra Berhan, the "hill of light" (not of *glory*), vol. ii, chap. 6; and then, on the 18th Oct. 1841 (see Beke, in 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. xii, p. 245), they accompanied the King on one of his slaving expeditions into the country of the Galla. The lengthened detail of the particulars of this *ghazzie*, which commences with the assertion —how well-founded we leave our readers to say—that "the wilds of Africa are not to be explored by *the solitary traveller*" (vol. ii, p. 163), winds up with the following really *modest* declaration:—

"During the more than usually successful (!), though harrowing and bloody campaign of the Amhára host, an opportunity was afforded of laying down, as scientifically as very limited time would permit, *an extensive and most interesting tract of country*, HITHERTO UNDESCRIBED—*not to be explored by the adventurous but single traveller*, AND ONLY TO BE VISITED UNDER THE PECULIAR ADVANTAGES AFFORDED TO THE BRITISH EMBASSY by the despotic Negoos."—Vol. ii, p. 212.

Will the reader believe—but it is not a matter of belief, many of our readers must *know*—that this very tract of country, and very much further to the south and westward too, was visited by Messrs Krapf and Rochet in 1840; that Mr Krapf's map of the country is published in the *Monatsberichte* of the Geographical Society of Berlin, vol. ii, and his journal in vol. iv of the same work; that an account of all these countries, far more copious than that of the author, is given in Messrs Krapf's and Isenberg's 'Journals' already alluded to; and that M. Rochet has also published his 'Voyage dans le royaume de Choa,' a copy of which latter work was in Shoa before the Embassy left, as was, by that time, M. Rochet himself!

Let us take another instance of the author's unpardonable vanity, not to call it by any other name. Chap. xxxvi of vol. ii gives an account of an "Excursion along the North-western Frontier of Efát."

"Permission was accordingly solicited to visit the distant wilderness of Giddem on the northern frontier of Efát, in the dense forests of which the giant of the mammalia was reported to reside—*a pretext which further afforded plausible grounds for* EXPLORING a portion of the country reputed to be amongst the most fertile and productive in

Abyssinia. The King opened his eyes wider than usual *at this* UNPRECEDENTED application."—P. 303.

We might almost fancy that, when writing this, the author had before his eyes the following passage from the journal of a previous traveller, Dr Beke (in 'Journal of Royal Geographical Society, vol. xii, p. 88), and copied from it by mistake:—

"In the course of last Lent, Mr Krapf and I learned that the Negus was sending a body of men to Gédem [Major Harris's Giddem], *ostensibly for the purpose of shooting elephants, and we applied for permission to accompany the expedition.* Our application was refused; but towards the end of April he sent to ask *when we wished to go to Gédem to shoot elephants.* We replied that we were ready to start immediately, and accordingly two days afterwards we left Ankober."

This occurred in April, 1841, some months before "the Embassy's" arrival in Shoa. Dr Beke's 'Journal' is accompanied by a map of the country forming "the water-shed between the Nile and the Hawash," as far northward as Kok-fara, the most distant point visited by "the Embassy."

In vol. ii, p. 169, it is said, "After crossing the Chacha, the country is no longer safe for a single traveller;" and yet, in vol. xii, pp. 245—258, of the 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' we have the journal of *a single traveller*, the one last mentioned, who did actually cross that river, going far distant westward beyond the dependencies of Shoa into Gojam; and who, as he therein states, started from Angollala on the day after the King set out on the very expedition against the Galla, on which he was accompanied by "the Embassy."

The reader will bear in mind that these are not bare assertions; they are facts—facts recorded before the world, not to say anything of the author's previous personal knowledge of them.

But we will go on with our journal of events:—

"The Christian camp at Boora Roofa was crowded with disconsolate groups of heathen captives, many with infants at their backs, and nearly all in a state of nudity, with long raven tresses streaming wildly over their shoulders. Hopeless slavery was theirs, but *influenced by the earnest remonstrance of the Embassy,* AIDED *by the active and reverend missionary, Dr Krapf,* whom philanthropic feelings had enabled to endure the uncongenial atmosphere of ignorance and unbelief—whom the purest and most praiseworthy motives had induced to obey the royal summons to the field, and who, from his long experience, knew when to touch (?) the latent spark of mercy, the King wiped out the foul stain of the preceding day by consenting to liberate the whole."—Vol. ii, p. 213.

So "the Embassy" was "aided" in its "earnest remonstrance" by Dr Krapf? We believe it from the bottom of our hearts. We

have heard strange stories respecting the circumstances attending the liberation of these slaves; and one memorable circumstance connected with this slaving expedition has been omitted by the author. It is that the British Embassy was accompanied by a sergeant and four privates of the Bombay Artillery (Europeans), who took with them the field-piece brought up to Shoa as a present from the British Government, with a number of rounds of artillery and several rockets. Had these soldiers and implements of war anything to do with the *liberation* of the "disconsolate groups of heathen captives?"

After a description (vol. ii, p. 218) of the return of the victorious troops to Angollala, "driving exultingly before them upwards of 30,000 head of prize cattle,"—which event will have been, *at latest*, in the first days of November, 1841, for the army on starting had "provided rations for no more than twenty days" (p. 164), and most probably was out not more than half that time — the author favours us with several chapters extending from p. 218 to p. 391, giving an account of the "Proceedings at Angollala," the "Triumphal Entry *to* the Capital," *i. e.* Ankober, an "eclipse of the moon" (on January 26, 1842?)—of excursions to the "Forest of Mamrat"—of the memorable *exploring* "Excursion along the North-western Frontier of Efát," already mentioned—of "the Embassy's" "Return to Ankober," and subsequent removal to Angollala (p. 375)—the building of a "bridge over the Beréza," &c.—and the time is spun out till, at least, the beginning of 1842; for we have chapter xlv, which is headed "Conclusion of a Treaty of Commerce," commencing with the words "Angollala continued bitterly cold throughout the month of December;" and then, at the very end of the chapter (p. 392) we are told of the King's desire that—

"Certain articles agreed upon might be drawn up on parchment, and presented for signature, which had accordingly been done; and the day fixed for the return of the Embassy to Ankober was appointed for the public ratification of the document by the annexure thereto of the royal hand and seal."

So very vague is this statement, that we do not pretend to say whether allusion is intended to be made to the original "drawing up" of this important document, or to its "ratification" at a subsequent period. It seems, indeed, that the two transactions have been mixed up together; but if so, it must be for no other purpose that we can discern, than that the British public, which, in matters relating to the public interests, has a right to require a clear and distinct statement of *facts*, might have those facts "presented in the form that would appear best calculated to afford a picture." Mr Krapf's 'Journal' enables us, however,

to supply the date of the original "drawing up" and signing of the treaty. It was on the 16th November, 1841 (p. 263)—in the Preface (p. xv), it says the 12th, but the variation is immaterial—consequently immediately on their return from the foray into the Galla country, and *before* all the intervening occurrences had taken place. The "ratification"—that is, the exchange of ratifications—must necessarily have taken place (if it took place at all) at a much later period, when the part ratified by her Britannic Majesty had been received in Shoa; and the date of this event would have to be brought down to a period not long before "the Embassy" left the country.

We shall postpone the discussion of this matter until we come to it in chronological order; and we therefore next proceed to bring forward to its proper place the "revocation" of a "tyrannical edict" issued by the King of Shoa in a momentary fit of anger, and soon heartily repented by him, by which, *if enforced*, it would seem that "4,700 unfortunate victims" would have been condemned to the bondage of their parents, who were already the "royal slaves," and who do not appear to have been affected either by the promulgation of the edict or by its revocation. This act has, in some of the newspapers, the *Bombay Times* at the head of them, been dignified with the name of the "*liberation of seven thousand Christian slaves* from galling bondage, at the intercession of Captain Harris," as we copy *verbatim* from a newspaper now before us. But whatever may be the character of the transaction, the deed was evidently a good deed, and merit is due accordingly. Conscientiously do we declare that we have no desire to deprive Major Harris of one particle of any merit that he is fairly entitled to; but equal justice requires that we—and *he* also—should render "honour to whom honour" is due. From the great space intervening between the liberation of the Galla slaves at Boora Roofa in vol. ii, p. 212, the date of which was the beginning of November, 1841, and this subsequent revocation of the edict in vol. iii, p. 297—upwards of 470 pages of text—and from the number of facts recorded in the interval, the reader would certainly be led, at first sight, to the conclusion that a very considerable lapse of time occurred between the two, and that the latter must in fact have taken place very shortly before the departure of the Mission from Shoa in February, 1843. But in only the page but one before the description of the latter incident (vol. iii, p. 295), we find an event recorded, which enables us to fix a probably *very much earlier date* for it:—

"Northern Abyssinia was now in a more disturbed state than ever; and numerous youths who had attempted to proceed to Gondar for the purpose of being ordained, had been compelled to abandon

the journey, and return to Ankober. *They brought tidings of an engagement between Ras Ali and Dedjasmach Oubié, which had been fought at Salem Okko, in the vicinity of Debra Tabor."*

This battle, as those acquainted with recent Abyssinian history well know, was fought on the 7th February, 1842; at which date, and until March 12th of that year (see his 'Journals'), Mr Krapf was still with the King. Had *he* then any share in influencing that monarch to revoke the "Edict?" and if so, what share? The author's relation of the occurrence is clothed in the usual mystery:—

"The presence of the British Embassy now proved of that salutary and commanding influence which humanity and civilization must ever exert over barbarity and savage ignorance. Deeming the opportunity imperative, and considering the chance of success to be well worth the risk of a misunderstanding with the Court, *his Majesty was earnestly requested* to reflect," &c —P. 297.

"This petition *on the part of his European children*, BACKED *by the remonstrance which accompanied it*, was attended with the most satisfactory results."—P. 298.

Who *presented* the petitión, and who *backed* it, we are not told. Of course the natural inference is, "the Embassy," and the Embassy *alone!*

As we do not possess the means of determining the precise date of the "Liberation of the Princes of the Blood Royal of Shoa," which forms the subject of the last chapter of the work, we will take it now. This is another of the incidents evidently presented in the form of a "picture." It is really a great pity that the author should so far forget what is due to the character of a recorder of *historical facts* as to detail them in a style which, however suited to the palate of novel readers—and not even in all cases, to theirs—is nauseating to that of men accustomed to stronger and more wholesome food, and who, however they may commend discreet silence in "public servants," yet, not without reason, expect that when those public servants speak—and that voluntarily too, as the author does in the present instance—they will do so in language plain and intelligible, and not tending to mystify and mislead. As it is, the fact which from its position should lead to the presumption that the "liberation of the princes" was *the closing act* of the British Embassy,—which there is evidence to show it was not,—is, from the way in which it is related, entitled to be regarded as little better than a romantic tale—whatever may be its substratum of truth—until substantiated in its details by further and more explicit evidence.

We have shown that the so-called "Treaty of Commerce" was entered into about the middle of November, 1841. Of the

"sixteen articles" which it contains, we are favoured with no more than the following not very satisfactory particulars:—

"They involved the sacrifice of arbitrary appropriation by the crown of the property of foreigners dying in the country, the abrogation of the despotic interdiction which had from time immemorial precluded the purchase or display of costly goods by the subject, *and the removal of penal restrictions upon voluntary movement within and beyond the kingdom,* which formed a modification of the obsolete national maxim, 'Never to permit the stranger who had once entered, to depart from Abyssinia.' *All of these evils had heretofore been in full force;* but his Majesty unhesitatingly declared his determination to annul them for the good of his people."—Vol. ii, p. 392.

From reading this, no one could imagine that every previous European visitor to Shoa—Messrs Combes and Tamisier, M. Dufey, M. Rochet, Mr Isenberg, M. Even, and Dr Beke—had received, without difficulty, permission to quit the country. But let this pass. In due time the remainder of these "sixteen articles" will be made known to us; but meanwhile we have no hesitation in saying that one important clause will not have been forgotten, promising protection and security to British subjects visiting the country, as also to their property, and granting them free and uncontrolled *ingress,* egress, and regress. Without such a provision the treaty would, of course, be a nullity for all practical purposes. In fact, Mr Krapf tells us that it is agreed in the treaty, "*that British subjects should not be prevented nor molested in* PROCEEDING *to Shoa,* in their respective business in the country, and their movements over the country and beyond." ('Journals,' p. 264.)

The treaty was sent to England for ratification; *but before that ratification could have arrived it was already broken by our friend and ally,* the Christian King of Shoa! But we must not anticipate. Let us go on with our journal of occurrences.

In the execution of this treaty between England and Shoa, the worthy and pious missionary, Mr Krapf, had witnessed what he fondly regarded as the crowning work of all his toils in the cause of Christianity and civilization, the consummation of all his hopes, the reward of all his anxiety and exertions: Shoa, hitherto Christian but in name, was now, he believed, firmly knit in the bonds of amity with Christian and civilized Europe; and a road was for ever opened and secured to him and his fellow-labourers into the remote countries of the heathen. If any one might, he could now repeat the words of the just and devout Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word: for mine eyes have seen thy salvation,

which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; a light to lighten the Gentiles." On the 12th March, 1842, four months after the signing of the treaty, he quitted Shoa for Gondar and Egypt (see 'Journals,' p. 270), intending to return with others, his brethren, to a spot which he now regarded as the permanent residence of a British religious Mission, the centre point from which to carry out their pious plans for the conversion of the surrounding pagan Galla. On the 2nd of the following month ('Journals,' p. 377), he was made a prisoner, and literally stripped naked at Gatira, by a Galla chieftain, named Adara Billé, dependent on the King of Shoa, of whom we have the following description from the pen of Major Harris:—

"The next most influential personage in this frontier is Adara Billé, surnamed, from the title of his favourite war steed, 'Abba Daghet,' 'the Father of Height.' This chieftain resides at Gatira, in the district of Changiet, and presides over the Wollo tribe Gora. As a bribe to secure protection to messengers proceeding to the northern states, he has received a number of villages from Sahela Selassie."—Vol. ii, p. 353.

Not a word of this chieftain's treatment of Mr Krapf; not an allusion to any remonstrances made to the King, or to the recovery of the property of which Mr Krapf was thus robbed. In a matter like this, surely from no scruples on the score of politics was "the freedom of the author's pen curtailed." It was a duty which he owed as well to his friend and benefactor, Mr Krapf, as to the Church Missionary Society, and to the whole Christian world, to show publicly that everything was done that could be done to remedy the evil.

That little good attended "the Embassy" after the departure of Mr Krapf, that in whatever favour it may have stood with Sahela Selassie whilst he was present, it soon fell into great and shameful disrepute, that in fact, in its final results, it turned out a perfect failure, we have heard in more than one quarter; and when facts come to be thoroughly sifted and investigated—as they soon must and will be—we much fear such will prove actually to be the case. As British subjects, and yet more as friends of humanity, from our hearts desirous of seeing European civilization rooted in this remote and secluded quarter of the globe, we should rejoice to find it otherwise; but our misgivings are strong, and the author's mysterious silence as to all circumstances connected with the latter portion of his residence in Shoa raises these misgivings even to the height of certainty. How "the Embassy" was occupied during the greater part of the year 1842, we cannot pretend to say, unless it was in the preparation of the three volumes before us, which the author tells us,

in his Introduction, were "written in the heart of Abyssinia." But some time before the termination of that year our Queen's ratification of the treaty of the 16th November, 1841, must have reached Shoa, and the ratifications will of course have been exchanged in due form with his Shoan Majesty. We look upon it that the "picture" in pages 392, 393 of the second volume is intended—in part at least—to represent this formal act, although we confess we have no evidence of any act of ratification by the King of Shoa separate from the original "drawing up" and signing of the "Commercial Convention." Indeed, from the silence in the work itself as to a separate "ratification," we should certainly be led to conclude that nothing of the kind had taken place, were it not that it has been publicly stated that Major Harris brought to England with him a "ratified" treaty. The document in question—whether the original or the ratified one—is described as—

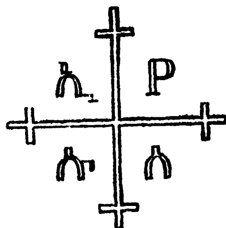
"A highly illuminated sheet, surmounted on the one side by the Holy Trinity—*the device invariably employed as the arms of Shoa*—and on the other by the Royal Achievement of England."

We should like to know by whom and when first these "arms of Shoa" were found. We should be greatly deceived if the answer were not 'by the Embassy.' No previous traveller or writer ever mentioned such arms either in Shoa or in any other part of Abyssinia. The *Imperial* arms are 'the Lion of the tribe of Judah,' to which the Roman Catholic missionaries added the Roman cross, as we see depicted in the title-page to Ludolf's 'Commentarius ad Historiam Æthiopicam,' and in Mr Salt's 'Voyage to Abyssinia,' plate 22, at page 302. Where, too, and by whom was this "highly-illuminated sheet" prepared? We have reason to believe that, if not the actual work, it is altogether the conception of "the Embassy." There is, to be sure, nothing morally wrong in ambassadors amusing themselves with embellishing official documents; but if they think proper to do so, why not say so at once, instead of mystifying John Bull with "highly-illuminated sheets surmounted with the arms of Shoa?"

"*The imperial signet, a cross encircled by the word 'Jesus,'* was then attached by the scribe, in presence of the chief of the Church, the Dech [Dej] Agafari, the Governor of Morát, and three other functionaries, who were summoned into the alcove for the purpose."

It would have been not less interesting to the British public had it been informed what subjects of her *Britannic* Majesty were in like manner present at this solemn ceremony. In connexion with this "imperial signet" we have to publish a curious

fact In looking to Mr Salt's work for the *imperial arms* already described by us as "a lion and a Roman cross" we found in the same plate the following figure,



which, in the 'List of Plates' at the commencement of his work, Mr Salt describes as "the cross and characters *usually prefixed to Ethiopic letters*"; and although, in consequence of mistakes made in transcribing the name encircling the cross, the characters do not exactly express the word "Jesus," it is evident they are intended for it. The correct Ethiopic letters are ኢየሱስ, as they of course appear in his Shoan Majesty's seal brought to England affixed to the treaty. Mr Salt describes this sign of "a cross encircled with the name *Jesus*" as being "*usually* prefixed to Ethiopic letters;" consequently as being made use of by any and every body thinking fit to employ them, in the same way as *it was by Mr Salt himself* at the head of a letter written by him, as mentioned in page 145 of his work. That this *common* sign should now be exalted to the dignity of the "imperial signet," is a curious fact, highly worthy of consideration. Can the Abyssinians generally—or at least such of them as are subject to the King of Shoa—have been interdicted the use of this sign since the time of Mr Salt? We should suppose it must be so; for, in so despotic a country, the people generally are surely not allowed to place the "imperial signet" on their letters *ad libitum*. This is, if we mistake not, the first *seal* that Abyssinia has produced, which renders it extremely interesting; and we apprehend the Earl of Aberdeen would not object to allow a *fac-simile* of it to be taken by one of our learned societies—the Numismatic, for instance—for the inspection of those who delight in such curiosities.

In the beginning of November, 1842, M. Rochet d'Hericourt returned to Shoa, bringing with him one hundred and fifty firelocks, two howitzers, a number of swords, and various other articles, as presents to Sahela Selassie from the French Govern-

ment, having, when he left Shoa for Europe in 1840, taken with him a letter from that monarch to King Louis Philippe, together with the following presents:—Two Ethiopic manuscripts, a beautiful horse richly caparisoned, a silver shield and sword, two royal lances, two silver armlets, two fur cloaks, and an Abyssinian dress, as also one for her Majesty the Queen of the French.

This French traveller, who, on his former visit to Shoa, enjoyed the personal favour of the King in a far greater degree than any other European — even more than Mr Krapf, although the latter was more respected, and had, doubtless, more influence in matters of serious debate—was, as might be expected, received with open arms, and immediately installed in his former residence within the precincts of the palace. We will not directly assert that M. Rochet did anything to estrange the mind of the monarch from his British visitors, whose influence was already on the wane: but that he should do so is not unlikely, or unnatural. One fact is, at all events, quite certain. When the British Mission quitted Shoa, it left the French Ambassador behind it there. This fact alone speaks volumes; and we may add, on the authority of a traveller who was in the north of Abyssinia last summer, that M. Lefebvre, an officer in the French navy, who has for some years past been intriguing in Tigre, where we believe he was concerned in the purchase of the French settlements at Edh and Amphila, had just quitted that part of Abyssinia for Shoa. The two d'Abaddies, too, were in motion in the south, their destination being conjectured to be Shoa likewise, *whither the elder d'Abaddie had been expressly invited by Sahela Selassie.* Should all these Frenchmen really be at the present moment at the court of our "ally," we are afraid that French interests are far more predominant there than they were previously to the mission of Major Harris, even supposing the latter to have done nothing to injure, instead of to benefit, the British cause in that quarter.

Less than two months after M. Rochet arrived in Shoa, the British Embassy, which had some time previously been recalled by Government, took leave of the King, and on the 8th of January, 1843, quitted the capital eastward for the frontier, there to make preparations for its departure, whilst the monarch himself proceeded westward on one of his usual forays. The precise terms on which they parted cannot be said; but they were, most indubitably, not the best in the world—certainly anything but corresponding with the extreme influence claimed as existing on the part of "the Embassy" over the monarch — or else how happened it that, on the latter's return to his capital before

the much-loved strangers, so often described by the fond title of "his children," had quitted the country, a hasty summons was not sent by him to recal them to his presence, or that they, even before such summons could arrive, did not themselves hasten another interview (he was only a day's journey off), to say once more, 'farewell'? But no! The monarch remains in silence at Angollala, and "the Embassy" remains in equal silence at Farri, until the preparations for its journey to the coast being completed, it departs; not with the flourish of drums and trumpets which welcomed its arrival, but unnoticed, uncared for—perhaps to the great satisfaction and relief of the Christian King of Shoa and his Christian subjects.

In a letter in the 'Standard' of the 29th December last, it is asserted, that whilst still at Farri, Major Harris received despatches annulling his recal and directing him to remain in Shoa. If so, most probably he found it a hopeless task, so far as related to his diplomatic relations with the court of our ally; and as to the author personally, his work was written and completed, Introduction and all—dated Ankober, 1st January, 1843—what more had he to wait for? Whatever may be the facts of the case, the British public will not be satisfied without a full and entire explanation of the circumstances under which the Mission quitted Shoa.

There is another delicate point connected with the subject, which requires clearing up by an inquiry, when the Government Report on the Mission to Shoa shall be laid before Parliament. The Church Missionaries, Messrs Müller and Mühleisen, who arrived at Tajura some time before Major Harris, in May, 1841, were, from some inexplicable cause, unable to get through to join Mr Krapf, either at the same time as the Embassy, or at any subsequent period; and after waiting for a considerable time, they were obliged to abandon the idea of proceeding. Mr Krapf, who, as we have already shown, had quitted Shoa, had in the meanwhile, after many hardships, reached Egypt in safety; whence he started in company with Mr Mühleisen, and likewise Mr Isenberg, for the purpose of returning to Shoa by the way of Tajura. They reached that place on the 20th December, 1842 (see 'Journals,' p. xi), and immediately announced their intention of coming up. They were informed, in reply, that their entrance into Shoa was forbidden by the King, her Britannic Majesty's ally, with whom her Majesty's representative had just exchanged, or was just about to exchange, the ratifications of a treaty, in which it is stipulated that "British subjects shall not be prevented or molested in proceeding to Shoa." And not this alone, but a

house and land purchased at Ankober by Mr Krapf, for the use of the Church Mission, with the King of Shoa's privity and express permission, had been confiscated by that monarch, in further violation of that treaty, which, in terms, guarantees "the safety of British subjects in Shoa, and the security of their property." The result is, that not only Mr Krapf, *but likewise his companions*, being thus excluded from Shoa, and Messrs Isenberg and Mühleisen having been foiled in a subsequent attempt to enter Abyssinia from Massowah, the Abyssinian "Church Mission," which has existed since the year 1829, has been—no doubt with extreme reluctance, but from sheer necessity—abandoned! This lamentable event we have but too much reason to apprehend is only one of the mischievous results of the British Embassy's "eighteen months' residence" in Shoa.

It was on the 12th February, 1843, that "the Embassy" quitted Dinomali—after having, as has already been stated, received instructions to remain in Shoa. It brought down with it the *violated* "ratified" treaty, together with sundry presents for her Britannic Majesty, from her *firm* friend and ally the King of Shoa.

Respecting these presents a word of explanation is requisite. They are by no means *necessarily* a mark of friendship. According to the custom of Shoa, all *strangers* are the guests of the King, who provides them with the necessaries of life as long as they remain in his country, and never sends them away empty-handed. The members of "the Embassy" were not merely strangers, but they were the bearers of valuable presents; during eighteen months they had "eaten the bread" of Sahela Selassie; so that even if they parted on decided terms of enmity, as we suspect to be the case, *the King*—not the guests—would have been disgraced in the eyes of himself and his subjects had he allowed them to leave Shoa without rich gifts, which, besides magnifying the glory of the donor both at home and abroad, are believed to draw down a blessing on his head as well in this world as in the world to come. How far, under the circumstances of the parting, it was dignified or decorous for "the British Embassy" to *accept* these presents is a very different question. The Embassy was likewise accompanied by two native "ambassadors,"—as it has been alleged. These ambassadors, on their arrival at Aden, were dignified in the newspapers with the titles of "Captain of the Body Guard" and "Lieutenant of Police." The letter in the 'Standard,' already alluded to, says, however, that they were two persons of the lowest rank, who came down with

the Embassy merely for the purpose of taking care of a mule brought as a present to the Queen, and that they did so attend to the mule the whole way down. Be this as it may, these two "ambassadors" were soon sent back to Shoa from Bombay; whilst Major Harris came on to England "on sick certificate," bringing with him the treaty and presents.

We have thus traced, step by step, the work of "the Embassy." Let us now again turn to Major Harris, in his character of a traveller and an author. Let us see what *novelties* of interest and importance his 'Highlands of Æthiopia' contain.

And first as to geography. His journey from the coast to Shoa was over oft-trodden ground. M. Rochet's 'Voyage sur la côte orientale de la mer Rouge, dans le Pays d'Adel et le Royaume de Choa' (Paris, 1841), and Messrs Isenberg and Krapf's 'Journals,' pp. 1–81, give a copious account of the country and its inhabitants. The remarkable depression of the Salt Lake Assal was discovered and first made known by Dr Beke (see 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. xii, p. 71) and his levels across the country, in p. 101 of the same volume of that Journal, are much more numerous than those contained in the Appendix to Major Harris's first volume, p. 417. Dr Beke further mapped all this country, and his map was made use of by "the Embassy" on its way up to Shoa (see 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. xiii, p. 183). The "Northwestern Frontier of Efat" was, as already mentioned, first visited and described by the same traveller ('Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. xii, pp. 88–99). Of "the kingdom of Shoa" in all its parts, "the Galla borders," "the Galla dependencies in the south," "the unexplored countries to the south," the Doko, "a race of pigmies," "the northern Galla from Argobba to the Tuloma," we believe there is not a tittle of information in the work which has not already appeared in Mr Krapf's 'Journals,' in his Papers in the '*Monatsberichte*' of the Geographical Society of Berlin, vol. iv, pp. 158–188, in Dr Beke's 'Route from Ankober to Dima' in 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. xii, pp. 245–258, and in a Paper read by the latter traveller before the Royal Geographical Society on the 11th December last, of which an abstract appeared in the 'Literary Gazette' of the 16th, and the 'Athenæum' of the 23rd of the same month. "The principality of Hurrur" is described with fuller particulars in a Report of Lieut. Barker, I.N., published in the 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. xii, pp. 238–244. The discovery of the upper course of the river Gojeb, respecting which (as

Mr Krapf's Goc*h*ob) the author says (vol. iii, p. 68), "from the highlands of Abyssinia, a clue to its origin and course has now been obtained, which will serve in a great measure to supply the existing deficiencies, and to cover the wide space of *terra incognita* in Eastern Africa, north of the equator"—the discovery of the upper course of this river, we say, is not due, as any uninstructed reader would imagine from the above extract, to Major Harris, but to Dr Beke, whose letter dated Angollala, May 29th, 1841, describing it and the countries through which it flows, is printed in vol. xii, pp. 86-88 of the 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.'

The map accompanying Major Harris's work is stated to be "constructed from the latest and best authorities, by James Macqueen, Esq., with additions by Major Harris." The "latest and best authorities" are Messrs Krapf, Beke, Kirk, and Christopher: but where are the "additions?" Why the whole of Abyssinia, as far north as near 16° north latitude, should be brought into this map, we are at a loss to conceive, seeing that the work itself scarcely mentions the name of any place, except Gondar, to the northward of 12° north latitude. Nor do we see any reason for bringing into it Lieutenant Christopher's discoveries in the south, seeing that they have nothing to do with Abyssinia, or with the Mission, and that nothing is said about them in the text. By making the map to comprise such an extent of country—not less than sixteen degrees of latitude and fourteen of longitude — the scale is necessarily reduced so much that "the Embassy's" actual routes are not easily distinguishable; and on looking very closely into it, we can detect that in some portions they are not laid down at all, whilst in other parts close to them there are marked routes of Mr Krapf, which "the Embassy" never trod. The map, moreover, contains no distinguishing marks (by colour or otherwise) to show us where "the Embassy" did go and where it did not go. Surely this cannot have been done by design.

Is there, then, absolutely nothing novel as regards geography to be found in the work before us? will our readers naturally ask. Yes: the "Excursion to Berhut, on the South-eastern Frontier of Shoa," detailed in chapters xxiv to xxx, of the third volume, which introduces us to a tract of country not described, we believe, by any previous modern traveller. It extends, however, to no very great distance,—apparently not more than thirty or forty miles south from Ankober; but we cannot speak very precisely, since—remarkably enough—this route is not laid down in the map!

In ethnography we have the discovery of the existence of cannibalism among the Mohammedan Danákil; of which discovery we should be doing the author a great injustice did we not hasten to give him the whole and sole credit. This must, however, have been but a chance discovery, after all, for we cannot expect much research into the distinctive differences of various races from a traveller in whose nature the feelings are manifestly innate of contempt, hatred, and disgust for the "savage;" a species of the genus *homo* comprising every inhabitant of the countries visited by "the Embassy," from our Christian ally Sahela Selassie (see vol. ii, p. 33) to the Mohammedan man-eater. That he considers the "savage man" and the "civilised man" as of two distinct species, is evident from the following passage:—

"Betwixt savage and civilised existence there yawns a wide gulf. The savage man and the civilised man, although descended from a common parent, can scarcely be said to belong to the same stock of humanity, and he who has been pronounced the only true man, the lordly lord of the wilderness, might here more appropriately be designated a devil incarnate."—Vol. i, p. 154.

We have here an excuse for the abuse and really foul language heaped throughout the work on these "savages," these "devils incarnate;" and we are glad thereby to be relieved from the idea that an English gentleman would so lavishly employ such epithets as "barbarian," "filthy," "stinking," "worthless," "outcasts," "bullies," "vagabonds," "ill-favoured rabble," "monsters—not men," "lank ruffian," "scoundrel," "liar," &c., to anybody "belonging to the same stock of humanity."

Of the political history of Abyssinia we have already said there is not a word. But of its religious history we are favoured with a detail extending over forty-four pages, commencing with the "Conversion of Æthiopia," A.D. 330, and finishing with the "Expulsion of the Jesuits," A.D. 1633. All these particulars have already been repeatedly before the world in almost every language,—Latin, Portuguese, Italian, English, German, French: we believe the last and best summary is that given in the Rev. Professor Lee's 'Introduction' to the Rev. S. Gobat's 'Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia.' Why the author should have thought proper to fill so many pages of his work with a repetition of this old and well-known story we will not pretend to decide.

Of the "Lineage of Shoa," the local history of that country, the manners and customs of its inhabitants, &c., &c., there are

many particulars; but they are mainly, if not entirely, amplifications—not always accurately given—of what we meet with in the writings of previous travellers, especially of Mr Krapf, in his 'Journals.' We will quote one additional passage from page 147 of the third volume, as a proof of the author's imperfect acquaintance with his subject:—

"'The children of Israel did not eat of the sinew which shrank, which is upon the hollow of the thigh.' This is in the Amharic language termed *Shoolada*, and it is prohibited and held unlawful to be eaten in Shoa, more especially to the members of the royal blood."

Why, "cutting out the shulada" *from the* BUTTOCK *of the living animal*, is the rock on which Bruce's reputation split, and has formed the shibboleth of every subsequent traveller in Abyssinia. Let us see what the author's predecessor, Mr Salt, says on the subject. He describes "cutting out the shulada" as consisting in—

"Cutting out two pieces of flesh from the buttock, near the tail, —the pieces so cut out being called 'shulada,' and composing, as far as I could ascertain, part of the two 'glutei maximi,' or larger muscles of the thigh."—P. 295.

And now comes our author, who tells us it is a mistake to suppose the *shulada* to be a "rumpsteak," for that it is the "pope's eye!" Truly, we live and learn.

On the commerce and statistics of Shoa the work contains only a few vague generalities, of no practical utility.

Of romantic works of imagination there are several interspersed throughout the work, and these (better, perhaps, adapted for the 'Keepsake') are certainly the most pleasing portions of the labours of "the British Embassy" during its eighteen months' residence in Shoa. Romances, however, are not merit in a work of which the first three leaves contain a dedication, "by gracious permission," to "the Queen's most Excellent Majesty;" an extract from Major Harris's official instructions from the Secretary to the Bombay Government, and a list of "the Embassy," consisting, inclusive of the Ambassador, of thirty-two individuals!

We had almost omitted to mention the appendices, which contain some interesting particulars of the natural history of the country. These we look upon as the most valuable part of the work; but they are from the pen, not of Major Harris, but of the naturalist to the Mission, Dr Roth. They are, however, but scanty on the whole, and we have no

doubt might have been very much extended, had that intelligent and indefatigable young German—the companion of Schubert—been allowed to devote more time to the pursuits for which he accompanied the Mission to Shoa.

On the important subject of "Slavery and the Slave Trade," the information supplied in the work before us may be found in various parts of Mr Krapf's 'Journals,' already cited, and in the reports of Dr Beke to the African Civilization Society, published in the 'Friend of Africa,' vol. i, pp. 168-9; 187-8; 203-5; and vol. ii, p. 40. Of the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in Shoa, the author holds out no hopes (see vol. iii, pp. 326-7), but he informs us that—

> "No such difficulty would attend the formation of a treaty of suppression in the *northern* provinces of Christian Abyssinia;"

and he goes on to hint, as usual, most mysteriously, at the great influence and the extensive use—for this purpose and for many others—to be made of "his Holiness the Aboon," the Coptic Bishop of Abyssinia, resident at Gondar, who is described by him as—

> "Possessed of abilities of a very superior order, with his mind expanded by a liberal education at Cairo, under a pious and learned missionary of the Church of England, the Rev. Dr Lieder."—Vol. iii, p. 192.

From an extract of a letter from Captain Haines, the political agent at Aden, published in the 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. xiii, p. 195, we perceive that, "if Major Harris can obtain permission from the authorities, it is his intention to return to Ethiopia;" and we presume he wishes it to be understood that he would be very successful in Northern Abyssinia, with the help of the Aboon. Without pretending to any great amount of prescience, we think we may safely predict that this "intention" is doomed never to be realized. And as regards the Aboon, did the reverend missionary mentioned as his teacher express to the author the amount of the "liberal education" by which his former pupil's "mind" has been "expanded," or his satisfaction with and expectations from him? and did no rumours of the extreme ill conduct, utter incapacity, and daily decreasing influence of this potent friend and ally reach the ears of "the Embassy" in Shoa, or in Egypt, or elsewhere? We have no hesitation in asserting, and we do so on the best authority, that the residence in Abyssinia of the worthless young Copt who now fills "the episcopal throne of Ethiopia" is a curse, instead of a

blessing, to that already more than sufficiently distracted country. His disputes with almost every independent native prince, his grasping avarice, and his unenlightened and bigoted intolerance, have raised him up a host of enemies in every class of the Abyssinian community; whilst his grossly debauched and immoral habits are the subject of remark even in Abyssinia, where, whatever may be the general laxity of conduct, the vices of more civilised but more immoral Egypt are unknown, except when exhibited in the persons of such thorough reprobates as the present Coptic bishop and his associates. To place hopes of the regeneration of Abyssinia in Aboona Salama, or of any practical benefit to be derived from his influence or assistance, is indeed to lean upon a broken reed!

We could wish to have added a few words respecting the commercial relations of Europe with Abyssinia, and the necessity for our Government bestirring itself in connexion with the subject, but want of space prevents us. The French Government, in addition to its *unrecognized* agents in all parts of the country, has now for some years past had a Consul resident at Massowa. Austria has likewise just appointed one there, and a commissioner has been sent by the Chamber of Commerce of Trieste to see what is to be done to extend their trade in the Red Sea. The Belgian Consul-General in Egypt has lately returned from a tour through the greater part of Abyssinia, whither he went to ascertain what opening there is for the manufactures of his country. All nations seem to know how to go to work except England, which sends out an "Embassy," at an immense expense, and gets *a Book* — and that book the 'Highlands of Æthiopia'—in return.

B.*

Art. IX.—1. *An Encyclopædia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture.* By J. C. Loudon, F.L.S. A new Edition, with a Supplement containing nearly three hundred Engravings. Longman and Co.

2. *An Encyclopædia of Architecture, Historical, Theoretical, and Practical.* By Joseph Gwilt. Illustrated by more than one thousand Engravings on wood. Longman and Co.

3. *Ancient and Modern Architecture.* Consisting of Views, Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the most Remarkable Edifices in the World. By M. Jules Gailhabaud. F. Didot and Co., Amen Corner.

4. *Picturesque Decorations of Rural Buildings in the use of Rough Wood, Thatch, &c.* Illustrated by forty-two Engravings. By T. J. Ricauti. J. Carpenter, Old Bond street.

5. *Manual for Students of British Architecture; with a copious Glossary of Architectural Terms.* By A. Barrington, M.D. G. Bell, Fleet street.

6. *Weale's Quarterly Papers on Architecture.* Parts I and II. Weale, 59 High Holborn.

7. *Memorial of the Royal Progress in Scotland.* By Sir T. Dick Lauder, Bart. A. and C. Black.

WE cannot congratulate ourselves upon living in an age favourable to progress in architecture, but it is yet satisfactory to observe, from a growing demand for architectural works, that public attention is awakening to the subject. We give a list of recent publications connected with this science, none of which would probably have seen the light had it been supposed their circulation would be confined to professional students; but every day affords conclusive evidence that the number of persons who take an interest in architectural improvement, and study the characteristics of buildings as a question of taste, is greatly on the increase; and the fact is full of promise. Whatever may be the attainments of individual professors, progress in architecture in the midst of a profound ignorance of its first principles would be impossible. The public are the architects' patrons—with them lies the award of merit, and they are the judges in his only court of appeal. In architecture, as in music and painting, he who would please to live must live to please. Correct taste must often become a subordinate consideration to the taste of the patron. Better to build Gothic towers with Grecian porticoes, and fill the treasury, than to make fancy sketches of classic edifices while waiting to take the

privilege of the Insolvent Act within the walls of the Queen's Bench.

We rejoice to notice the disposition evinced in the highest quarters to extend the cultivation of the fine arts among all classes of the people by means of national education. This is beginning at the right end—although many obstacles must be removed before the object proposed to be effected will be realized. Hitherto, Italian image boys have been the only missionaries of taste that have found their way among the people, and as a consequence our operatives possess less artistical skill and corresponding refinement of manners than are to be found among the working classes of any other country in Europe. In the useful arts we have not our equals; but set an English mechanic to make a design for a new cast, or a country carpenter to sketch a plan for a rustic lodge, and the result would scarcely be a production which a native of New Zealand could not excel.

Great opposition has been made in the majority of our free schools to the introduction of drawing classes for teaching the elementary principles of design. Ignorant persons suppose that the principles of design are required only as accomplishments, unsuitable for the poor; but who can calculate the influence upon the progress of a national architecture, of conferring upon every poor lad (at no real sacrifice of time or money), the ability to sketch a picturesque cottage such as he might one day hope to be able to build for himself, as an improvement upon his father's cabin. And, after all, how small (comparatively) is the effect produced upon the general aspect of a country by a few elegant villas or mansions, although erected in the most correct taste! For any one of these, we see perhaps fifty small houses springing up almost in a night for working men and humble tradesmen, and, as at present constructed, possessing no one architectural feature upon which the eye can rest with pleasure. We must change the character of these structures before we can boast of a national architecture; and to effect such a change, we must not despise the instruction of a bricklayer's labourer's apprentice, who in a few years may become the master builder, deforming town and country with unsightly hovels.

And this leads us to remark that, were we beginning life as an architect, we would strike out for ourselves, with a view to professional success, an entirely different path from that which is pursued by the majority of architects in the early days of their career.

The profession is one in which, it is well known, there are some splendid prizes, but drawn only by the few; and in which many are doomed to eat, through life, the bread of care. The

fault lies less with the public than with the unsuitable education architects receive, which leaves them wholly unprepared to grapple with the stern realities of this work-a-day world. We have rarely known a young architect who, in studying for the profession, or when employing his leisure hours in sketching designs for a public exhibition, could be induced to turn his attention to anything less than the construction of cathedrals or noblemen's mansions, as if his first step in life would be to elbow on one side Mr Barry or Sir Robert Smirke. We do not mean to assert that any young architect would refuse to build a row of houses for tradesmen, if solicited to do so;—we would only say that he never gives his mind to this class of buildings, so as to be able, if called upon, to submit designs, or improvements upon them, of original merit.

Now, for every one hundred pounds laid out upon a nobleman's mansion, we imagine there are a hundred thousand pounds expended in warehouses and shops, and dwellings for the middle and lower classes; and the far greater proportion of these are erected (as a glance at them will prove) without any assistance whatever from the profession. Indeed, the smaller class of builders have a strong prejudice against employing architects, and one which, on inquiry, we have found not to be wholly without rational foundation. The first consideration with builders is economical construction, and this is the last subject upon which architects usually give themselves the trouble to bestow a thought, a proof of which was lately afforded by the clauses introduced by some palace architect into one of the late-proposed building regulation bills—clauses which would have rendered it impossible to erect houses for the poor without doubling their rent. An architect with his head always in the clouds, or upon the summit of a church spire, cannot descend to the details of a cottage, except when required for a park lodge; and if called upon to design a dwelling house suitable for shopkeepers, he either does nothing beyond that which could be done without him, or perhaps proposes some baronial or palladial style of decoration, inappropriate to the object, and ruinous in its cost.

Architects have not yet discovered that their sole chances of employment do not rest with the aristocracy; but every one acts at present upon the contrary supposition. It is curious, as a proof of this, and notwithstanding all that has been done by Loudon in *rural* architecture, one may turn over volumes of designs without finding a single sketch of a house that might suit a family of six or eight persons with moderate means as a town residence; but designs innumerable for noblemen's mansions and villas, or cottage ornées for gentlemen of fortune.

Another reason why common builders rarely employ a profes-

sional architect is, as they have observed to us, the established system of remuneration adopted by the profession—a system which leaves the amount of an architect's bill, at the close of a contract, a subject of very considerable uncertainty.

The usual nominal remuneration of an architect is five per cent. upon the amount of the outlay; but this five per cent. is somtimes converted into ten by charges for drawings and consultations—a serious sum to those who build on speculation, and which they are naturally anxious to save.

There are various objections to the principle of remunerating architects by an uniform per centage: one is, that it puts the young beginner upon a level with the experienced architect, and this is absurd; another is, that it places the interest of the architect at variance with that of his employer. In the mercantile world, payment by commission is a very common mode of remuneration; but only in those cases in which the interest of both parties — the employer and the employed—is equally promoted. By such an arrangement, a commercial traveller sells goods or collects debts on commission, and the firm he represents are never better pleased than when they find the commission amount to a large sum, because their own profits have been increased in a corresponding proportion. But it is quite different with a firm employing an architect to superintend the construction of a new warehouse. They may wish to limit the cost to 1,000*l.*, but it is the interest of the architect to double the expenditure; and although honourable men will not, when they have the opportunity, needlessly waste the money of an employer, a man of the world will not, if he can help it, expose them to the temptation.

This objection is never more seriously felt than during the unpleasant discussions which often arise in the settlement of a bill of extras. There are always extras; and generally they are chiefly occasioned by the unwise interference of the proprietor of the building erected; but sometimes, and not unfrequently, they arise out of alterations made by the architect, and rendered essential through his negligence in not studying sufficiently the construction before his specification was prepared for the contractor. In this case, it does seem somewhat preposterous to be required to pay a premium upon blundering; yet such is the rule. If the architect's negligence have occasioned a bill of extras amounting to 500*l.*, he is entitled to an extra commission of 25*l.* A better rule would be to reduce his commission by the latter amount.

This is a subject we would seriously recommend to the attention of the Society of Architects. It may have no interest for the heads of the profession whose fortunes are made, but it

ought to have for the crowds of young men who, beginning life with high notions of what the profession is to do for them, find their precarious resources inferior to the income of a clerk of the works till they are past forty years of age.

There is no natural connexion between the cost of any structure and the amount of architectural skill or labour it may have required. The brick wall round the Duke of Bedford's park at Woburn Abbey, many miles in extent, cost, perhaps, in the erection, as much as a palace in Belgrave square; but what relation is there between the wall and the town mansion? Or take the case of a speculative builder who may propose to build a row of houses in a street, each house a duplicate of its next door neighbour, why should he throw away five per cent. upon the total outlay for mere superintendence, when one set of working drawings for any one of the houses will serve sufficiently well for the whole?

Or again, if the builder wish to employ an architect, by what rule of reason should a young man just entering the profession suppose himself entitled to demand the same rate of remuneration which an architect would receive of the highest established reputation? Or to put the opposite case,—if a nobleman send for a Barry to design a pigeon house, why should a Barry not be at liberty to charge something more than five per cent. upon the cost of the pigeon house, if he consent to gratify the nobleman's whim?

In skilled labour it is idle to attempt to enforce the principle of any fixed and uniform rate of remuneration, and in architecture we think the amount should always be fixed by special agreement, governed by the two considerations of skill and time. We know not why young architects should not be content, like young medical practitioners, to begin life by placing themselves at the service of the humbler classes of the community. A country physician would gain but a sorry livelihood were he to insist, at starting, upon the same fees as Sir James Clarke, or refuse to write prescriptions for any one but a peer of the realm.

The rule we should propose to ourselves, in similar circumstances, would be to aim at small things before attempting great, and to connect, more than is generally done, the practical and useful with the theoretical and ornamental. A young architect, fully competent to describe the pediment of the Parthenon, cannot often tell his employers, if asked the question, the difference of cost in roofing between a square of tiling and a square of slates, or the extreme width allowed by law for a window not subject to be charged to the assessed taxes as two windows.*

* This information is not given by either Loudon or Gwilt in their respective Encyclopædias of Architecture.

With a little industry he might master the contents of Laxton's 'Builder's Price Book,' and have at his fingers' ends every clause in every act of parliament relative to drains, walls, and windows, and be able to show, practically and scientifically, how the greatest strength may be attained with the greatest economy of material. In such a case how invaluable would be his assistance compared with that of a young man whose knowledge of architecture is confined to classic or Elizabethan forms!

While upon this subject we would further suggest to the Society of Architects the propriety of supporting the principle of arbitration courts for the adjustment of differences. The ordinary courts are obviously unfit tribunals for determining the merits of any dispute between a builder and an architect, neither judge nor jury understanding a word of the technicalites involved in the discussion, and the verdict of a jury being quite as much a matter of chance as a prize or blank in a lottery. Our own experience induces us to recommend that all agreements between architects and builders should be in writing; and that by a special clause both parties should bind themselves to decide their differences (should any arise) by arbitration, instead of by an appeal to courts of law.*

We come now to the principal object of our inquiry,—the comparative value to the public, and especially to amateur builders, of the different architectural publications we have

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* We may illustrate the propriety of such an arrangement by a case which came last year within our own knowledge. An architect of some promise, but not of high standing in the profession, was engaged to build a house in the city. A design for the elevation was submitted and approved, and instructions were given him to proceed. Before, however, beginning the specifications and working drawings, he wrote to relinquish his engagement, finding it would better answer his purpose to superintend the erection of some houses in the country. Subsequently he sent in a claim of 35*l.* as a charge for his preliminary labours. To this charge the proprietor of the ground naturally demurred, and wrote in reply to the following effect:—"You have abandoned your engagement with me to consult your own interest without thinking of mine. You leave me to conclude as I can negotiations commenced to which I am unaccustomed, about new sewers, and party walls. You occasion me a serious loss by delaying the progress of the building, and moreover compel me to put myself in the hands of another architect. I think, therefore, you claim a larger sum than would be allowed in equity; but if we cannot agree, let us refer the matter to the arbitration of a third party." The architect refused, assumed a very high tone, and commenced an action for the amount. The money was paid by the advice of an honest solicitor, who said—"Submit to any robbery in small sums, rather than defend your property in a court of law." If such a case were not the exception rather than the rule, in the general conduct of the profession, we should certainly not wonder at the disposition shown among large classes for every man to be his own architect; but we have already sufficiently accounted for the fact.

placed in our list. We have now among us men highly qualified, by their studies of ancient architecture, to apply all the details of Gothic or Grecian ornament to any building they may be called upon to superintend, and here and there one who can make out an estimate not likely to be exceeded by the contract price. But let no individual take estimates for granted, to whom it is a real object to save twenty or thirty per cent. upon his ultimate outlay. The safest course is to master himself all the details of his intended building, and to ascertain by his own personal inquiries, the comparative cost of the various materials which might be employed. In addition to this, it is an excellent plan to make, with his architect's assistance, a model of the building,—not one for ornament, but use; such an one, as for an ordinary residence, a carpenter could construct with deal in a week, sufficiently to show (more effectually than drawings) the distribution of the rooms on every floor, and the exact bearing of all the walls. Nothing but actual experiment is so sure a means of detecting defects of construction, as a good working model; and forty shillings thus expended, will often save several hundred pounds, by suggesting in time the needful alterations.

To any prudent man who would go to work in this manner, we need hardly recommend the judicious expenditure of a few pounds in architectural books, especially works of reference; and of these some of the most useful are now before us.

We shall notice first, as the most essential to the library of our non-professional readers who may at some time of their lives propose to build a cottage or country-house, "Loudon's Encyclopædia of Cottage and Village Architecture." Gwilt's Encyclopædia ranks higher as a work for professional students, containing the Mathematics of Architecture, with copious details upon all the technicalities of the science, and his work is therefore one which no architect should be without; but the late Mr. Loudon has the merit of having conveyed more information upon Architecture in a popular style, as adapted for general readers, than had ever been attempted before, or than has been accomplished since.*

* The death of Mr. Loudon is a public calamity, and we regret much to learn from the appeal circulated by his friends, that his indefatigable industry was not rewarded with that reasonable independence which such a man ought to have been enabled to enjoy and bequeath to his family. Mr. Loudon had been obliged to employ an amanuensis and a draughtsman in all his literary labours for the last twenty years. His right arm had been amputated, and he retained only the use of two fingers of the left hand. These bodily infirmities occasioned necessarily a serious addition to his expenses, and the

The Encyclopædia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture, differs from Mr. Gwilt's Encyclopædia of Architecture in embracing of course but a limited portion of the subject; but the part treated of is fully discussed, and in such a manner as rather to create in the reader's mind too strong a disposition to try experiments in building, than alarm by the algebraical formulas in which most Architectural works indulge. The work comprises 1300 pages of small type, containing the most minute details

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depression of the book-trade in 1841, placed him in the hands of his creditors, at the moment when his fame seemed the best established, and his works appeared likely to yield a profitable return. The immediate sale of part of the existing stock would relieve his widow from a situation of great embarrassment; and to promote the object, we have much pleasure in subjoining a list of Mr. Loudon's works, besides the "Encyclopædia of British Architecture" noticed above.

Published in July, 1838, price 10*l.* cloth lettered,

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THE GARDENER'S MAGAZINE.

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By a Post Office order being sent to Mrs. Loudon, Bayswater, London, any of Mr. Loudon's works will be forwarded in the monthly parcel of any local Bookseller; or through any Nurseryman or Seedsman in the neighbourhood of London. A list of the Subscribers' names will appear weekly in the *Gardener's Chronicle.*

upon every topic connected with Cottage, Farm, or Villa erections, upon which it is possible the reader could desire information, from the latch on the street-door to the ridge tiles of the roof.

The designs given in the extraordinary number of 2000 woodcuts, are not of equal excellence; some of them are inferior, and the best are contained in the supplement; but the greater part have the merit of being well-adapted for their object, and architecturally effective without being costly in construction. Some of the most picturesque designs of cottages we have seen, are to be found in Ricauti's "Rustic Architecture;" but we fear they would be somewhat difficult to realise with country workmen without a Ricauti to superintend; while most of the designs given in Mr. Loudon's work (all accompanied with ground-plans and full particulars of the materials to be chosen) could be executed, with little assistance, by the carpenters and builders of our small towns and villages.

The best parts of Mr. Gwilt's book are, the Mechanical treatises on Carpentry, Joinery, and Masonry. The Glossary appears to be very complete, excepting in the article of books, many of which, of unquestioned excellence, are omitted. We need only mention as one, Hope's Architecture. The general index is not sufficiently copious, and there ought to have been a classified list of the engravings for more convenient reference. In the introductory History of Architecture, the most ancient and least useful part is the best illustrated. We observe that, in treating of British Architecture, no notice is taken of the immense improvements made in bridges, by the use of cast-iron on the suspension principle, recently also applied to roofs, or of stone bridges with a horizontal line of road. We think also, that more space should have been given to improvements in light-houses and other public buildings, particularly prisons, work-houses, hospitals, &c.; and we were surprised to find no mention of the most approved modes of warming and ventilating by hot air, steam, and hot water. The best books which treat on these subjects,—such as Sylvester's Domestic Economy; Tredgold on Warming and Ventilating; and Hood on Heating by Hot Water,—should at least have been named. The historical part of the subject would have been more complete, if the changes in private houses introduced since the time of Elizabeth, in the kitchen, the laundry, and the stables, as well as in the living-rooms and bed-rooms, had been noticed. Baths are another omission; the baths of the ancients are described in some detail, but they are not enume-

rated with the requisites of a private house; and the specimen which is given of a complete country-house, one which Mr. Gwilt thinks superior in distribution and effect, does not show a bath among its accommodations, nor a conservatory.

In the section on Stones, only those mentioned in the report made to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests are described. A number of excellent Scotch and Irish stones, are omitted, such as the Colalo stone, of which the pillar on Portadon-Hill is built; and the Caithness flag-stone, allowed by all the Scotch, and some English Architects, to be the best of all the British stones for foot pavements.

The old error of supposing chestnut to have been the chief timber used in our Cathedrals, Westminster Hall, &c., is repeated; although a modern architect, Mr. Atkinson, and a French philosopher, M. Daubenton, proved the timber alluded to, to be that of the chestnut-leaved oak, which grows in the Earl of Mansfield's grounds at Hampstead at this day, and is, doubtless, the remains of the chestnut wood mentioned in History.

Mr. Gwilt does not allude to the classical forms of tiles introduced by Barry and other travelled Architects, and now regularly manufactured at the potteries, nor to the British sheet-glass, which, from its cheapness, the Duke of Devonshire has introduced for cottage-windows, and which can be had in panes four or five feet in length, for skylights, conservatories, and every kind of glass roof; and the important subject of foundations, drains, and sewers, including some injurious and undeserved strictures on Mr. Chadwick's report, (which we trust will not be found in a second edition,) occupy only two pages of the work.

The student is presented with an elaborate treatise on Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Measuring and Valuing, and Perspective, but he will probably be disappointed that Mr. Gwilt does not notice Isometrical Perspective, which in Architecture is far more useful than common perspective, as it serves for a geometrical elevation.

The general principles of Architectural Composition occupy but two pages of the work, although as many as one hundred and four pages are devoted to that eternal subject, the five orders. Humbler, but not less important matters, such as flues, chimney-pots, smoky-chimneys, and the means of curing them, and the best mode of fitting up kitchens, Mr. Gwilt leaves wholly in the hands of Mr. Loudon.

These omissions, and others we might point out, show that the title of Mr. Gwilt's work is not strictly appropriate. It is

not an Encyclopædia of British Architecture, but it is a collection of treatises upon several important branches of the subject, by a man of great learning and varied acquirements, and comprising, in one thickly printed volume, a great body of elementary and technical information, indispensable to the architectural student, and which, for the most part, he can only otherwise obtain by the purchase of numerous expensive works.

Architectural pupils of the present day, have many advantages over their predecessors, for, while a generation back, architectural works were rare, and if accompanied with designs, were published on a scale which made them accessible only to a few, and rendered travel almost the only means of obtaining any practical acquaintance with the monuments of antiquity, a library of books, embracing nearly all that is required to be known, may now be obtained at an expense scarcely too serious for the humblest student. For most of these we are indebted to the house of Longmans, but thanks are due to the publishers of University College, Messrs. Taylor and Walton, for an invaluable work of reference, connected with Classical Architecture. We allude to their Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities. A volume comprising an explanation of every technical term connected with the arts and sciences, as known to the Greeks and Romans, or as relating to the political state of the people, and illustrated with innumerable diagrams describing the peculiar characteristics of Greek and Roman buildings, dress, furniture, and miscellaneous implements of peace and war. With the assistance of this work, which must always be considered a standard book, the Architectural student, though not very deeply read in the classics, may readily escape any momentary perplexity from the classical allusions of modern authors.

Messrs. Didot, & Co. of Paternoster Row, corresponding with the French house of the same name, are now publishing a work of equal, or perhaps to the architect of still greater importance, as embodying, and in a cheap form, the results of travel. The work consists of plans and elevations of the most remarkable edifices in the world, with Archæological and descriptive notices, edited by M. Jules Gailhabaud. Of the letter-press and general execution of this work, we shall speak more in detail when completed. The work will consist of three series, or divisions, of which the second has now commenced. The first series comprises forty designs of existing buildings in the Hindoo, Egyptian, Persian, Pelasgian, Celtic, Grecian, Roman, early Italian, Byzantine, Gothic, and Modern Architecture. These are given in steel quarto engravings, and we need not remark upon their

utility to Architects of the existing copying school, or to those with higher aims.*

The price of this work is extremely low, considering the number and character of the plates; but perhaps the most remarkable instance of cheapness, as connected with elaborate and highly finished illustrations, is to be found in No. II. of Mr. Weale's new periodical, entitled "Quarterly Papers on Architecture." We feel some hesitation in calling attention to this work, at least to the part published shortly after Christmas, for our honest impression is, that the publisher, in his zeal for

* Here, however, we would observe that a few solitary monuments, either of the art, or of the literature of a people, go but a little way towards making us acquainted with its national characteristics. What edifice, for instance, could possibly be selected as a fair representative of the Gothic style, exhibiting itself as it does in such prodigious variety, not only in different countries, and at different periods, but among the same people at the very same time,—if only because applied to buildings very dissimilar from each other in their character and purpose? Here it is represented by two continental specimens, the Cathedral at Freyburg, and the gallery of the Magdalen church at Troyes; therefore we hardly need say, that welcome as they are, they are only insulated specimens of the style itself. Although its loss is not very great, there is one style which we miss, viz., the Chinese: now, inferior as it is, it certainly does answer to the idea of a style, inasmuch as it exhibits a consistent system of construction; whereas Celtic monuments, cromlechs, crosses, and unshapen stones, merely set up perpendicularly, do not belong to architecture at all, or even to mere building. They have no interest, save merely as archæological curiosities; we could, therefore, very well dispense with the two plates containing examples of that kind, and in lieu of them an additional one of the Egyptian style might very properly have been given; for now there is no instance at all of the architecture, properly so called, of that people, as exhibited in their temples and other edifices, the one selected being merely a rock-hewn façade and excavation: the Speos at Ebsamsoul, or, as more commonly written, Ipsamboul, which is by far more remarkable for its singularity and barbaric taste, than for any sort of architectural character or contrivance.

The subject which is the most copiously illustrated of any, is the church of Santa Maria at Toscanella, here given as a specimen of 'Provençal' style; and this becomes rather more, than at all less, interesting, in consequence of its affording additional information to that given in Knight's "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy," accompanied only with a general perspective view of the interior. Interest of a similar kind attends also, in some degree, several of the other subjects; if to us they are not quite fresh,—as to many they undoubtedly will be,—we obtain further particulars relative to them, both from the plates and the letter-press; and the "Bibliographical References," attached to the latter, are exceedingly serviceable, by apprising us where ampler information may be obtained. If not in every respect exactly what we could have wished it, we can still recommend the work as a very desirable, not to say indispensable one, a welcome addition to the bookshelves of the architect and amateur, and of those who have any taste, or wish to acquire any, for the art and its history. The two other series will, no doubt, be more generally attractive, for we are promised, among other subjects, Mr. Barry's pile of the "New Houses of Parliament," and we hope that some of the recent *monumens* of the French capital will not be overlooked.

splendid illustrations, has outstepped the bounds of discretion, and that the more copies he sells of his Christmas number, the more money he will lose. In the part to which we refer, Mr. Weale offers the public, for seven shillings and sixpence, eleven quarto engravings, and eighteen of the same size brilliantly coloured; besides the letter-press, which consists of various original, or translated treatises of merit. During the last forty years several attempts have been made to establish an Architectural periodical; but all have failed from the want of support: in the present case there can be no lack of buyers, but we have our doubts, whether any amount of circulation will enable the publisher to conduct a periodical upon the liberal and enlarged scale he has adopted at the commencement. The coloured plates to which we have referred exhibit the painted and stained-glass windows of York Cathedral, and the Temple Church in London; and, excepting the designs of the Greenwich poor-house, the whole of the plates in both parts relate to Ecclesiastical buildings, or their decorations. Among them, perhaps the greatest novelty will be found in the engravings describing the curious style of architecture, and decoration, of the primitive timber churches of Norway.

We must defer to a future opportunity a notice of other Architectural works which claim our attention; but we may here remark that one of the most sumptuous volumes which has yet been produced in Scotland, Sir Thomas Dick Lauder's Memorial of the Royal Progress in Scotland, although not especially addressed to Architects, belongs to our subject as affording some curious and exceedingly valuable illustrations of British Architecture, amongst which we would call attention to the plate which gives a striking, and, we believe, the only faithful view of the interior of Roslin castle, one of the most interesting structures in Scotland, the architecture of which Mr. Britton, in his Architectural Antiquities, has pronounced to be unique.

We propose to illustrate, with a few prints and woodcuts, the desultory observations with which we shall conclude; and not to infringe upon orthodox rules of precedence, we will here introduce all that we have to say of the Church before we speak of the Cottage.

We have every disposition to hope and believe that the principle of Church extension, of which, perhaps, modern Architects are greater promoters than the Bishops (with reverence be it spoken), has resulted in the spiritual improvement of the people; but it has certainly not effected so much for the embellishment of towns, or for the architectural decoration of rural landscapes, as might easily have been accomplished with the same means.

We refer not now to the want of originality of taste, upon which enough has been said, but to the want of judgment which has often been exhibited in the selection of suitable sites for new churches. Perhaps the worst sites ever chosen for public buildings are those of Goldsmith's Hall, behind the Post Office, and the New Houses of Parliament in the lowest part of Westminster. But the sites chosen for many of the new churches are little superior, although, in their case at least, the Scripture rule should have been followed, and every Church placed "like a city set upon a hill," which cannot be hid. Where this rule has been followed, effects have been produced at a very small cost, which could not have been realized by an expenditure ten times as great if the building had been placed upon low ground, or surrounded by houses.

We were much struck with this fact when we were last in the neighbourhood of Reigate, Surrey, and were induced to pay a visit to the new church at Red Hill. The cost of this church, including the whole of the internal fittings and expenses connected with the consecration, has not been much more than half the sum which we have known spent in mere repairs upon some of our London churches; but, from the choice of the site, it appears upon a near view almost as imposing as a cathedral, while at a distance it is one of the most pleasing objects upon which the eye rests in the midst of a delightful landscape. The new church stands on the summit of a gentle eminence in the open country, and is therefore visible for some miles in every direction.

This Church consists of a nave and chancel only, with an octagonal tower and spire at the west end, supported by four lofty open arches, the thrust of which is counterbalanced by the same number of buttresses, placed diagonally against the angles of the piers, and surmounted by pinnacles of stone.

The nave, lighted, as will be seen on referring to the engraving, by five windows on each side, is covered with a roof of open timber-work, the principal compartments of which are filled in with tracery, and has a gallery for children at the west end only.

The chancel comprises in its plan five sides of an octagon, and is lighted by five windows, which are enriched with tracery, and have also elaborately carved transoms. Throughout the building, the architect has adopted, for the most part, the forms which began to prevail very early in the fifteenth century; and in the ceiling of this portion of it especially, a great degree of elegance and richness has been obtained by the introduction of the beautiful fan groining, so frequently met with in the ecclesiastical structures of that period.

The church is in all respects most substantially built. White

Suffolk bricks have been used for facing the exterior, and Caen stone for the windows, copings, pinnacles, and dressings.

The octagonal tower and spire, at the west end, form of course the principal feature of the design, and are remarkable for simplicity and lightness. We think, however, the architect, Mr. J. I. Knowles, would have improved the effect had he continued the lines of the whole of the piers upon which the tower rests to the ground, instead of allowing two of them, the piers at the back, to be lost in the body of the church. The tower now scarcely seems (to use a familiar expression) to stand upon all fours, and almost reminds one of a stool with but two legs placed for support against a wall. This defect might easily have been remedied, and the structure have gained thereby an appearance of greater solidity.*

From the parish church it is a natural transition to the parish school; and having already remarked upon the importance of attempting to nationalize a taste for architecture in this country through the medium of popular instruction, we may here express our regret, that an opportunity has been lost for making a considerable step towards this object in the published designs for school houses, recommended by the Committee of Council for Education.†

The volume to which we allude contains an invaluable report from Mr. Kay Shuttleworth, on the general principles which should guide the construction of school-houses; but the designs, which are all by one architect, are all in one style, and have led to a monotonous uniformity in parish school erections. Now here was an opportunity of suggesting and realising images of varied beauty in the simpler styles of architecture, which alone would have gone far to improve the national taste. We know not why every architect in the kingdom should not have been invited to send in designs. Few would have declined doing so, and a volume of the best of these designs placed in every school library, and perhaps occasionally used as drawing

* The ground on which it is erected on Red Hill was the gift of the Right Honourable the Earl Somers; the font was presented by the Countess Somers; the Communion plate by Mrs. Price of Woodhatch, and the bell by Mrs. and Miss Martin of Reigate.

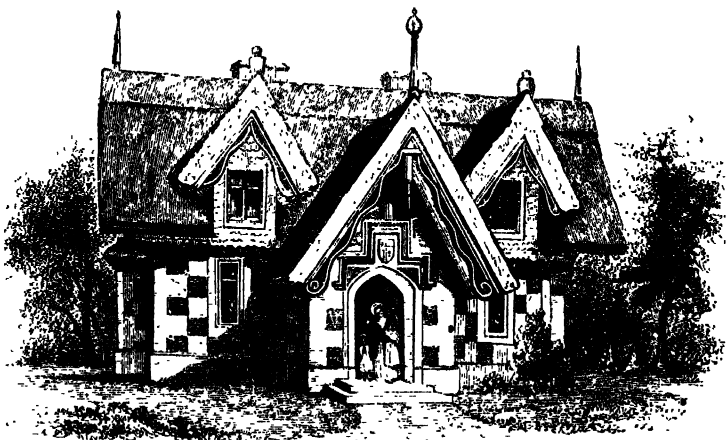
About 5800*l.* will be required to defray the expenses of the building and endowment. Of this sum 1000*l.* has been given by the Right Honourable the Earl Somers; 600*l.* by the Winchester Diocesan Society; and 400*l.* by the Incorporated Society. Sittings are provided in the church for 648 persons, including children.

† We may recommend for the use of schools Dr. Barrington's Manual for Students of British Architecture, containing a glossary of architectural terms, a table of the variation of each style, and accompanied with an illustrated chart, showing the character of each style, from early Saxon to Elizabethan.

copies by the children, would have led a multitude of minds to compare, and reflect, and take an interest in the subject, that will now perhaps never be induced to pay it the slightest attention. As it is, the Committee of Privy Council has fixed for some time the notion in the public mind, that an orthodox charity or even infant school must be Elizabethan; and if the school were not erected in this style, it would with many persons go far to prove, that the Bible was not taught there, or that its patrons belonged to some obnoxious class of dissent. We do not think highly of any of the designs supplied by Mr. Sampson Kempthorpe, and few that we have seen by other Architects as adapted for simple structures, appear to us wholly satisfactory; but one of the most pleasing, in the style patronized by the Committee of Privy Council, is that of the Brompton schools, by Mr. George Godwin, favourably known to the public by his letters to the Society of Antiquaries, on the Masonic marks found on the stones of various buildings erected during the Middle Ages.

In what is called "Elizabethan Architecture," it is usual to break the lines of the roof by a false face or screen, showing

rectangular corners, as in the above, or sometimes, as in other designs, still more unnatural curves, to both of which, though generally approved, we object. The introduction of screens, however ornamental they may be in themselves, when not required for some really useful object, as in parapet walls, are in bad taste, as suggesting the existence of some defect in the construction which requires to be hidden: an unpleasant association of ideas. When roofs are visible from the street, there should be nothing in their outline to conceal; and when the construction is sound, there is no necessity for concealment, beyond that which the copyist imposes upon himself. For example, in the following design from Mr. Loudon's Encyclopædia of Cottage Architecture, for a thatched cottage, a picturesque effect is produced by roofs visible in every part, much superior to any arising from the notched lines and curves of Elizabethan disguises.

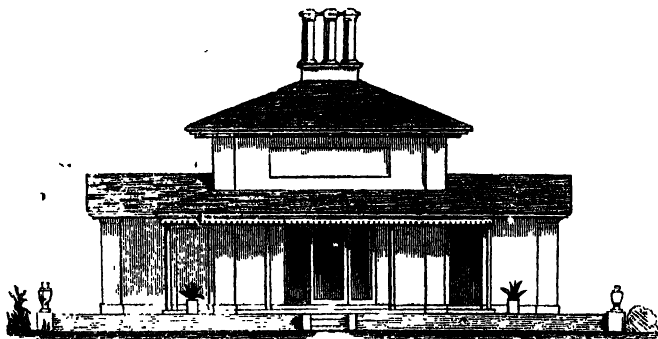


This design, by Mr. E. B. Lamb, exhibits the elevation of a Dairy Lodge, erected at Chequers Court, Bucks, for Sir Robert Frankland Russel, Bart. We commend it from its appropriateness to the object, and as an instance of good taste without pretension.

We do not discover the same appropriateness in the design by Mr. F. Thompson, of a cottage in the style of the Wingfield Station-house.* Here we have another example of false associ-

* Loudon's Encyclopædia of Cottage Architecture, page 1164.

ation. Why should a labourer's cottage be made to suggest the arrival of a locomotive with its train of rail-road carriages? Who would expect to find at the back of such a building the piggery and dairy of a daily labourer, described by the Architect in his ground plans?



For a station-house the design is certainly suitable, and we are pleased on the whole with the general character of station-house designs, but we would confine them to the object they are intended to express. A cottage should look like a cottage, and not like a passengers' waiting-room.

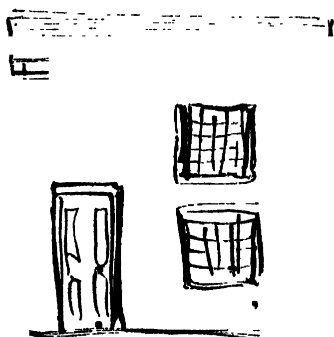
Very far-removed, however, are both the above designs from the common block-houses erected by country bricklayers, and carpenters, for the habitations of labourers, farmers, and country tradesmen. This class of builders and self-taught Architects appear to have retrograded, and lost the little taste they once possessed, for it is rare that we find one of them able to build, without instruction, a chimney in the old English style, which prevailed in country places, and especially in Kent, a century ago.

But we despair of nothing; and we have been much gratified at observing the encouragement given to a very meritorious weekly publication, addressed to this class, called "the Builder," and eminently calculated to promote the interest of working-men, as connected with the improvement of their habitations. In a late number of this publication we noticed the following communication, to which we give insertion here, from, probably, the same motives which influenced the Editor.

Sir.—Can you, or one of your correspondents, oblige me with an economical plan of improving the appearance of my little house, merely a workman's house, with one room in front, up and down stairs? This

room I wish to make comfortable (the door now opening immediately to the street in this country village). I inclose a drawing of my house.

I wish to have some kind of double door or portico, so as to make the front down-stairs room comfortable as a parlour or sitting-room; and my object is also to improve the appearance of the door and bottom window, both being now very poor and common.



Hoping to be favoured with a hint to assist me, I am, Sir, with sincere wishes for the continued success of your publication, yours respectfully,

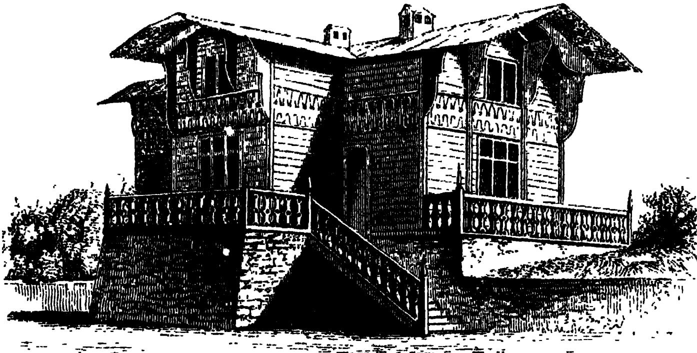
A. WORKING MAN.

*January* 20, 1844.

If a portico be recommended for the door, I should like it to be in wrought-iron, as, in this case, I could make it myself; but should require assistance as regards the *best material* for the *roof of it.*

We may smile at this sketch, but a majority of the houses in the United Kingdom are fourth-rate tenements, somewhat like the above, and in Ireland often worse,—the room up stairs, and the staircase itself, being generally wanting in an Irish cabin. It will be well for British Architecture and for the British people when every working man begins to think, like the correspondent of the "Builder," of the means of improving his little cot, and to put by something from his earnings towards the object. We earnestly hope that if the Committee of Council for Education cannot be made to perceive the importance of Architectural manuals for schools, filled with suitable designs for habitations of farmers, tradesmen, and working men, the subject will be taken up by the existing Commission for promoting taste in the Fine Arts; and, recommending it to the serious attention of the Commissioners, we shall proceed to place before our readers a few of the designs it might be judicious to introduce in a manual adapted for the use of schools for the middle class.

The following design in the Swiss style is adapted for a farmhouse, or other rural building, where timber is the only available material. In this case, as in that of the new church at Reigate, the effect is greatly enhanced, with scarcely any additional cost, by the elevation of site.

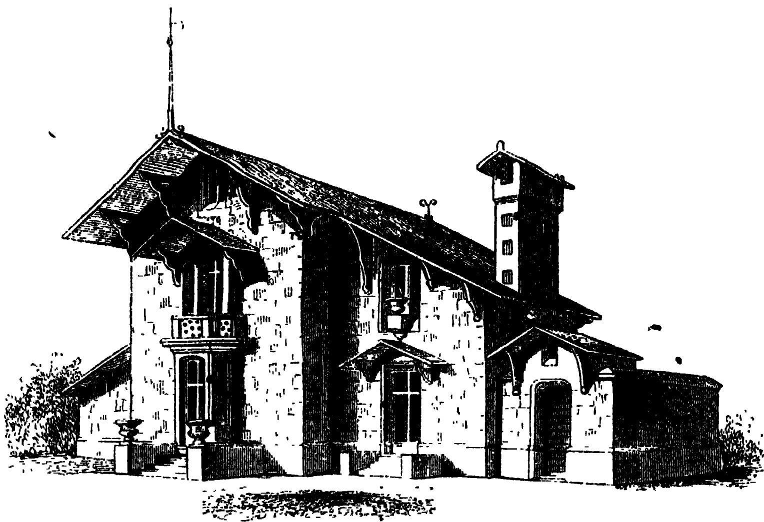


Mr. Loudon tells us, that this building has been erected for J. B. Morgan, Esq., from the designs of Mr. R. Varden.

"It was designed under peculiar circumstances. A new approach road having been formed in a cutting, ten or twelve feet deep, almost in front of the dwelling-house, and a screen being required on the farther side of this cutting, to exclude the view of several unsightly cottages from the dining room and drawing-room windows, it was decided to place there, the stables and a small lodge residence, which were to form one building, and be of a somewhat ornamental character. The site being on the abrupt edge of the cutting, a bold and picturesque style of building was required, and the Swiss style was ultimately adopted. The walls under the balustrade are made two feet six inches thick, to support the earth bank on which the building is placed: they are built of unsquared granite, with garretted joints made very rough, to enhance the picturesque appearance, and suit the character of the Architecture. The walls of the building are formed of nine-inch brick-work covered with deal weather-boarding."

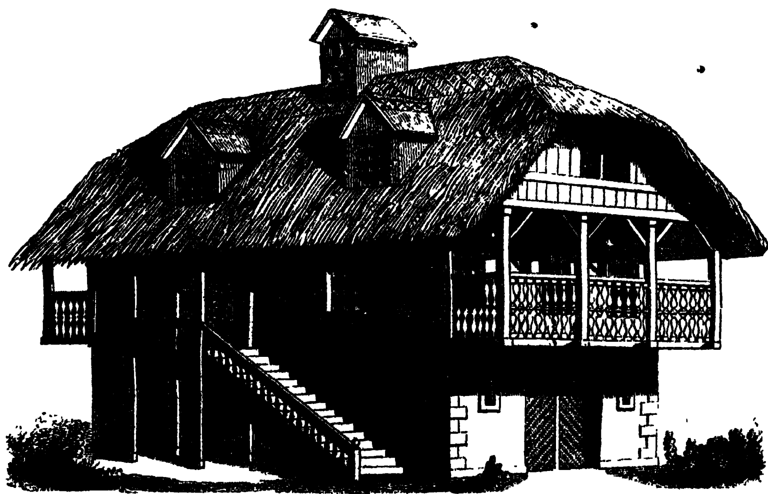
Mr. Varden is one of the few architects who have ventured to introduce the Swiss style in the United Kingdom, the examples of which, among us, are almost exclusively confined to the buildings erected by Zoological Societies, although the style is well adapted for most kinds of rural architecture.

The annexed is a design in the same style for a villa erected at Strouraer, by Mr. E. B. Lamb, for John Murray, Esq., author of various works on natural and experimental science.



The great merit of this design is, the extreme simplicity of the roof which does not contain a single gutter and on which there is neither hips nor valleys: a consideration of great importance in aiming at economy of construction.

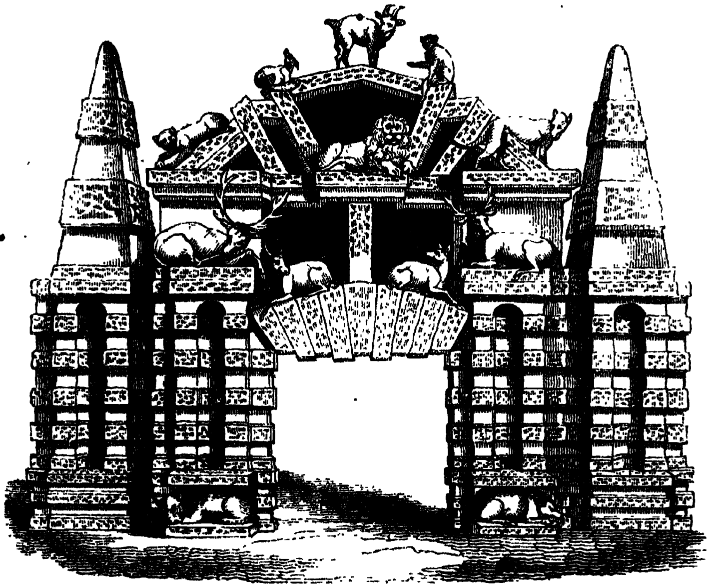
At page 99 of Mr. Loudon's Encyclopædia of Cottage Architecture, we have a design of a farm-house in the German style, or that style of rural architecture which is common to the northern parts of Europe, where the great objects studied are solidity and warmth in winter.



In this design, the ground floor is supposed to be occupied as a cart-shed and stables; a convenient and economical arrangement, much esteemed by German farmers, but attended with many obvious disadvantages and sources of annoyance, upon which we need not enter, and which must prevent its adoption in this country.

Animals of all kinds should be kept in buildings separated from the habitations of man; and to those who have a larger collection than common of the four-footed race, or contemplate establishing a zoological society, we recommend Mr. Loudon's design for a

GATEWAY TO A MENAGERIE.

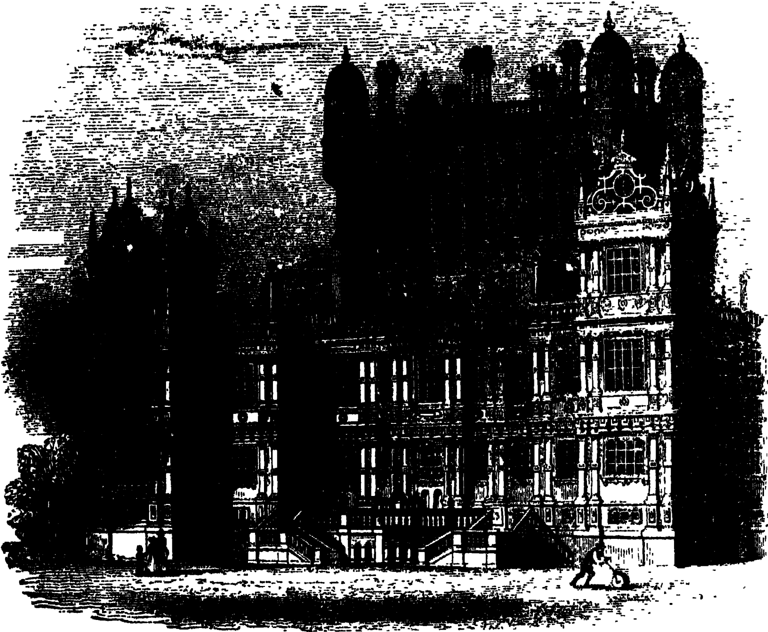


Ascending in the scale from the cottage and farm-house to the country-seat and mansions of the nobility and gentry, we turn from Loudon to Gwilt, for some well executed illustrations of the manorial buildings of our ancestors. We borrow from his pages a very curious and picturesque example of a timber-framed residence.

MORTON HALL

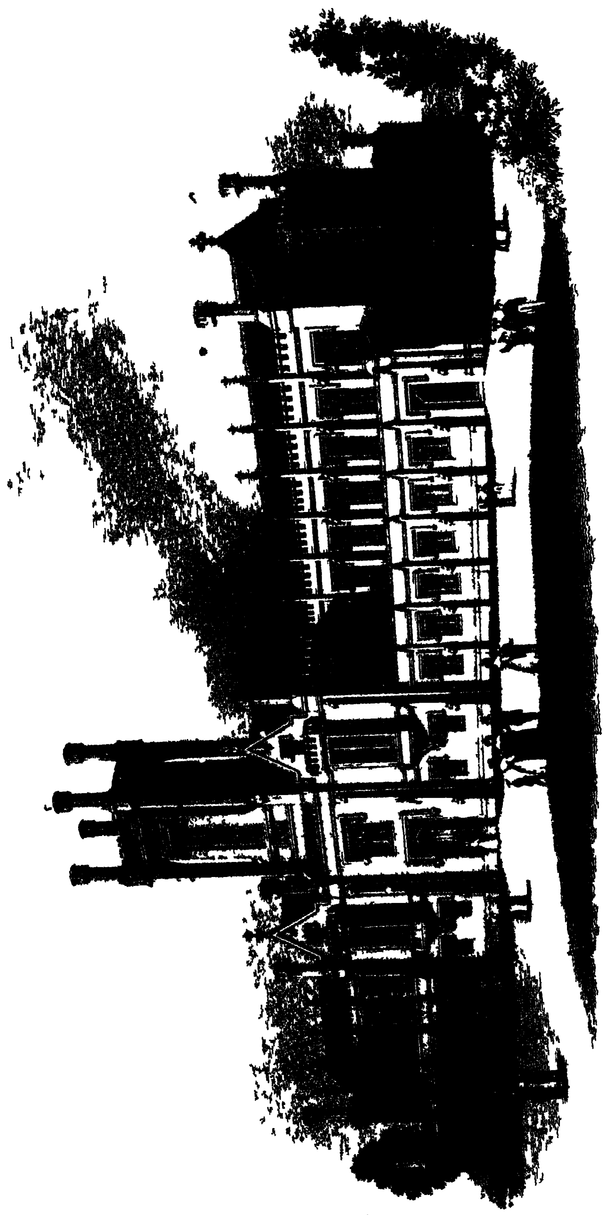
This style of building, we need hardly say, originated in the scarcity of brick and stone, and a comparative abundance of timber But it was carried to a much greater perfection on the continent than in this country, especially in Belgium, where the finest specimens of timber-framing and decorative wood-carving may still be seen.

The front elevation of Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire, a building of higher pretension, but in worse taste, belonging to the same period, the Elizabethan, will be found on the next page, as given by Mr. Gwilt



WOLLATON HALL.—(Nottinghamshire.)

Wollaton Hall was erected by John Thorpe, of whom an account will be found in Walpole's Anecdotes, and who appears to have been the first English architect of that day. In this design we have a strange blending of the Grecian, Gothic, and Italian styles of architecture, with the Fantastic, belonging to none. We see the lantern watch-towers of a baronial castle placed in juxta-position with Doric columns, employed for chimneys. But even in some of the works of Inigo Jones we may trace corresponding defects, of which instances might be adduced in St. John's College, Oxford; defects, however, which in the garden front of that College, of which the following is a view, exist in too subdued a form to mar the general beauty of the composition.



The architecture of the period of Elizabeth, had strictly no style of its own. "Elizabethan architecture" was an imperfect attempt to adapt to modern buildings the classic forms of antiquity, which were then beginning to be studied, but which led to nothing more than a heterogeneous blending of opposite styles, with little regard to perfect harmony of form; as in the preceding cut, where, under an oriel window, we have an Italian doorway, with a Grecian pediment. But by Elizabethan forms are generally understood, those which began to prevail in the century preceding the Reformation and the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry the VIII.,—forms belonging to what correctly should be called, the early Tudor style, or Perpendicular Pointed Gothic.

A favourable example of a modern application of the Tudor style is given in the annexed plate of the New Cheltenham Proprietary College, erected by Mr. J. Wilson, one of the most promising of our provincial architects. We subjoin the following description of the college from the "Cheltenham Looker-on."

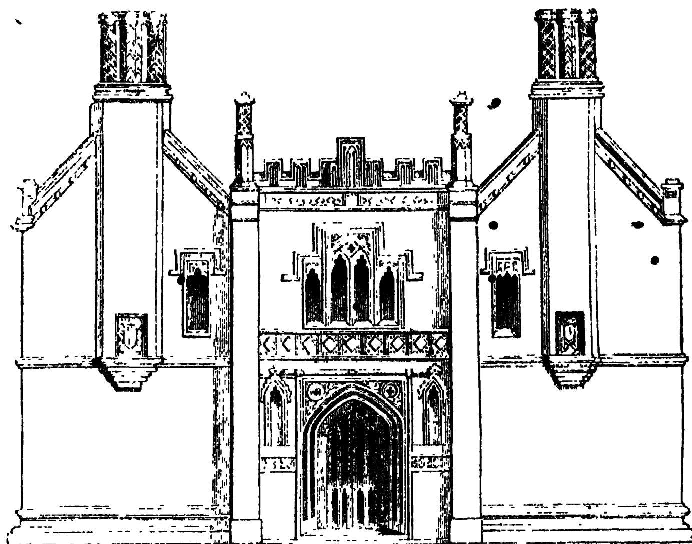
In the square forming the centre of the edifice the principal entrance is placed, consisting of a large and lofty door-way, communicating with the vestibule and staircase; the latter leads to the Library and Principal's room, two handsome apartments, lighted by finely-proportioned

oriel windows. On the right is a spacious hall, intended to be used as the principal school-room; this is lighted from the clerestory by a range of square-headed windows, ornamented with mullions and tracery; but the most striking object is the large and handsome bay window at the south-end, which, from its proportions and formation—twenty feet wide, by thirty feet high,—is well calculated to throw a flood of light over the whole of the extensive apartment. Along the ground-floor in front, a range of building projects from the main wall, something after the fashion of the aisles in our old churches; this range is divided into a series of separate apartments. The architectural arrangements of the left wing correspond with those of the right. The entire length of the frontage is two hundred and forty feet. The ground plan may be thus described: in the centre, immediately behind the tower, is the lecture room, measuring thirty-two feet by forty, and exceedingly lofty; this opens upon the large school-room before described; the small rooms on the ground-floor front open into the school-room and other parts of the interior. The entire cost of the building, including the additions to the original contract, will slightly exceed £7,000, a marvellous small sum when the size and style of the building are considered.

We understand the cost of the building has been 8000*l.*, but the amount really appears insignificant, compared with the object attained. The instances are few, of such an inconsiderable expenditure on buildings containing the same extent of accommodation, and of a highly ornamental character.

The general effect of this design is so extremely satisfactory and creditable to the architect, that we are not at all disposed to enter into a critical examination of its defects. We would merely remark, as an objectionable feature, that the battlements over the oriel windows, as shown in the elevation, are heavy and not appropriate. We know there are plenty of precedents for them, but this does not justify their use. They originally belonged to the parapet walls of baronial castles, and formed a suitable breastwork for archers attacked from without, and defending themselves within. This is not an association we would connect with the peaceful objects of a Collegiate Institution. When battlements are introduced in domestic architecture, they should at least be rendered somewhat lighter in appearance than those of an ancient fortification; and without departing from the perpendicular style of Gothic, the same forms may be easily varied, as in the battlements we may observe introduced over the entrance front of a Tudor villa, designed by Mr. W. H. Leeds.*

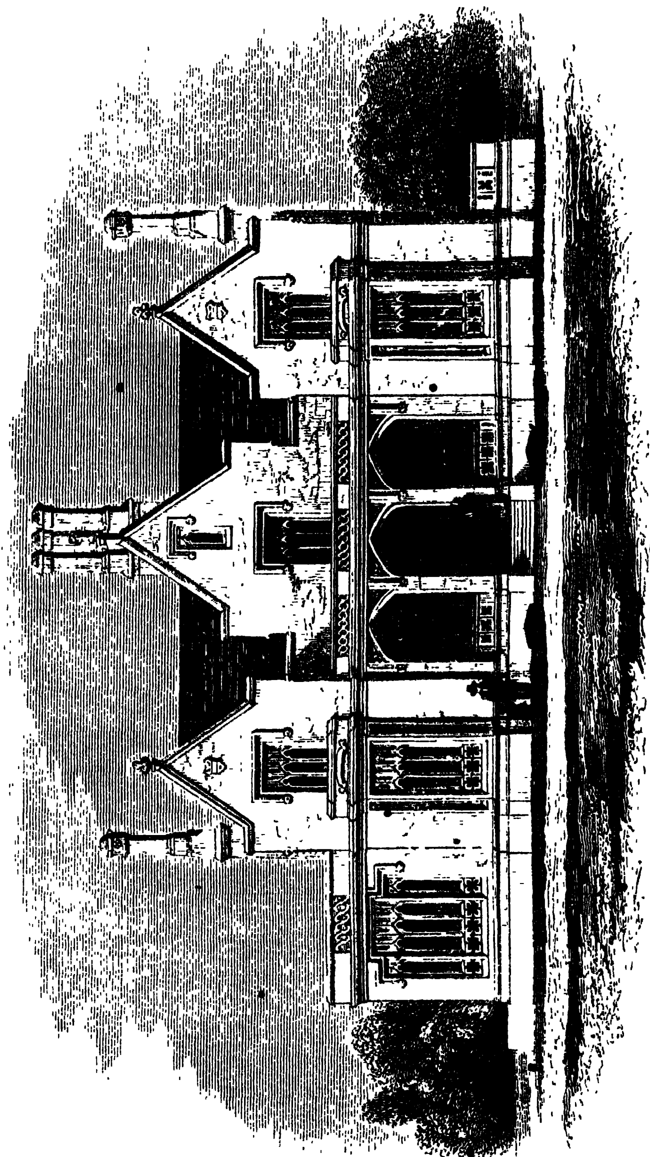
Loudon's Encyclopædia of Cottage and Villa Architecture, page 899.



The recessed portico in this design is of a much richer character than is usually given to approaches in private residences erected in a similar style; but we do not agree with the architect, that the effect is enhanced by the poverty of the side-wings. A plain surface is certainly well for contrast; but here the plainness is such as to make it doubtful, whether we are not looking at the back of the building, rather than one of the principal fronts; and the introduction of chimney shafts as the principal feature in the wings of an entrance front was not, we think, a happy conception. The merits, however, of the design, and they are considerable, will be better understood by the perspective view, on the following page, of the whole composition.

In the annexed design by Mr. E. B. Lamb, we have another example of a Tudor Villa, but on a smaller scale, suited to the class of buildings usually erected in the suburbs of towns. * The object of Mr. Lamb, was to show an ornamental style of architecture, capable of being realised at a comparatively small cost; the external decorations being executed in Terra Cotta. The design has, in some of its details, been inaccurately drawn by the artist employed for the wood-engraving, and the scroll label over the projecting windows, and the perforated paneling of the parapet, convey no distinct idea of the architect's original intention. The wings, it will be seen, are brought forward to admit of the recessed porch, which is the principal central feature of the elevation; but it is a point for consideration whether the width of the porch in this instance might not darken the side windows,—the objection which is generally made to verandahs, however convenient as a shelter.

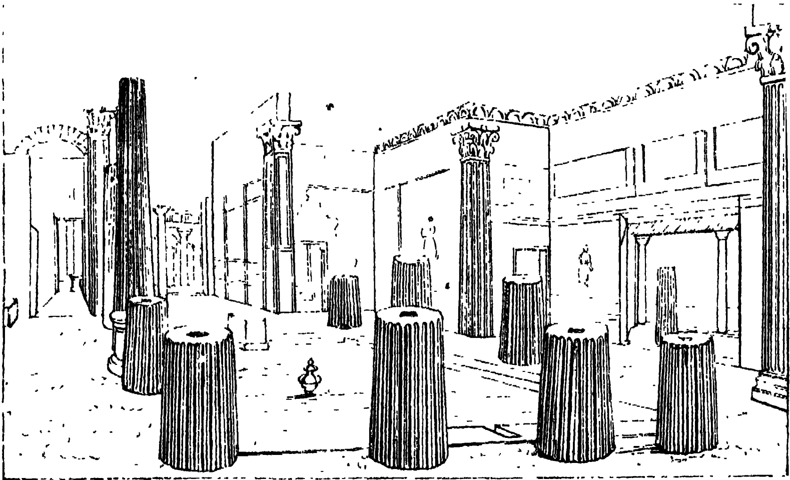
* Loudon, page 1223.



We have not given ground plans, or dwelt upon the distribution of apartments and offices, in any of the preceding illustrations, as this branch of the subject would lead us much beyond our

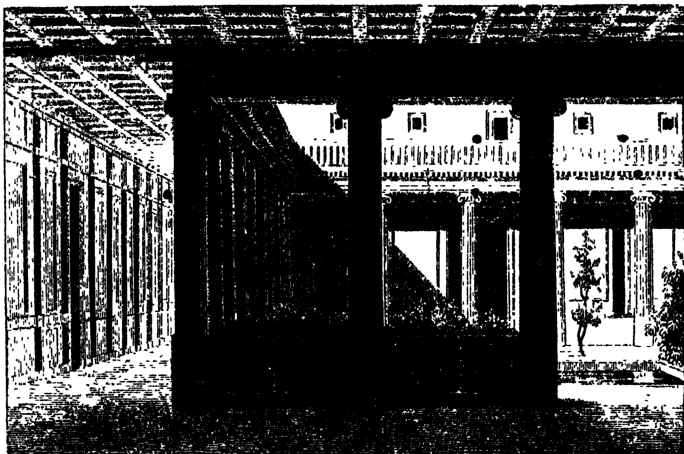
present limits; but it may not be uninteresting here, in concluding our remarks upon villa architecture, to glance at a Roman interior, in the class of buildings corresponding to some of those we have described, although the illustrations we shall give for this purpose relate rather to a town than a country mansion. In this case, as in much that we have already advanced, our object, as we have endeavoured to explain, is not to convey novel information to the initiated, but to assist in popularising the principles of architectural taste; and we address ourselves, therefore, chiefly to a class of readers but little acquainted with archæological facts familiar to students.

It helps to show the importance of climate, as one of the governing considerations of architectural construction, that, while in this country, the principal assembling rooms of a house, the drawing-rooms, are required in all cases to be enclosed against the weather and well warmed, in the finer climates of Italy and Greece the best apartments of a mansion, the *Atria*, were little better than open courts, covered in only at the sides, and with a fountain or ornamental basin of water in the middle, called the *Impluvium*, to receive the rain. The following cut represents an atrium in its present state, belonging to a house at Pompeii, usually called the house of the quaestor, the walls of which are painted with arabesque designs upon red and yellow ground.*

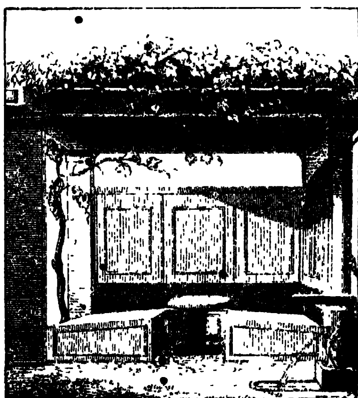


* Dictionary of Antiquities.

Vitruvius describes five sorts of Atria, of which only one, the *Atrium testidunatum*, was wholly covered with a ceiling. The kind of atrium described in the above cut was called a Corinthian atrium, of which the following presents another example, restored.



On the principal sides of the atrium were the private rooms of the master of the house, the general character of which may be understood from the sketch given by Mr. Gwilt of a *Triclinium*, or dining-room at Pompeii. The word Triclinium is derived from the Greek τρεῖς κλῖναι, three beds or couches, on which the guests reclined as they partook of the food placed on the table in the middle. These couches occupied three sides of the dining-room; the fourth was left open for the servants in waiting.



It is difficult, even with this sketch before us, to realise in our mind a Greek or Roman dinner-party, and certainly it must have presented a very dif-

ferent scene to one of modern times. Each couch was intended to provide accommodation for three guests, and each guest reclined nearly at full length, resting, with the aid of cushions, upon his left elbow, with his right arm at liberty; to assist himself to the dishes before him. A triclinium, therefore, was intended to dine a maximum number of nine persons; the rule being, that the number of guests should never be less than that of the Graces, nor exceed that of the Muses.

The general distribution of rooms in a Roman mansion is shown in the ground plan of a house at Pompeii, called the house of Pansa; but, owing to a mistake of the artist, the proper position of the cut has been inverted, and the entrance, which should have been at the bottom, is placed at top.

PLAN OF THE HOUSE OF PANSA AT POMPEII.

*A*. The *Ostium*, or entrance-hall, paved with mosaic.

*a*, *a*, *a*. Six shops for bakers, cooks, and other tradesmen.

*B*. A Tuscan *Atrium*, with the *Impluvium*, or basin for the rain-water, (*I*) in the centre.

*b*, *b*. Bakers' ovens, mills, &c.

*C*. *Cubicula*, bed-chambers and reception rooms.

*c*, *c*. Small houses for tenants.

*D*. Recessed openings, or wings, (*alæ*,) of the atrium.

*d*, *d*. Two small houses for tenants.

*E*. *Tablinum*, an anteroom, supplied with writing-tables. When this room and the opposite saloon (*L*) were thrown open, the visitor could obtain through them an uninterrupted view of the whole length of the building: when the *Tablinum* was closed, the communication between the front and rear of the building was by the passage, (*F*.)

*G*. The *Peristyle*, or chief atrium of the mansion, with private apartments (*C*) and recessed openings (*D*), as in the Tuscan atrium.

*H*. Servants' hall, with a back door leading to the street.

*K*. The *Triclinium*, or dining-room.

*L*. The *Oecus*; a saloon or antechamber, corresponding with the Tablinum, but of larger dimensions.

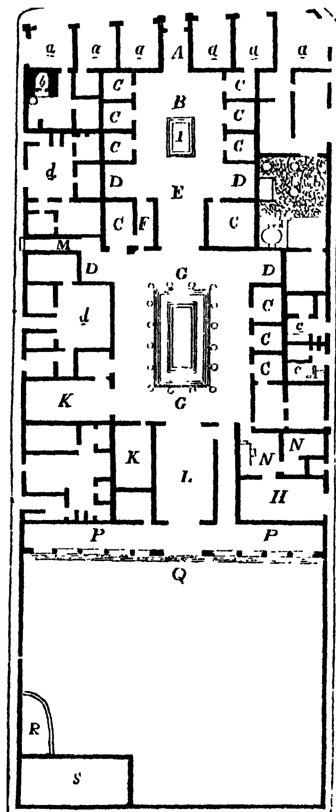
*M*. Passage to back door, in which it is supposed there had been a staircase.

*N*. *Culina*, the kitchen.

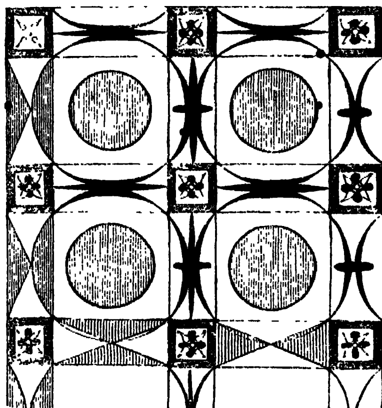
*P*. The portico, opening on to the garden.

*Q*. The garden.

*R*. and *S*. The reservoir and tank.



A part only of this building appears to have been provided with an upper story; all the principal apartments were on the ground floor. Few of the rooms appear to have been boarded. The floors of the inferior chambers were paved with a kind of plaister, made of tiles beaten to powder, and tempered with mortar. The chief apartments were paved with mosaic, sometimes representing figures and scenes of actual life, but more generally of some fixed and uniform pattern, of which the annexed may be taken as an example.



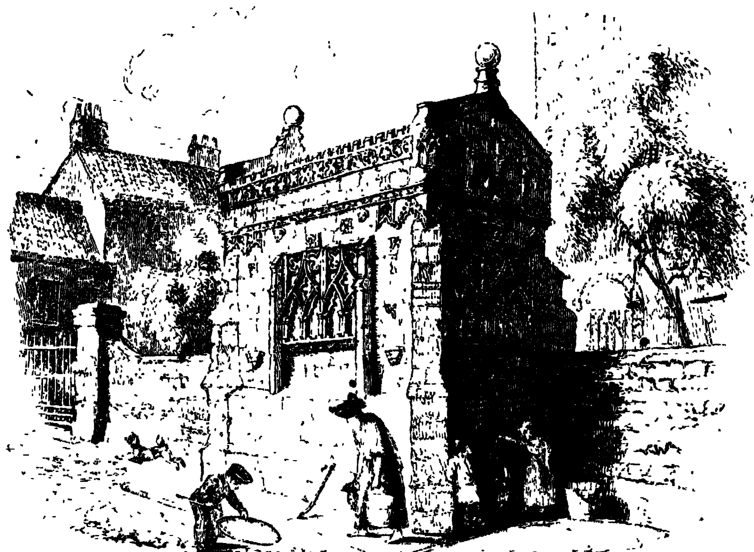
The materials for the above were generally formed of small pieces of red and white marble and red tile, set in a very fine cement, and laid upon a deep bed of mortar. Two patents have lately been taken out for this mode of paving, which promise to bring mosaic pavements into general use. In the one patent, the *Tessalæ* are formed of porcelain, and resemble dice; in the other, enrolled by Mr. H. Austin, the material is wood of different colours, cut in longitudinal sections, and capable of being put together in every variety of form, at a price little exceeding that of a good Brussels carpet, which, we need scarcely observe, the wood Tessalæ would greatly exceed in durability.

To return to modern buildings: we may preface the few observations we have now to add, by an expression of regret, that the necessity of parapet walls in towns, to secure foot passengers from broken heads by the falling of tiles and slates, must always give a character of uniformity to our street architecture, incompatible with the picturesque effects produced by the gable fronts and sloping roofs of our ancestors, the style of which we may exemplify by the street front of Bablake Hospital, in the City of Canterbury.

BABLAKE HOSPITAL, CANTERBURY.

We have taken the above from Britton's Picturesque Antiquities of English Cities, an Architectural work of high reputation, from which we have been allowed by the publisher* to borrow another illustration, to show what could formerly be done with a class of structures not yet found in London, but which, from the evidence submitted to the Health of Town's Commission, on the necessity of public fountains, will, we trust, soon be introduced in the poorer districts of the metropolis, where the high charges of the water-companies render it out of the power of the poor to obtain a needful supply of that useful element.

* Published by Nattali, Southampton-street, Covent Garden.



The above shows a print of 'St. Mary's Conduit' in the City of Lincoln. Mr. Britton observes, that "The appearance of this little structure is that of a chapel, and the ornamental tracery, niches, and other carved work on its sides, look like the fragments of some richly-decorated chantry." It seems to have been built about the year 1540 with the materials of the monastery of the White Friars, which, prior to its destruction, stood exactly opposite. The two stone balls, which unsuitably terminate the gables, were added in 1672, when the conduit was repaired.

We will now travel from Lincoln to London, and direct the reader's attention to a building recently erected near the ancient site of another monastery of the White Friars, which once stood between the river and Fleet Street. But the days of White Friars and Black Friars have passed away. Modern fraternities have been associated for different objects, and are called by new names; as Leaguers and Anti-Leaguers, missionaries of free trade, and Agricultural protectionists. In the place of an ancient monastic institution, we see before us in the annexed plate, the offices of the Anti-Corn-Law League.

We notice this building as it presents some novelty in its construction, and as aiming at a higher style of architectural decoration than it has hitherto been customary to introduce in the elevations of houses of business. The ornamental character of the

front speaks for itself; but the expense of such an elaborate design on a frontage of sixty feet, does not adapt it for general imitation*, although we would fain see every similar site at the corners of streets as well occupied. The expense might have been reduced had the corner, instead of being curved, as in this instance, been cut off with a straight line, as in the case of the Sun Insurance Office near the Bank, and of nearly all modern buildings forming the corners of streets in Paris. Not only is all square work much cheaper than curved, but when a corner exhibits a straight line it may be ornamented to any extent without the necessity arising for repeating, on either side, the same decorations to make the whole in keeping.

The roof of this building is flat, like a terrace, paved with Seyssel Asphalte: a novel application of this material in London, but not on the Continent. The whole building is fire-proof; a stone stair-case ascending from the basement to the attic floor, and the flooring-boards of each story resting upon brick arches, supported by iron girders. This mode of construction led to the adoption of an Asphalte roof: for the brick arches forming the ceilings being laid in cement, it seemed as if no roof were wanting to the uppermost story, beyond an outside coating of Asphalte, and that the plumber's work, in ridges and gutters, might be saved. Practically, however, it was found that a slate roof would have cost less. The concrete required to fill up the spandrils of the arches, weighed, with the Asphalte, so many tons, that it was deemed necessary to carry up the walls eighteen inches thick to the parapet, besides strengthening them with chain-bond: however, greater solidity was thus gained, so that the building stands as firm as a rock, and is likely to outlast many generations of the slight and inferior structures by which it is at present surrounded.

The last of our illustrations exhibits the interior of the Hall of Commerce, recently erected in Threadneedle Street by Mr. Moxhay. We had wished to have accompanied it with a sketch of the front elevation, and regret we could not do so, as the external façade of this noble edifice affords, perhaps, the more conclusive evidence, that the author† of the design is not only a man of taste, but one possessing greater power of original conception than can be generally traced in the works of modern Architects, even among those enjoying the highest reputation. Mr. Moxhay

* The original sketch was by Mr. Herring, afterwards enriched and completed by Mr. Donaldson, under whose superintendence the building was erected.

† We understand that the credit of the general design is due to Mr. Moxhay senior, who is not an architect; the working details were executed under the superintendence of his son, Mr. C. E. Moxhay.

may at least lay claim to a higher merit than that of correct copying. The design of his Threadneedle Street front, corresponds with that of no other building with which we are acquainted, and yet, is almost unrivalled for simple beauty—and even grandeur. The effect is given chiefly by sculpture. The principal feature is an elaborate bas-relief, in which the figures introduced have been sculptured upon an unusually large scale, extending nearly the whole length of the front. Beneath, is only a door of lofty dimensions, with a window on each side; and yet the proportions and grouping are such, as to arrest the instant attention of passengers, and excite universal admiration. The interior is thus described in the *Spectator*:—

It is planned with skill and judgment, and most beautifully decorated. The ground-floor is divided into two lofty and spacious saloons of noble proportions, and well-lighted: that on the left is square, with a semicircular recess; the cornice supported by pilasters with Corinthian capitals, and the ceiling ornamented with a chaste and elegant coving, formed of the lotus-leaf and flower: that on the right is a most superb apartment, and in point of proportion and enrichment, one of the finest rooms in the Metropolis. Its dimensions are one hundred and thirty feet long, forty-four feet wide, and fifty feet high; three square apertures in the ceiling, glazed with sheets of plate glass, in a novel manner, let in a flood of light and show the sky above. At one end is a semicircular recess, which, as well as a square recess at each side, is ornamented by two fluted columns with Corinthian capitals: these columns and pilasters support the entablature, which is ornamented by a frieze of the most beautiful character: consisting of a rich and fanciful scroll of fruits and flowers, designed with picturesque freedom, and executed in very high relief, equalling, in lightness and projection, the best wood-carving. From a bold cornice springs the coving of the ceiling, which is light and handsome, in accordance with the rest of the decorations. The coup d'œil is singularly elegant: the just proportions of the room prevent it at first sight from appearing so large as it really is; but its airiness and daylight brightness produce that agreeable sense of space and amplitude which is so seldom experienced in modern apartments even of great pretensions. Much of this is owing to the excellent plan of lighting from the roof by means of skylights, with side-panes inclining inward towards the top.

Mr. Moxhay is a man not less remarkable for Architectural taste than public spirit. The whole of this magnificent structure has been thrown open to the public, at a scale of charges scarcely higher than the rate of admission to the humblest Mechanics Institute, and the arrangements placed under the superintendence of a Board of Merchants and Bankers at the head of which, is Sir George Larpent.

The public have not been wanting in a due appreciation of the advantages offered them, and we should be glad to have been enabled to add, that public bodies had as ably seconded Mr. Moxhay's exertions for city improvement; but we cannot but notice a striking instance to the contrary.

The hall of one of the richest companies in the city,—the Merchant Tailors' Company,—is nearly opposite the Hall of Commerce;* and a narrow strip of ground, at present uncovered, runs in front of Merchant Tailors' Hall. Will it be believed, that the Merchant Tailors' Company, instead of following the example of Mr. Moxhay in widening and embellishing their narrow street, have actually leased this slip of ground for building, to *hide their own Hall behind a screen of houses*, leaving the street so impassable as a thoroughfare on the days of their own grand entertainments, that it is then usually closed by the Lord Mayor against the public, to admit the private carriages of invited guests. We trust another equally obvious improvement will not share the same fate. We allude to the proposition of widening Threadneedle Street by pulling down the three houses at the corner,—an improvement which we understand the Corporation have power to effect, if they think proper, by their existing act. This would enable Mr. Moxhay to build a western façade to the Hall of Commerce in a most commanding position, and where it would contribute, perhaps more than any other building, to the architectural embellishment of the approaches of the New Royal Exchange.

E.

* The Hall of Commerce has been erected to provide a central point of meeting in the capital of the commercial world, for the merchants, bankers, ship-owners, manufacturers of the United Kingdom, captains of vessels, foreigners engaged in commercial or other pursuits, and the public in general.

The reading room adjoining is provided with all the leading foreign and British newspapers, and general commercial intelligence from all parts of the world, maps, charts, itineraries, directories, steam-boat and rail-road information, list of ships sailing to all parts of the world, prices current, documents and books of reference on commercial subjects.

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ART. X.—1. *Lord Spencer's Speech on the Repeal of the Corn Laws.* Northampton Mercury, November 1843.

2. *Remarks by a Junior to his Senior on the State of Ireland.* 1844.

3. *Letter to the Farmers of Buckinghamshire.* By Sir Henry Verney, Bart.

4. *What is to be done? or, Past, Present, and Future.* Second Edition. James Ridgway, Piccadilly. 1844.

THE Queen going in state to open Parliament is a very pretty sight. All its real dignity, however, be it known to the general reader and the nurserymaids, is derived, not from the gilt coaches or the fine horses, but from the importance of the business of which the pageant is the commencement. So important is the opening of a session reckoned, that it begins what is called the season in London. From all the counties of the three kingdoms, from all parts of Europe, the aristocracy crowd towards the metropolis, and men of business arrive from all parts of that empire on which the sun never sets:—

> "From Greenland's icy mountains;
> From India's coral strand."

How many thousands of miles do thousands of persons travel, not for the sake of the pageant, but for the sake of the business. Of late, however, so little proportion has there been between the splendour of the pageant and the worth of the performances it begins, that persons irreverently in earnest for the welfare of their country, talk of this ceremonial as if it were only a raree-show which preludes the great national palaver; and such have been the disappointments experienced from the insignificant results of recent sessions, that many cannot witness the opening of a parliament without thinking that the commonplace comparison for large promises and small issues should henceforth be, not a mountain in labour and a mouse the birth, but a parliament in palaver and nothing the result. There have been times when—

> "As many hopes hung on that *opening speech*,
> As there hang blossoms on the thorn in May."

Such, however, is not now the case. Reasonable men would as soon base their expectations on the coral trappings of the horses of the Royal *cortège* as on the fruits of the genius of her Majesty's present Prime Minister.

The pamphlet entitled 'What is to be done?' is one of the signs of the change in the hopes of the country produced by the universal disappointment. It is a Whig pamphlet. It is the evident production of an able man who thinks, reasoning from the past to the future, that the country has more to expect from the Whigs than it can ever get from the Tories. Addressing the public at a time of universal apathy and disgust with party chiefs, the writer has for his object to call to mind how much Whig rulers have done in adverse circumstances and times past for the empire, in order to direct the eyes of sanguine spirits to a future Whig Ministry for the measures needful to allay the vexations, ward off the dangers, alleviate the distresses, reinvigorate the commerce, and improve the institutions of the country.

For ourselves, now that all men have ceased to expect help or good from Sir Robert Peel, we frankly confess that our hopes are turned to a government to come, the character of which we indicate by holding forth as its type and representative, the nobleman whose name appears at the head of these pages—Earl Spencer.

Of Sir Robert Peel it is not necessary to say any ill—it is necessary only to record the fact, known and believed of all men, that his government has become as unpopular in two years as the Whig government became in eleven. There is a tendency in all governments to become unpopular. A venerable and most excellent lady of our acquaintance, who has looked on the world for several scores of years, is in the habit of expressing her political experience in these words:—"Ah, people are never satisfied. It is always grumble, grumble, grumble, and change me the ministers. It was the same with Billy Pitt and the same with Charlie Fox. Grumble, grumble, change me the ministers." Hopes of all kinds, patriotic and sordid, are disappointed by all governments. The Peel Ministry have been most remarkable in this respect. When in opposition the chiefs of the Peel party contented themselves with criticism, and were singularly abstinent from attempts at legislation. Sir Robert Peel, whenever he was asked what he would do for his country, contented himself with replying, in effect, "Put me in office and then will be the time I'll choose

to tell you." Sir Robert Peel, if he made no promises himself, allowed his subordinates to make them in abundance, contenting himself with saying, "Only make me Prime Minister, and then you will see what I am going to do." Everybody fancied a man who expressed such an unbounded contempt for the Whigs, must himself be quite sure of doing better when in their position. It is astonishing how a man by dealing in generalities may induce people to deceive themselves. By contenting himself with a merely critical policy, and that of the lowest kind of criticism, which consists merely in fault-finding, Sir Robert Peel conciliated to himself and his party all the discontented spirits engendered by eleven years of Whig rule. He addressed himself to what he calls the moderation and good sense of the country. When he boastfully claimed for himself the confidence of the more moderate class of politicians, there was much truth in his boasts. His plausibilities, his make-believes seemed admirably wise and prudent to many a good easy man who was in favour of concessions, who was for removing abuses, and who was for all safe reforms.

> In moderation placing all his glory,
> While Tories call him Whig, and Whigs a Tory.

Such men admired him for his faults, and he conciliated them by his deficiencies. They hate theories, and he has none; they hate to be taken beyond their depth, and his mind lives in shallows. They have no sympathy with genius, and his soul lives in mediocrities. They distrust boldness, and he welters perpetually in *ifs* and *buts*, to borrow a simile from Colonel Crockett, like a fly in a tar pot. They do not know, and they cannot sympathize with, high or heroic moral purpose, and they follow a minister who is the type of weak and well-meaning respectabilities. Corruption did much for the Tory party at the last general election. It gave them many of the small burghs. Knowing, on the information of Lord Stanley, that Tory acres are in a rough general way just Tory votes, farmers being merely instruments for expressing the opinions of the soil—aware that auctioneers, in selling houses in English burghs, advertise the number of votes to be sold, the souls of the tenants being thrown in as makeweights to the properties, —we refuse to regard the votes of even the Tory constituencies themselves as true signs of the real opinions of the men, the bipeds who look Heaven in the face with as much sincere volition as automata while putting their votes on the registers—such votes are not the verdicts of immortal spirits. It was our

opinion at the time of the last general election, and it remains our opinion still, that the Tories were brought into power by what they boast of, "the property of the country." They gained their majority by the influence of houses and lands, divorced and in hostile collision with the convictions of men. Really independent electors were tired with a government so weak that all its best measures were mutilated and thrown out by the House of Lords. Practical men saw that the time was come to get rid of rulers all whose best moves were checkmated.

Never were the subordinates of a party, including some of its chiefs, so unscrupulous as the Tories in what they did to conciliate support. Hatred of Chartism turned thousands of the upper and middle classes against the Whig Government, the tendencies of which they were assured most falsely, and most foolishly believed, were not merely to Democracy, but to the Jacobinical shape of it. Meanwhile Chartist support was conciliated by the most unscrupulous means. The Tory party, which for two generations prior to 1830 fattened on the loaves and fishes of place, became ravenous and unscrupulous, as year after year, and quarter after quarter rolled by, and no Tory found any alleviation to his quarterly struggles against duns from any official sources or salaries. Eight, nine, ten years of salaries were cut out of the life of the Tory place-hunter, and he became desperate. His life became a desolate thing. A sense of desertion and privation filled him with gloom, and hence he felt his condition fitly emblemed by that of the Mariana of Tennyson, in the 'Moated Grange:'—

> "He only said, 'The day is dreary;
> Place cometh not,' he said.
> He said, 'I am aweary, aweary;
> I would that I were dead.'"

Hence all parties were made contributory to the restoration of the Tories to power. Flags, with the words "Universal Suffrage" emblazoned on them, were displayed in the Tory processions of Mr Walter at Nottingham. Votes of the enemies of the Poor Law Commission were snared by the lure that the Tories hated the Commission like themselves, while everybody knew from the state of the House of Commons that, were this the case, the New Poor Law could not have lasted a single week. Clear-sighted people knew very well that, apart from the great landlords and the mere place-hunters, the Tory Government could grant the cherished objects of no class of Tories. The New Poor Law was perfectly safe in the hands of Wellington, Peel, Stanley, and Graham. The Evange-

lical or Low Church party were made discontented by the indifference and opposition of the Whigs to Church Extension. Yet the Tory chiefs, as was foreseen, have contemptuously discountenanced the exertions of Sir Robert Inglis, and, like the Whig Government, have thrown them on those powerful voluntary exertions by which such splendid results have been obtained in recent years. The High Churchmen were bent on reviving the usages of the ancient Catholic Church, fasting on Fridays, placing candles on the high altar, establishing an order of itinerant and mendicant preachers, and lighting candles in the sunlight of noon when administering the Eucharist to the dying. To do them justice, they did not expect from the earnestness of Sir Robert Peel in favour of the diffusion of useful knowledge that he would be the Loyola they wanted. But as their activity was vivified by their horror of the sacrilegious hand laid by the Whigs on the Irish Church, when even bishops were abolished, they have not scrupled to claim for themselves the lion's share of the credit of producing the reaction in public opinion which crushed the Melbourne and placed the Peel Ministry. Lord Aberdeen, in the name of the political chiefs with whom he usually acts, promised the Non-Intrusionists of Scotland all they wanted. It was in vain the more clear sighted of their friends told them they could expect nothing from the Tories—not even the grace of the Paraguay dictator, Francia, who gave permission to a prisoner, whose irons cut him, to buy larger irons for himself. The Tories cunningly strengthened themselves by privately promising the Non-Intrusionists what they wanted, and also by publicly postponing and discountenancing the cause and the persons of their opponents. The Orangemen of Ireland agitated against granting endowments to Maynooth, and the Peel Ministry are understood to be friendly to endowing the whole Catholic Priesthood.

It was not so much the Whig Government that was unpopular with the country as it was weak government. Honest and reasonable men were not in favour of change because they thought a Conservative would be better than a Whig Ministry; they demanded it because they wished to see a strong in the place of a weak Administration. They did not think Sir Robert Peel better intentioned than Lord John Russell; they only expected from his position a greater power of fulfilling his intentions and carrying his measures—a great delusion—a huge mistake, as we shall show, but still one which served its turn. Sir Robert Peel, with a majority of ninety in the Commons,

and the House of Lords apparently obedient to his beck, is really weaker for good than the Whigs were with a majority of twenty in the Commons and a hostile House of Lords. So universally had the opposition policy of the Premier induced people to hope in him, that judging from the appointments he made when he came into office, many Whigs themselves said he would try to govern the country as whiggishly as he could. They did not think he would be able to govern by Tory men on Whig principles, but judging from his mode of awarding places, this they deemed undoubtedly his intention. Soon after the general election so disastrous to the party of Melbourne Government, two Whigs were condoling with each other in the Reform Club, when one of them, a very shrewd observer, said, "Never mind, we've a good Whig in Peel—we've a good Whig in the Tory Premier."

It is worth while recording the sort of government which Sir Robert Peel held forth in words of promise to the country when building up his broken and dispirited party, and preparing the way for their return to place, though not to power. When the Tories called themselves Conservatives, they did a wise thing; they pleased a number of quiet people who have no other idea of politics than that it is an endless grumble against all the servants of the Crown, whoever they may be; they lulled the suspicions of thousands of men who would have held themselves prepared to resist an aggressive Toryism, as well as an aggressive Chartism. Traders whose political studies extend no farther than to perceive that political excitement is not good for trade; convivialists, who know only that politics do not promote the harmony and good fellowship of their potations, or the enjoyment of old customs and old port; persons who wished to mind their own concerns, whether of business or pleasure, without meddling with what they are told will let them alone;—hosts of electors of this sort, whose votes count as well in elections as the votes of well-read politicians, were conciliated to the Tories by the policy of peaceful Conservatism and gradual progression which Sir Robert Peel proclaimed. A Tory, these electors knew, was a jobbing, bad fellow; but a Conservative they took to be a safe, quiet man. Besides the policy which he professed, the wonderful plausibility of Sir Robert Peel, the matchless dexterity in dressing up statements on which Lord Stanley complimented him, singularly fitted him for conciliating the confidence of electors of this description. Hence he addressed all the memorable declarations of his policy to them with striking effect. His letter

to the electors of Tamworth, his speech in the Merchant-tailors' Hall, his speech on Sir John Yarde Buller's motion, and his address at Tamworth in 1841,—these manifestoes required only a few variations of phraseology to fit them to pass current as exhibitions of the ideas of a Whig of the by-gone generation, and all of them derived unity from the presence of an idea of concession to the democratic tendencies of the age. Judging from these declarations, concession was the idea of his statesmanship—an idea with no romantic aspiration in it, and more safe than high, but admirably adapted for obtaining the approbation of the use-and-wont electors of England. He promised to abide by the Reform Bill. In 1835, Sir Robert Peel deprecated the appearance of threatening, even in thought, those who had acquired new rights, with the forfeiture of their acquisitions. Peel cried, "Let us stand by the constitution as it at present exists; let us then declare our readiness to accept in good faith as a constitutional settlement the provisions of the Reform Bill; and let us, by that declaration, fortify ourselves in the resistance to new agitations of the public mind on questions of government to new innovations." As the Peel Ministry approached office, the country expected a Ministry different from their predecessors only by being devoted to administrative, and not organic reforms, and by possessing the power triumphantly to carry their measures. The distribution of offices which Sir Robert Peel made on his accession confirmed these expectations. For ourselves, we were greatly amused by the practical sarcasms which he played off on his coadjutors and underlings. Mr Gladstone, the high churchman, whose ecclesiastical writings have made him the political chief of the Anti-Protestants of Oxford, was fixed in a position as far from theology as possible in the Vice-Presidency of the Board of Trade. The leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons to the *Foreign* policy of Lord Palmerston was placed at the head of the *Home* department. Sir Robert Peel takes care that Sir James Graham shall have nothing to do with Chinese affairs. In a vain attempt to keep him out of mischief in Ireland, Lord Stanley, who led the Opposition in *Irish* matters, has had his attention directed to *Colonial* affairs, in which he humbly carries out the policy of the lamented Earl of Durham. Sir Robert Peel, in the great debate on Chinese affairs, finished his speech by a solemn prayer to Almighty God not to wreak his vengeance on the nation for the iniquity of the Chinese war, and yet his Foreign Secretary is a noble Earl who approved of it. Although for years the Whigs were

vilified for truckling to O'Connell, Lord De Grey and Lord Eliot, the Irish Viceroy and the Irish Secretary, were selected, because, of all Tories, they seemed least offensive to the mighty Liberator.

Throughout the first session of the present Parliament, Sir Robert Peel tried to act the part of a Whig, and did it badly. His Tariff was an adoption of Whig principles. It was an attack on the small monopolies, as the Whig Budget was an attack on the great ones. By saving the corn and sugar interests, and sacrificing a hundred minor and weaker interests, with discreet valour, Sir Robert Peel succumbed to the strong and overpowered the weak monopolists. "Touch our interests," said the landlords through the Duke of Richmond, "and we who made you will unmake you." The Premier made believe to touch those interests, but in reality he strengthened their monopolies by lopping off useless and ugly excrescences. His Corn Act was a measure of protection to the most powerful body of monopolists in the kingdom. "Repeal the provision laws," was the cry of the country; "they make the yearly food of every man, woman, and child, dearer by a pound per head, without any equivalent benefit to the aristocracy." But the food laws continue to exact thirty-six millions per annum from the people. Curious and pitiful was it to witness the Premier trying to persuade the manufacturing classes with one side of his mouth that by his Tariff he had improved their condition, and with the other assuring the agricultural classes that their protection was not a whit the less.

Our nobles are provision dealers, food monoplists who possess legislative power. The corruption of the English burghs made the ennobled victuallers unusually strong. Avowing himself a free trader, the Premier strengthened the food monopoly; but he hit hard the monopolists who had no friends. In the Income Tax, the same cowardly courage appears. The English Constitution determines that none but men of permanent incomes shall be legislators, and therefore the Income Tax falls with double the severity on the men of precarious to what it does on the men of permanent incomes. To show to what lengths Treasury pay will carry the pens of certain writers, we may mention that the idea of the Income Tax has been called statesmanlike. Why every housewife who demands a larger weekly allowance rises to this height, and few of them blunder so widely in their calculations. The idea of Sir Robert Peel for making up the deficiency of the revenue was the

Income Tax. The idea of Lord John Russell was by relaxing the restrictions on trade, to reap from the prosperity of the country an increased revenue. Any sort of head will suffice to enable a man to see the boldness of the Housewife-Peel demand for money. A larger intellect, some knowlege of principles, and a smattering of political economy, are necessary to appreciate the wisdom of diminishing the taxes to increase their proceeds. The increase was just as certain to come from the Whig Budget as from the Tory Tax. If entering into the interior of a science, and bringing thence a principle fraught with good to the people and increase to the revenue be not statesmanship, it certainly is quite as noble a thing as a dun for three per cent.

The great condemnation which history will record against the first session of the Government of Sir Robert Peel is, that for twelve months of unexampled distress, he seemingly had the power, but not the will, to legislate for the relief of the people. He had an Income Tax to recruit the revenue: he had a Sliding Scale to screen the landlords: but he had no relief for the complaining in our streets. Distress, unexampled for centuries, had fallen on the country. At first Peel denied it: when distress was undeniable, Peel expressed his astonishment that he should be expected to remedy it. The country implored him not to prorogue Parliament without considering the miseries of the people. He prorogued it for five months. People were willing to give him time. The distress deepened with the winter. When the brightness of summer came, misery darkened still more thickly in the cottages and cellars of faint and famishing thousands. When Parliament met, for his first session all his efforts, all his dexterities, all his plausibilities, were devoted, by cutting off ugly parts, to strengthen the laws which supply champagne to the dinners of the landlords, and coffee as a substitute for dinners to the workmen of the land. In the five months of distress, while he was supposed to be deliberating upon his remedies, in excessive fairness to him small heed was given to the hundreds of thousands living on a few pence per week. When the session opened, proceeded, approached its close, not a particle of remedy had the Premier for the distress. The physician prescribed for the revenue and not for the hunger. Men of earnest hearts, from all parties, came up from the scenes of misery and detailed it for his instruction. The Minister stood face to face with deputations of manufacturers and shopkeepers, who told each in his own unpolished dialect the stern story of the starvation

of thousands. The tongue-fence champion of the aristocracy met the strong-fact Tribunes of the poor. Plausibility was confronted by hunger. They said they intruded upon him because they could not bear the sights of wretchedness in their neighbourhood; shut shops, locked factories, and ragged crowds of gaunt wretches demanding food, and savagely eating the uncooked butcher meat the instant they get it, even in the very streets. Some were chairmen of Boards of Guardians, and they said the expenses of their Unions were three times greater than they were a few years ago. The approach, they were sure, was near, of the point and period at which the system of relief which they administered would break down, and the poor would have nothing for it but recourse to rapine. Some were magistrates, and declared they saw the day at hand when the maintenance of order would cease to be possible. Others merely appeared as traders, whose capital was wasting away, and who were making a last appeal to the Government of their country prior to transferring the remainder of it to other lands. Many of the deputies said they could not bear to see the half employed dining on coffee, the unemployed lying down on their bellies that they might feel hunger the less—the decent and pious workmen with his rags unreplaced—the disappearance of furniture—the feather bed giving way to the flock, the flock to the straw—and the sufferers in the agony of nature denouncing the rulers of the land with the malediction —" He that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him."

Prior to the legislators of 1842 becoming grouse shooters, there was a very memorable single-handed combat between Sir Robert Peel and Lord Palmerston. By being able to appeal to feats of statesmanship which he had really himself done, the noble lord had much the best of it; still an irreverend wag at the time said, that the substance of the speeches reminded him of two Jacks in Boxes popping up, exclaiming—" What a clever fellow am I." " What a cleverer fellow am I." Parliament broke up, and ere these speeches had run the round of the provincial newspapers, there was blood of starved men on the streets of Preston.

Remedies were urged on the Premier for the distress along with the statement of it. For every cause of the distress which was mentioned, a specific palliative was urged; but Sir Robert Peel slighted, and not without reason, the remedies proposed by his political friends.

Small though it was, the remedies of his political foes had greater weight with him. He found, ready to his hand, a

Whig tariff, some of the recommendations of which he adopted. He virtually repealed the corn tax on the bread of seamen; he expressed approbation of the free-trade principles of his opponents; he claimed for himself and his colleagues the credit of being sufficiently enlightened to know that a relaxation of the restrictions on commerce will promote the national prosperity; in talk he seemingly committed himself to principles which would repeal the provision laws. In the opinion of Sir Robert Peel, the great remedy for the distress of the nation lay, if anywhere, in the principles of the Whig budget. But has he carried them out? Why this very zealot of free trade was the leader of the Opposition which kicked out the Whigs for applying free-trade principles. Avowing this course to be the only remedial one he could see for the distress, and claiming for himself all the glory to be had for the perception, Sir Robert Peel just as determinedly resisted the application of the remedy when the Chief of the Government as he did when the Chief of the Opposition. "This is the way to relieve the distress," he said, "and I am as clever a fellow as you to know it; but I wouldn't let you do it, nor will I do it myself."

The rising of the operatives was simultaneous with the refusal of relief by the Premier. There was no organization, no concert, no instigation. "If you won't give us, we must take or die," they said; and one class of sufferers turned out to take, and more patient sufferers to beg. Capitalists who had seen their property diminishing before their eyes, said they could hold out no longer, and reduced their wages or stopped their mills. The statistics of distress which had been laid before the Premier and published in the newspapers during the prior twelvemonth, would have been falsified if the prorogation of Parliament without the announcement of any remedy for the relief of the poor had not been the signal for an outbreak of despair—an industrial insurrection, of which Starvation was the leader. With the exception of one declamatory placard, revolutionary purpose was nowhere seen in the movement. A wonderful forbearance, on the contrary, was apparent. Not a single fire-arm was discharged against the authorities, although rifles are plentiful in the manufacturing districts. No soldier lost his life; and only one policeman. Men saw their comrades fall in the streets under the fire of the musketry of the soldiers, and yet they used no pikes, but merely stones and bludgeons, proclaiming that they only wanted fair wage for fair work; they paraded their wretchedness from district to district, and compelled the hands of one mill after another to join

them in a great demonstration of distress in the wild hope of relief. The worst of the migratory turn-outs were sturdy beggars or famishing thieves of food. Months prior to the outbreak we had seen documents from these very districts, proving that multitudes then patient to admiration, had throughout the previous two years to subsist on an average of only eightpence or ninepence per head per week. Starvation, it was thought, had crushed the energy necessary for insurrection out of them. Strangely enough, but in accordance with the rule which makes the guilty parties always the first accusers, the blame of the insurrection was ascribed to all in turns of the persons who had tried to remedy the distress. Leaguers sought to benefit themselves and the people by repealing the corn laws, and because they described the miseries, were denounced as causing the riots. Fancying they could prevent such evils by giving the operative class the legislative power, the Chartists were, for talking of this, branded by their enemies as the instigators of the disturbances. In fact, no men who tried to relieve the distress escaped the charge of exciting the people to insurrection. But surely, whether the remedies were wise or silly, the men who tried earnestly according to their light, to lessen the evils, were the only men in the entire country who had cleared themselves of the guilt of the starvation, the violence, and the blood. Undoubtedly the guilt hits home the men who stood in the way of every remedy and the healing schemes of the friends of the poor of every political party. These men were Sir Robert Peel and his Cabinet.

What aggravates the guilt and deepens the degradation of the fact that the Peel Cabinet have not attempted to grapple with the condition of the working classes, is the circumstance of its being generally understood that they in their inmost hearts are just as well persuaded of the necessity for repealing the provision laws as Mr Cobden, or Colonel Thompson, or Mr Bright. To be supposed ignorant of the principles of free trade would disgrace them, and therefore they proclaimed their adherence to the principle of buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest. The real independence, security, and permanence of commerce they know must ever come from allowing every country to produce and to exchange the goods it can make and sell best. The legal monopolies of custom-house duties and prohibitory tariffs they are well aware cannot be made to interfere without injury, ruin, loss, and distress with the natural monopolies of soil and climate, of facilities of transit, of juxtapositions of coal and iron, &c. Nature and Providence, by immutable laws, prescribe to men to dig mines, to grow wheat, to manufac-

ture goods, work iron, to tend vines, to sail ships, according as they can do them best in their localities and circumstances. Ministers know well that any protection beyond what the sea gives to islanders, is unjustly asked by our producers of grain, and by their expectations for the improvement of agriculture, apparently acknowledge that protection to our growers of wheat is, in many parts of England, only protection to bad farming. Well persuaded of all this, the Peel Ministers insist that although distress is permanent in our country, and the complaints of hunger are heard nightly in our streets, bread at any rate shall be bought by our people not in the cheapest market but in the dearest.

This cruelty to the people, this dishonesty to their own convictions, Ministers are guilty of in deference to their fears of the great nobles, of whom the Duke of Richmond was the mouthpiece when he told them in the heyday of their accession to office, that they had made them and could unmake them. Persons who say they know well the private sentiments of several of our rulers, declare that a fixed duty and not a sliding scale at all is the settlement of the corn question approved by their convictions. Hence our Ministers seem to be the clever men of a party acting falsely to their own souls in deference to the stupid rich of their party; of Mr Gladstone and Sir Robert Peel, this is especially said. The Premiership of England is a proud elevation, but there is degradation enough in this fact to bring the Sovereignty of Europe into contempt.

Many politicians of both of the aristocratie parties look upon the Anti-Corn-law League as an irregular and unconstitutional, if not an illegal, body. This distinguished and extraordinary society is, in many of its aspects, a new phenomenon in English politics. In no country in which the liberty of the subject was less understood and less respected than in England could the existence of such a society be possible. Prior to the introduction of the Penny-Postage scheme of Mr Rowland Hill an association of this sort could not have wielded its most formidable power, which consists in being able by its pamphlets and its circulars to reach all the electors of the kingdom. Undoubtedly the aristocraoy, both Whig and Tory, may well be excused for witnessing with aversion a political organization of the middle classes in a few years after the Reform Act had given to the ten-pound householders their present great influence in the formation of the legislature of the country. But such a society could not have been formed without the possession of extraordinary qualities of intelli-

gence, integrity, and perseverance by its founder, Mr Richard Cobden.

This gentleman is the first fruit of the Reform Act. A farmer's son, a self-taught man, a commercial traveller, who has won for himself by manufactures a handsome fortune, and by politics a national influence and an historical name, prior to reaching the prime of life. Richard Cobden is himself one of the most remarkable facts in the present scene of public affairs. It is the boast of Sir Robert Peel that he has built up the Conservative party. Shall not, at least, equal honour be given to Mr Richard Cobden, who has organized the middle classes? Of all the monopolies which the League has attacked, the greatest is the monopoly abolished by its formation, the aristocratic monopoly of political confederacy.

Good sense, strong English good sense and manhood, have characterized the proceedings of this body. Calumnies in abundance have been heaped upon them, but they have all recoiled on their accusers.

What the law or the constitution of the country may state in reference to this society let lawyers say. For ourselves we can see nothing wrong, and on the contrary much to praise, in a society which peaceably seeks to subdue opinion and by opinion to obtain improvement in the laws of the country by instructing the constituencies, whose views the laws professedly embody. Organizations of the middle classes informing themselves on political affairs, seem to be necessary consequences of that very Reform Act which enfranchised those classes.

Within the party clubs of the Aristocracy secret associations exist for influencing the formation of the legislature, and consequently of the laws of the empire by corrupt means. These associations of corrupters, who debase the souls of men, whether in the name of the British constitution or in the name of Liberty and Reform, are allowed to practise their pestiferous acts unmenaced by the law, and yet threats are held out by the organs of the present Government against a League which sets its face against the briber, the treater, and the intimidator; and aims at improving our commercial code only by bringing home to the hearth of every elector, the lights of economic science. Journalists of the Peel Ministry applaud not the League for determining to punish the tempters of the poor electors, and they hold them up as deserving of punishment, because, instead of debasing his spirit with bribes, they seek to light up in it some glimmerings of the com-

mercial ideas of an Adam Smith or a David Ricardo. With submission we beg to record our opinion, that, if there is anything wrong in those of the middle classes who have ideas which they think good and true joining together to tell them to their neighbours, their acquaintance, or their countrymen, the enfranchisement of the middle class was a mockery, a power to record ideas by votes without the means of getting them by dissemination.

The two most important testimonies which the League have received have been the letter of Mr Jones Loyd, and, especially, the speech of Earl Spencer. We insert in full the most correct version we have been able to find of the speech of the noble Earl—a document of historical value:—

SPEECH AT THE DINNER GIVEN TO THE MAYOR OF NORTHAMPTON, E. H. BARWELL, ESQ., NOVEMBER 28, 1843.

Earl Spencer said: "Gentlemen,—the manner in which you have received the toast proposed by my right honourable friend deserves, as it receives from me, the warmest thanks. The gratification which such a reception must always afford is greatly increased, because I feel that you receive me on this occasion as an old, and, I hope, a faithful servant. For many years—nearly thirty years—you had at your entire command the best abilities I had to bring to your service. During that time I hope and trust I did my utmost to serve you; and now, retired as I am from political—although not from public—life, it is certainly most gratifying to me to find my old constituents receive me in the manner you have done, and assure me, as by this reception you do, that my services were not without value, and were not unappreciated. Gentlemen, it is indeed a gratification to me that when I have nothing more to ask at the hands of the county of Northampton—no other way of serving it than by attending to its local business, I should be afforded this opportunity of expressing my feelings towards you. Gratitude is said not to be a political virtue. In that I do not agree. It is a great private virtue, and I have yet to learn what private virtue is not a political virtue also. One species of gratitude, indeed, is said to belong to political life—the gratitude for favours to come. I feel, therefore, a great degree of gratification that whatever I now say and do cannot be interpreted in that sense, but can only be attributed to a sense of favours past. While I do employ a considerable portion of my time in attending to the business of the county at large, in working with men of all parties; I do feel peculiar pleasure in working with and receiving the approbation of those in particular who acted with me during my political life, and on whose support I could always depend. I therefore have great satisfaction in attending this dinner, and I feel great obligation to the committee who arranged it for having invited me. It is true that I have not been in the habit of attending similar meetings on ordinary occasions. But this is not an

ordinary occasion. When I see a gentleman who has been assailed as Mr Barwell has been on account of his political principles, whose private character it was attempted to injure, and whose ruin as a tradesman it was endeavoured to effect; when I see him, after having been raised, notwithstanding, to the highest office in this borough, at the close of his year of trial, again placed by an unanimous vote in the civic chair—I feel that this is an extraordinary occasion, and I do feel great satisfaction in being able to join your party in honouring it. Mr Barwell has achieved a great triumph—the greatest triumph of the kind that it was possible for man to achieve—the triumph of honourable conduct and public and private principle over malevolence and obloquy. It is gratifying to us all, I confess it is gratifying to me, to know that the gentleman who has achieved this triumph belongs to the same party to which you and I belong. I will say, too, that such a triumph as this no one of our opponents ever gained. I will go further, and say that such a triumph no one of our opponents ever *can* gain. And why do I say so? Because I have such a reliance on the honour and integrity of the party with which I have acted—such a confidence and such an estimation of the principles which keep the friends of liberty together—that whatever may be their political hostility to an opponent—the Liberal party will never try to run down a man's private character because he may differ from them in political principles. Therefore it is that I say no one of our opponents can be placed in the situation occupied on this occasion by Mr Barwell. No one of them will ever see his political opponents attempting to run down his private character and ruin him as a tradesman; and therefore he never will have the opportunity of conquering obloquy and malevolence in the way that Mr Barwell has done. I have told you that I am, as I always have been, of the same party as yourselves. I do not enter into the particulars of your borough politics, but I know enough of them to know that a great triumph has been gained, and that to me is a source of sincere gratification. Having addressed you on these topics, I know not whether you will expect me to go at all into general politics. Perhaps if I should, I should go out of my proper course on this occasion. It was with great propriety that your two members addressed you as they have done, and entered upon an explanation of their political conduct. But for me, who am not now in political life, the case is different. My attention has not been sufficiently called to political questions to enable me to give you any useful explanation of my opinions. I can only say generally with respect to free trade, that neither of your worthy members are stronger advocates of it than I am. The only time I addressed the House of Lords on the subject, what I said was to the same effect. I am anxious not to be misunderstood on this point. I am a landed proprietor, and an occupier of land; and I have no other means of subsistence. If I were to say that I desired a repeal of the corn laws, believing at the same time that it would destroy the landed interest, you might say that I was a verv honest man; but

you would certainly not say I was a wise one. But I believe no such thing. I quite agree with what Mr Currie has said. I believe that this is a question of the most essential importance to the welfare of the empire at large. But I do not believe that the repeal of the corn laws would tend materially to lower the price of corn. I believe it would raise wages and increase the employment of the people. Thus, although it would not lower the price of corn, it would bring increased means of buying it. I believe, too, that it would be followed by a great increase in the price of corn on the continent, and the effect of this would be that our manufacturers would be enabled better to compete with the manufacturers of the continent. With respect to the objection that foreigners will not take our manufactures in exchange, as Mr Currie has said, if we have their corn they must be paid for it; and if they are to be paid for it, I know of only one way of paying them, directly or indirectly, and that is by the industry of the people. I set little value on reciprocity treaties. If we take from the foreigner corn, we must pay for it with our manufactures, if not directly, indirectly; and the effect of such a trade must be to raise the continental price of corn to our level, not to reduce ours to theirs. The noble earl concluded by saying that they would well understand why he, declaring himself an advocate for a total repeal of the corn laws, was anxious not to be misunderstood. He should be sorry, indeed, if such a change should involve the ruin of those with whom he was now associated (the agriculturists), but he had no such belief. He believed, on the contrary, that it would be for their benefit as well as for the benefit of the country at large.

"His lordship sat down amidst repeated rounds of the heartiest cheering we ever witnessed."—*Northampton Mercury.*

The greatest testimony which could be given to the importance of this speech is the formation of the Anti-League societies for the protection of the agricultural interest. Did we regard these societies as likely to revive the aspect of politics which prevailed in a part of the last century, when politicians were divided into the town party and the country party, we should look upon them with regret, though we cannot at all regard them as likely to be formidable. At present the Anti-League societies are merely ludicrous; their speeches and resolutions are simply idea less. Their projectors do not seem to have a notion whence the leaguers derived their real power. It is not their subscriptions, it is not their lectures, it is not their titled friends that make them strong. Their influence might as well be ascribed to the wit of their anonymous subscribers in their advertised lists:—

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| A poor printer's pop at protection | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Tyrants pause! | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| To expose the landed thimble riggers | 0 | 2 | 0 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| To buy matches to burn the corn laws (double of last year) | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| This will help to give the rogues a skelp . . . . | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Liberty's in every blow . . . . . . . . | 0 | 1 | 0 |

or even

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| The last kick to the rogues in grain . . . . . | 1 | 1 | 0 |

The League is powerful because it repeats and spreads the ideas of Adam Smith. Ninety years ago, a young professor in the Moral Philosophy chair of Glasgow stated the principles now enforced from the Ministerial benches by Sir Robert Peel and Mr Gladstone, and from the stage of Covent Garden by the eloquence of Richard Cobden, Milner Gibson, John Bright, and W. J. Fox; principles which now fill all newspapers and crowd all meetings. The old story in Hierocles of the reflection of the fox on the seeing the mask,—"What a pity that such a pretty face has no brains,"—is applicable to every Anti-League society. What a pity that presidents, and secretaries, and speechifiers, and pamphleteers, and journalists, should have got no ideas to disseminate. The Anti-League societies are further from being efficient opponents to the Anti-Corn-law associations than the bishop in the story was from having shirts. "Please, my lord, your shirts are worn out," was the announcement of the servant to his master. "Very well," the bishop replied, "tell them to go and sow flax." The Anti-Leaguers should begin by begetting their philosophers. Until a genius shall arise who shall prove it to be injurious to produce goods, corn, wine, cloth or hardware, in the spots nature has pointed out for them, the most fertile fields, the sunniest valleys, the most convenient and neighbouring mines of iron and coal, the lecturers of the Anti-League societies must remain preachers without a doctrine. Had there not been an Adam Smith there never could have been a Richard Cobden. About the end of the last century a book was published, entitled the 'Wealth of Nations;' but for *that* book there could not have been *this* League.

The landed interest may, it is true, raise the cry of selfishness, "Protection," but never yet did the cry of any class for their own selfish privileges become powerful and electrical in a nation. Some centuries ago there was a gabella which made dear the bread of the people of Naples for the behoof of an ennobled and privileged class of victual-growers, and a poor lad, who gained his living by selling fish, stood up with his shoeless feet upon a table in the market place, and by God's help, his thoughts and his words, made him strong enough to abolish the gabella on provisions in a few days. In the name of

justice poor Massaniello, a fish hawker, without shoes, setting his life on the hazard, would be strong enough to put down all the gabella-protection societies ever adorned by coronets or blessed by bishops.

It is too bad; these societies are got up merely for the protection of the rents of the aristocracy. Improved trade from the repeal of the corn laws, everybody knows, must increase the demand for labour, and by raising its value, benefit the labouring classes, and give them a brief heyday of prosperity. Farmers, possessed of capital, everybody knows, will not embark it on land if by trade they can get better returns for it. Rents, high rack rents, are the sole objects therefore of these societies; not content with being the class from whom alone legislators can be selected, the aristocracy must form societies to protect their privilege of making, without any equivalent benefit to themselves, the food of every inhabitant of these islands dearer by a pound per head *per annum*. For this they combine, for this they make speeches, for this they subscribe money, for this they vilify their opponents as assassins, bribers, and robbers. Not content that they hold in their gift the splendid revenues of the church, they unite to uphold the laws which in times of distress bring Bacchus and Silenus to the landlords, and starvation and death to the operatives of the land. Our aristocracy tell us their monopoly must continue on account of the heavier taxation which they allege bears on farmers and landlords in England than in other countries. It surely is modest of the aristocracy to tell this to the middle and working classes, on whom the pressure of the taxes falls heavier by two-thirds than on the aristocracy,—from the articles of whose consumption more, by two-thirds, of the revenue is derived than from the articles consumed by the upper classes. Taxation, forsooth! why the articles of finer quality consumed by the upper classes are taxed three or four times less in proportion than the coarser articles which are consumed by the working classes. The men who, in the army and navy, secure the commissions for themselves, and the lashes for their inferiors; who shut up in many counties the footpaths convenient for the labourers; and who, when commons on which the pigs and cattle of the poor used to be turned out are enclosed, compensate not the poor, but the landlords of the neighbourhood—*themselves*—the men who claim for their mere lot of birth a dignity which attends this arrangement of Providence in no case but theirs, now come forward and tell a population among whom distress is permanent and starvation a common thing,

"though our bread is the dearest, you shall not buy the cheapest and the best, lest you injure *us*. True, your factories, your workshops, your ship yards, your mills, and your mines, your ships, and your machines have doubled and trebled the value of our lands; true, you are the descendants of the Saxons who were robbed and we are the descendants of the Normans who robbed them, of these broad green English lands; yet for us you shall famish in thousands, dine on coffee, grow up a stunted race, and darken your cellars at mid-day lest your sleeping children should awaken to ask you for the bread you have not—the bread which we keep from you to rot in the granaries of Bengal, of Dantzic, and of Egypt. You shall stand at the doors of your locked-up factories in Lancashire, willing to weave cottons and woollens for bread; and in other lands, tillers of the earth shall stand willing to raise bread to exchange for your goods, but *we* say we are the best, the *αριστοι*, and *they* shall want the clothes and *you* shall want the bread for *our* sakes. In very truth there is nothing these protection societies can do, except join the two things mentioned by Solomon, as the daughters of the horse-leech, which cry, "Give, give," and never say "Enough."

The distress of the country on the accession of the present Government to office, and the neglect of her Majesty's Ministers to relieve it, were the sources of the power and the popularity of the League. At the close of the second session of the present Conservative Parliament of the Peel Ministry, it was universally felt to have been the session least productive of beneficial legislation for fourteen or fifteen years. For sterility it had not had its match since the contempt of the country fell crushingly on the Robinson Ministry. Almost all honest men acknowledged that the Whigs in their last days and their worst session, and in defiance of a hostile House of Lords and a most powerful Opposition in the House of Commons, though backed only by fluctuating and uncertain majorities of from two to twenty, did more good, and passed more useful measures, than Sir Robert Peel had done with a majority of a hundred in the Commons, nearly all the Lords at his beck, and opposed by an Opposition weak, disorganized, indifferent, or willing to help him in any good thing. Such was the disappointment felt at this second session of the Peel Ministry, that beside their weakness and imbecility the Whigs seemed a band of bold and energetic statesmen.

On entering office Sir Robert Peel was backed by nearly all the great powers both of property and of public opinion in the

country. Opposition, worthy of the name, he had none. With the legislature apparently ready to obey his will, with the peers prepared to sound his praises, with many persons not of his party, of the highest genius and social influence, describing him as the man of the hour, by the end of his second session it was apparent to all men that the results of the infinite babblement of Parliament would only be the consignment of almost every bill he had attempted to carry to what is facetiously called the parliamentary dead-letter office. Not a single solitary important act was passed in the session of 1843. An unlucky Tory, when he was asked to defend the Ministers, said, "he looked to measures and not to men," and the reply was, "Why, then, you look to *nothing;* and to eulogize your Minister you should re-animate the poet who celebrated *nothing* in an ode." Independent and impartial men in society spoke everywhere of the Peel statesmanship, of which they had such hopes, in the most uncomplimentary metaphors, as a bubble burst, a wind-bag which had made its sham report and lay cracked. People began to remember that the Whigs had made great enemies by great measures, such as the West India Interest, the Agricultural Interest, and the Church Establishment Interest. The power of opinion which brought the Peel Ministry into office having collapsed, everybody saw that henceforth they held office at the mercy of emergencies; everybody owned their incapacity, nobody expected good from them. They had gone up a rocket and come down a stick. Sir Icarus Peel became an object of pity. Far-seeing people began to look ahead for the rocks on which the vessel of the Cabinet was doomed to strike. By placing the lights derived from the past on the prow so as to pierce the darkness of the future, they foresaw that if the Anti Corn-law movement did not grow strong enough to compel the Government either to adopt a fixed duty or to resign, the state of Ireland was morally certain to break the Conservative party into pieces.

"My chief difficulty is Ireland," was the acknowledgment of Sir Robert Peel, and Mr Richard Sheil has improved the statement by the Minister of the great fact it involves by proclaiming that Ireland is his great impossibility. The Tories cannot govern Ireland. Sir Robert Peel tried, through Lord De Grey and Lord Eliot, to govern Ireland by Tory men on Whig principles. We believe he sincerely wished to govern in the spirit of the Emancipation Act; but to do this it is no enough that the minister should wish it. The circumstance

of his position must also enable him to accomplish his wishes.

Ireland soon became unmanageable in the hands of the Peel Ministers. The Repeal movement, which under the Whigs had dwindled into insignificance, became, in two years, under the Tories, a gigantic and a national thing. Monster meetings were assembled at the bidding of Mr O'Connell. Sir Robert Peel had scarcely ceased congratulating himself on overcoming his chief difficulty when Mr O'Connell might have been seen in Ireland addressing the largest assemblages of men the world ever witnessed, met together for peaceful purposes. Eye-witnesses described the appearance of these meetings as if they were a sea of heads; multitudinous waves of faces, far and wide, flashing with the passions of the Irish race and Catholic creed. At Tara of the Kings, an Irish cap like a royal crown was placed on the head of Mr O'Connell, as if the mock crown were believed by the people to point out a real king. Some men of fervent passions began to fear that Ireland would break out into blood and fire. The Repealers set up a system of administrative justice of their own. Even soldiers were heard shouting for O'Connell. To do nothing soon ceased to be a possible policy. Government became an imperative necessity. Ministers had to decide whether they would govern on conciliatory or on coercive principles, on the principle of Protestant ascendency, or on the principle of the religious equality of all; in short, whether their conduct should be actuated by the spirit of Cromwell or by the spirit of O'Connell. Many persons fancied from their long delay that the Government had determined to allow the agitation to spend itself and exhaust its energies in talk and parade. Of course this fancied policy was praised as high wisdom by persons who did not happen to see that such a policy was an impossibility. They did not see that it was impossible for a Government to allow the power of a country to slip out of its hands. What was to be done with Mr O'Connell became the grand problem with the politicians of the day, and because he is one of the greatest lawyers Ireland ever produced, Ministers in their wisdom resolved to do battle with him in the arena on which he had never yet met his match. Perhaps a spectacle more pitiful and ludicrous could not be presented to thinking men than Sir Robert Peel trying when he first came into office to govern in the spirit of O'Connell and the Emancipation Act, by means of his partisans of the Orange party; none but himself could have surpassed it, which he has done by prosecuting Mr O'Connell before an Orange jury—a jury chosen so as to outrage the notions of fair play of all honest men for the purpose

of obtaining a conviction which the Peel Ministry cannot now follow with a punishment without ruining themselves. Let them imprison Mr O'Connell, let his elbow rub for a single hour against the iron bars of a cell window, and one of two things immediately happens—either Ireland is kept peaceable by the sublime moral power of his word, or Ireland becomes unmanageable—and a legislature, in which scarcely anybody really cares for Sir Robert Peel, has to decide on the point whether to keep him in office is worth a civil war.

Perhaps the reviewer may be pardoned for saying as an individual, that he for one, though not an Irishman, and not a Repealer, does not believe in the truth of that character of Mr O'Connell which is painted by the Tory press, and which until lately appeared to be acquiesced in by the Whig journals of the day. With great submission he states his conviction, that of all the politicians of the day Mr Daniel O'Connell occupies the noblest and the highest moral position. Faultless he is not: errors of judgment he has committed, and mistakes into which he has been hurried by impulse; but throughout a long public life he has struggled for Ireland, and exhibited in himself the best elements of her moral life. What is he now? The impersonation of the dearest hopes and wishes of at least six millions of the Irish population; the representative of a race oppressed cruelly for seven centuries, and of a creed long dear to heroes, saints, and martyrs, which has brought upon his race and country the direst persecutions for many generations. In five or six centuries Norman and Saxon conquerors have taken, with the red hand of power, eleven-twelfths of the land of Ireland from the original Irish race. So recent have many of the confiscations been, that when, a short time back, a gentleman of our acquaintance was shown over an estate by a great Irish landlord, our friend was asked by the proprietor to observe a grey-haired and respectable-looking peasant digging in a field. "Do you see that peasant?" said the landlord. "Yes," was the reply: "he seems a very respectable labourer." "That man's grandfather," said this Irish and Tory landlord, "owned all the lands you see." About the time Mr O'Connell was born, a younger brother had only to profess himself a convert to Protestantism to be able by law to dispossess his father or his elder brother of their property. When Mr O'Connell was young, he would often hear tales of men who, by swearing that the horse of a Catholic was worth more than five pounds, had been able by law to get possession of the horse. As he grew up, conscious of great energies and great talents, to what could this young man have devoted himself in life nobler or greater than to redress the wrongs which for centuries had fallen

crushingly on his race and creed. He might, had he chosen, with his talents and perseverance, have gained distinction, places, titles, honours, wealth. Why, creatures he could hold between his fingers and his thumb have gained the highest amount of these in our times which can be reached by subjects of the Crown, although starting in life under greater disadvantages than his. But the price would have been falsehood, instead of devotion to his fathers and his religion. His soul was nobler. On returning from Louvaine, the young barrister saw no greater career possible for him than to devote himself to make every Irishman the equal of every Englishman. He resolved, if he could help it, that for having the same sort of blood in his veins he had, and for believing the same religious tenets he held, no man should be worse off in the eyes of the state or in the career of life than if he had been born a Saxon and bred a Protestant. Yet, when the young barrister tried to form the first societies for accomplishing his great purposes, he met with much discouragement, indifference, and neglect. It is said that when he called his first meeting he waited in the appointed place, the back room of a bookseller's shop in Sackville street, alone for a long hour, and no one came. At last, seeing two or three priests and gentlemen of his acquaintance sauntering along the pavement, he went up to them, and partly by entreaties, and partly by pushing them before him, induced them to form in this back shop, with him, the Committee of an Association for the vindication of his race and his religion. For seven long years, we are informed, he laboured almost alone in this Association, snatching six or seven hours a day from the time other men devoted to pleasure or to sleep, and supplying from the hard won gains of his profession almost all the funds required for the operations of his society. He succeeded partially in his objects by obtaining Catholic Emancipation. We extract the following graphic description of the change wrought by his labours in the appearance of a single town, written by Mr Samuel Carter Hall, a gentleman whose Protestant prejudices have not prevented him from seeing the great effects produced by the energy of Mr O'Connell, nor from saying what he has seen, although, in our humble judgment, they prevent him from giving that full justice to this great man which he has merited:

"I was in Cork on the 1st of July last. On the evening of that eventful day I walked through its principa street. Twenty years had passed since I had been there before. Well did I remember its aspect then. At the end of that street was an equestrian statue; and at one side of it was a large mansion of red brick. On the 1st of July—in old times—that house was illuminated from attic to kitchen;

sky-rocket—tokens of rejoicing—ascended from its roof. It was the club-house of the (so called) 'Friendly Brothers,' who elected the mayor and corporation of Cork—and among whom a Roman Catholic gentleman would not have stood the remotest chance of admission. The statue was—on this 'glorious anniversary'—decorated with orange flowers and orange ribbons. Crowds of men and boys assembled round it, firing pistols, squibs, and crackers; they were all of one mind—and that a most unhappy one. On such occasions it would have been absolutely unsafe for any Roman Catholic to have passed along that street. This was in the South. How was it in the North? I need not dwell upon a picture, with which every man and woman in Ireland, above the age of twenty, is thoroughly acquainted. The statue and the house are there still. On the 1st of July, 1843, the one looked lonely and the other desolate. The mayor and corporation of the city were (chiefly) Roman Catholics, the chosen of the Roman Catholic people; the man or boy who wore an orange lily in his hat would have had his head broken before he had walked a dozen steps; and afterwards have been consigned to prison to take his trial for a misdemeanor.

"The changes that had taken place could not, that day, have made so strong an impression upon the citizens of Cork as they did upon me; for they have grown used to them. But had they reflected for a moment they would have remembered their altered position—masters where they were wont to serve; giving laws where they had been for centuries treated with obloquy. Does England complain of these changes? By no means. It was by England they were ordained and wrought. If England had resolved to continue the old and atrocious policy of keeping Ireland down—of treating Ireland as a conquered country—would Irishmen in 1843 have seen Roman Catholic Irishmen as mayors, magistrates, members of parliament, lords of the treasury, judges, and governors of colonies?

"Was this concession of rights to Roman Catholics the only change I noted in the condition of Ireland during my recent visit to that country? Very far from it. I noted that the impost of tithes had been deprived of all its odious features—that, although it still pressed heavily on the landlord, it was scarcely felt by the tenant; and I remembered how terribly grievous was the tax twenty years ago, when it took the 'bits of things' from the poor cotter's cabin. 'Here,' said I, 'is a wonderful change for the better—other evidence that the old and bad policy of keeping down the many for the sake of the few has been abandoned.' I visited many poorhouses—the experiment of their introduction was 'a trial,' and some miserable blunders were made in introducing them; but they are, at least, proofs that England is determined to consider Ireland part of itself, and to afford to the Irish poor the consolation enjoyed by English poor—the certainty of an asylum for the aged, incapable, and destitute. I entered a vast number of school-houses, built and endowed out of the public funds. I found very many of them placed under the direct patronage of the

Roman Catholic clergymen, who openly, and without fear, taught the principles of his religion in the school-room. How different was this from 'the mode' twenty years ago—when a Roman Catholic boy learned only in a miserable cabin, or by the hedge side. Dear friends, I might take note of a score of great and valuable changes introduced into Ireland, by England, within the last ten years—larger in number and mightier in effects than all the legislative boons Ireland had received for one hundred years previously. I should exceed the space to which I have limited myself if I enumerated them all. To one, however, I must make some reference. The spirit of the age—so resolute in advancing and extending freedom and equal rights—has marvellously changed for the better the character of Irish landlords. For one bad landlord now, you had formerly ten. The middle-men—the locusts who devoured the fatness of the land—are nearly all gone. Cruel or inconsiderate task-masters are still plenty enough; but you know how infinitely more numerous they were twenty years ago. Public opinion would consign to instant ignominy such merciless exterminators as existed when your fathers took land. The eternal truth, that 'property has its duties as well as its rights,' is now universally admitted, and very generally forms the basis of new engagements. But legislation upon this delicate and difficult subject is required. IT IS SURE TO COME."

But in England and Scotland almost everybody says Mr O'Connell is dishonest because he agitates for Repeal, which he cannot but know to be an impossibility. Every Englishman believes Repeal to be impossible, and we should say the same of every Scotchman if we were not aware that the gross mismanagement and incapacity of the Peel Ministry have created a Repeal feeling with regard to the Union with England, in the hearts of many. The 'Journal des Debats' said it admired Mr O'Connell so long as he was the man of possible reforms, but now he had become the man of impossible revolutions. Anti-Repeal Englishmen and Scotchmen know that they will have a death-struggle with every Irishman before Repeal is conceded and the British empire dismembered. They believe that, in spite of their inferiority of number, the Protestants in Ireland could hold their own in fair fight against the Catholics. Were every man of English blood to expire in Ireland to-morrow, rather than a separation should take place, they say a week would not elapse till a conquering army should land in Ireland to do again what Strongbow and Cromwell did before. The spirit, they say, is not dead in England needful to coop the whole Milesian race once again into Connaught rather than allow them to degrade Great Britain to the level of a third-rate power. Mr O'Connell, they say, knows all this very well; he knows that, once before, a troop of forty English soldiers, clad in mail, could

ride from one end of Ireland to the other, and that if put to it the thing could be done again. Hence the almost universal inference is, that Mr O'Connell is dishonest when promising Repeal. Coarse minds accuse him of gross imposture: intellects of a higher order accuse him of unveracity to feasible, practicable, and beneficial objects.

With great submission we remark that these personages do not choose, prior to accusing him of dishonesty, to realize to themselves exactly what Mr O'Connell means by Repeal. He does not mean separation, which is what his accusers always mean by it. He knows very well the impossibility of separation while the island of Great Britain lies in the sea alongside of Ireland, like a seventy-four within grappling distance of a sloop of war. Were this his object, and it is not, Mr O'Connell would not be dishonest, he would only be insane. But it is said the Government of Ireland by Irishmen is an impossibility. They are an unveracious race—a people of blackguardism and blarney. Mr O'Connell, on the contrary, honestly believes that his race and religion do produce men capable of governing their country, and he may be pardoned the credulity of assuming a still nobler fact concerning them, that they are a people capable of self-government. Before his eyes he has seen them become, by the moral influence of Father Mathew, the most sober people in Europe. Within a few months he has seen assemblies of them, larger than both the armies at Waterloo, meet and disperse peacably and quietly, in docile obedience and generous trust, without a single act of violence or disturbance; and what is still more extraordinary of a people believed to be possessed of bridleless tongues, with the utterance of few words, which an Orange Attorney-General or a Protestant jury can construe into misdemeanour or sedition.

The State Trials are now concluded. The jury-packing-and-challenge-sending-Attorney-General for Ireland has done his masters' bidding, and gained their object. An Orange jury have convicted; and what is the result? In Ireland Repeal has become not merely a civil but a religious question. The Act for Catholic Emancipation is deemed to have been practically annulled. In England a ferment has arisen for the threatened right of liberty of discussion. O'Connell is the most popular man in the United Kingdom, and to all it is evident that were he put in prison he would be more victorious than ever. His own manly defence before the jury, devoid as it was of all meretricious ornament, was perhaps the most successful effort of his public life. If not convincing as an argument for Repeal, and it

is the best that has yet been pleaded, it has produced a profound impression on the minds of Englishmen and Scotchmen in his favour. Students of human nature, and of the peculiarities of character, see and say that for this man to have entertained purposes of violence and insurrection is a moral impossibility—a contradiction of his very nature—a supposition irreconcilable not merely with his life but with his idiosyncrasy. What is Mr O'Connell in politics? Why he is the discoverer of the might of constitutional and peaceful agitation. This is his idea. This is the birth of his genius. This is the core of the man. This is Daniel O'Connell. Subduing opinion by opinion, and organising large bodies of men as moral missionaries of their convictions. This is his strength. This makes him a Samson. Let a particle of physical force mingle with this moral power and his strength goes out of him, and he becomes like other men. No wonder though he spurned the approaches of physical-force Chartists, and revolutionary Americans and Frenchmen. By the order of his Holiness the Pope, the prayers of the sanctuaries of his religion ascend daily to heaven for this man. Something approaching adoration characterizes the feelings of his countrymen towards him; and all these testimonies to him, whether from him who sits on the chair of St Peter, or in the heart of the humblest peasant who is proud that he was born in the Liberator's county, proceed from the deep conviction that he is a man of peace and not a man of blood. In spite of national and religious prejudices against him, all men who have any clearness of sight or candour of heart, are beginning to perceive that in his inmost soul Daniel O'Connell loves Ireland. A man of peace and a man of patriotism, strong in a disinterested career, devoted to his religion and his race, in spite of faults of taste and temper, men see in him a touch of the heroic—whether when the young barrister labours for unnoticed years to turn apathy into enthusiasm for Catholic Emancipation, or whether grown the great and powerful representative of a nation, he declines the highest honours of his profession, that he may still labour to make every Irishman the equal of every Englishman.

The most hopeful sign of good for Ireland has appeared in an objectionable shape—we mean the declaration of Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell in favour of the endowment of the Roman Catholic Priesthood of Ireland. For throwing out this idea the Whig chiefs have been accused of forgetting a wise maxim which seems to be ever present to the mind of the Duke of Wellington, that people ought not to meddle with things over which they have no control. The policy dictated by the circum-

stances of a weak Opposition is one of criticism, of fault-finding, of obstructing the bad and forwarding the good measures of the Government. Apparently just because it is a minority in the legislature, the function of an Opposition is not legislative. These noble lords, however, seem to have formed a higher conception of the duties of the chiefs of an Opposition, and have thrown out their most statesmanlike ideas for the benefit of their opponents. Discussing the scheme of endowing the Catholic Priesthood with an aristocratic politician, he exclaimed—"The fact is, my dear fellow, we cannot govern the people but by their priests." This is the idea embodied in the endowment scheme.

The oppressions heaped on the Irish for centuries, and the persecutions which the Catholic religion has sustained in Ireland, have deprived the Irish Catholic Clergy of one of the most respectable aspects and attributes of the clerical character. Insult and oppression have prevented them from being or deeming it right to be the friends of the institutions of their country. The most valuable influence exercised by the established clergymen in aristocratic eyes, is the influence which they exercise in favour of order and authority, when they tell the people not merely to "Fear God, and honour the King," but to "meddle not with those who are given to change." A most valuable influence this, and one essential to all good government, which consists in ruling the people by institutions which they love. The misgovernment of Ireland never was more strikingly expressed than by the spectacle of nearly all the Catholic Bishops of Ireland coming forward to give the sanction of religion to the Repeal movement. Great is the love and reverence which the people of Ireland entertain for their clergy—and with a good cause. No priesthood in Europe, Catholic or Protestant, has exercised a nobler function than that of the Catholic Clergy of Ireland. Theirs has been the sweetening and purifying influence which has chiefly relieved the distresses of the most miserable people in Europe. In the days and nights of his bitterest distress, the Irish peasant had brought to his icy hut and hungered hearth, by a laborious and brother-like priest, the celestial consolations of religion. His landlord might be his oppressor, but the man of God has been his friend always. His family might be turned out of the hut which was all that remained to him of lands that a few generations ago had been in the possession of his forefathers; his hovel might be unroofed, that his bed-rid parent might not remain in it unexposed to the blasts of winter; the last bit of furniture that remained to him, that most endeared by affectionate associations, might be canted before his eyes, but still his pastor held up the crucifix to him in his sorrow, and ever in the darkest hour of his distress, lit up the

vision of a heavenly home. Reverence, affection, obedience—these are not spontaneous feelings towards any class of men in human breasts. Ignorance and superstition excite them not. If you own that the Irish love and obey their priests you prove these priests to be lovable and venerable. Whatever virtues the Irish character exhibits, it owes chiefly to the friendly relations between the priesthood and the peasantry. Taught by a priesthood whose ideal of conduct aims at a purity inconsistent perhaps with human nature, the Irish homes are not surpassed in Europe for chastity and affection. To a devoted priesthood the miserable peasantry of Ireland owe the sweet and holy joys which descend on virtuous hearths however lowly.

Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell are right. If the Irish people are to become loyal and loving towards the government of their country, the change must be effected through a priesthood, powerful because the objects of gratitude and of reverence.

We hail the recognition of this fact by the Whig chiefs as an omen of good hope for Ireland. We submit, however, that the Irish Priesthood cannot be linked to the institutions of the country by a base manacle of gold. Undoubtedly it is very bad for the cause of good order to see the crucifix substituted for the shillelah in the processions of Repealers. But it seems to us that the time is gone by, if it ever existed, for realizing the ideas of David Hume, and using Christianity for mere purposes of statecraft. It is too late in the day to try to set up a new spiritual police—a new sacerdotal lackeyhood. There has no doubt been a great diminution among Protestants of the outrageous prejudices which they cherished against the Catholic religion and its votaries. The picture in vogue of the scarlet lady is not quite so hideous as it was painted of old. On the contrary, there has been a remarkable progress in public opinion of late years, towards more liberal and generous views respecting the Catholic Church, her influence on civilization, her heroes and her history. But it seems to us to be a misinterpretation of this progress of opinion to suppose that it has weakened the objections against endowing the Catholic Church. Endowment schemes have to encounter a new and far more formidable opponent than the old No-Popery cry in the voluntary principle. Statesmen will do well to ascertain whether it be not the fact that no principle, no political or ecclesiastical idea, has in recent years risen so rapidly into favour among the middling classes as what is called the voluntary principle in religion. It is full of fresh strength. Never before did so many sincere Scotchmen, Englishmen, and Irishmen look on Establishments or Endowments as the

pieces of silver offered to Religion for the betrayal of her Lord. Catholics and Protestants, Independents and Methodists, Episcopalians and Presbyterians, all are to be found more or less friendly to this recent and powerful idea of the proper relations between Church and State. It has spread like wildfire. It glows in the eloquence of Catholic Bishops as well as in the earnest words of Independent ministers. The Catholic Clergy are committed to it. The Dissenters of England, whose power, when brought to bear against the late Education Bill, proved too strong for the present Ministry in the very hey-day of their power, are zealous for this principle to a degree of which few statesmen have a conception.

Though we deem the scheme for endowing, however slightly, the Catholic Clergy of Ireland impracticable, we nevertheless hail the declaration of the Whig chiefs that the Irish must be governed through the Irish Clergy, as a circumstance pregnant with good to come. If the Irish Clergy are to be conciliated to Government, this can be done only by winning their love towards the laws and institutions of the country. You cannot *buy* it: you must therefore *merit* it. Religious equality will be found more powerful for this purpose than any amount of glebes. Convince them of equal favour in the eyes of the law, and they will love the law. The reduction of the Irish establishment may be one way of obtaining religious equality. Undoubtedly it is a great thing for Ireland that the chiefs of a party which must soon return to power see equality of religions to be the *sine qua non* for the good government of the Irish priests and people.

The conduct of the Chartists, and especially of their leader, Mr Feargus O'Connor, has been far more powerful to retard than the perseverance of Mr Sturge, or the fervid genius of Mr Miall, or the eloquence of Mr Vincent, have been influential to advance the concession of the franchise to the working classes. The upper and middle classes will never want a good reason to allege against granting the suffrage to the "masses," as they are called, while they can point to the fact that Universal Suffrage has produced the repudiation of just debts in America, and the leadership of Mr O'Connor in England and Scotland. The registrar of births, deaths, and marriages reports that of every hundred men in England who have occasion to sign the marriage-register, forty-five cannot write, and therefore use marks. In the presence of these facts, it will be long ere the middle classes will consent to enfranchise men of twenty-one years of age who have not managed to imbibe any spirit of religion, or any sense, not to say of honour, but of manhood!

Reforms of the representative system, however, there must be. It would be the duty of a Spencer ministry to effect them.

History probably will crown the Whigs of 1832 with honour for their Reform Act, and acknowledge that their legislation on progressive principles, though incomplete, has prevented a revolution of blood. Still, immense dissatisfaction exists with the result of the struggles of 1830; and, in deference to these, reforms of the Reform Act seem inevitable. Two improvements are desired;—protection for the political consciences of the constituencies, and greater access to men of talent without wealth into the legislature. That settlement cannot be regarded as final which makes Honiton and Marylebone equal on the vote lists, although the latter has two hundred and forty inhabitants for every three in the former, and for every pound of assessed taxes paid by Honiton, Marylebone pays about 280*l*. Calm, clear-sighted men of the middle classes say, in many places the real property principle of the Reform Act is a property in consciences—a property in the souls of men; they know it to be true that in many of the small English burghs, buying a ten-pound house is just buying a ten-pound vote; they know that when the proprietor of the houses rats, the houses change their politics. Manhood revolts against a system which degrades an immortal spirit into the mouth-piece, the voting-machine of a ten-pound house. It is an outrage against man, the image of God, to allow the vote to be a moral chattel, a political fixture, puffed by the auctioneer and bought and sold with the house. Discerning men remark that, prior to the Reform Act, the corrupt in the small burghs were a small, well-off body, who managed their corruption through an agent, for a fixed price, according to an ancient, hereditary, systematic, and well-known plan. Now, they say, the corrupt are increased from tens to hundreds in the burghs. In 1841, at Sudbury, they marched in troops, with flags and music, and polled for candidates they had seen at the hustings for the first time; on receiving tickets certifying they had voted rightly, they proceeded, in open day, to a tavern, and for each ticket received, through a hole, from the unknown hands of persons unseen, the handful of gold for which they had sold themselves, their souls, and their country. Such was the degradation of the bribed under the Reform Act; but though less showy, the degradation of the intimidated is a still more detestable thing. Lord John Russell, by his recent act, has done much to prevent bribery. It would be greatly to his honour were he also to devise some plan, if he cannot adopt the ballot, to prevent seven-day leases, the terrors of writs, distress warrants, executions, and ejectments, from debasing thousands of his brother men into voting utensils for ten-pound houses.

In proportion as corruption is diminished, access to the House

of Commons will be afforded to men of talent. Men who can boast from the hustings that the spending of a few thousands shall not prevent them from coming into Parliament would not dare to show themselves were the authors of the Reform Act to vindicate the title of their measure to be called a reform at all, by devising some stigma for every briber, corruptor, compromiser, and attorney jobber. We recommend the stigma of felony. Thousands of the poor climb the treadmill for acts less criminal. Were justice done on this class of criminals, the chief question addressed to every political aspirant at present would cease to be what it is:—How much money will you spend? What is your figure? Attorneyism would cease to be the parent of English legislators. Perhaps no idea had greater power on the public mind in carrying the Reform Act, than the hope that it would admit a greater number of men of genius and talent into public life. Woefully has the expectation been disappointed. Legislation is the highest work of practical morals; it is scarcely fit, therefore, to lodge the power of making legislators in the hands of the lower orders of legal practitioners. Legislation is the business of transferring beneficent ideas from the sparkling forges of thought into the iron shapes of law and rule; yet a mastery of ideas is not the chief thing demanded of would-be legislators. What certain bribers prettily called pictures of the Queen in gold are not so necessary to give a man a moral right to a seat in Parliament as the possession of talents and ideas for the advancement of his country. The day may come yet when the chief question asked of the candidate will be, What are your ideas? How do *you* specially propose to benefit and to bless your country?

The Peel Ministers have taken the opportunity of a partial revival of trade to declare against any alteration of the corn laws. The Minister seems to have committed himself to the sliding scale. The partial prosperity which forms the song of triumph of Sir Robert Peel in 1844, is the direct consequence, if we may credit accounts we have received from the manufacturing districts, of the Chinese policy of the former Government —a policy, the consequences of which were so little foreseen or so greatly mistaken by Sir Robert Peel, that in the conclusion of his speech on the Chinese question he appealed to Heaven to avert the consequences from his country. Most curious has the course of the Tories been in relation to Chinese affairs. Sir James Graham prevented Lord Palmerston from warding off the outbreak of hostilities, by obstructing and defeating the China Courts Bill, which the Whig Foreign Secretary introduced to Parliament to enable the British Superintendent in Canton to

exercise an efficient control over British subjects and traders, and to restrain them from violating the laws of the Chinese by carrying on the trade in opium. Having in part caused the mischief, Sir James Graham and the Tories denounced Lord Palmerston and the Whigs, as if the guilt of it lay wholly at their door, and did not at all lie on the heads of those who threw out the China Courts Bill. In 1840, Sir Robert Peel finished his great speech in the great debate on Chinese affairs in the House of Commons by a solemn prayer to Almighty God to avert from Great Britain the consequences of the iniquity of her rulers. Lord Palmerston, backed by the opinions of many most eminent merchants, announced to the House that he anticipated great commercial advantages as the speedy result of the reprisals against the Chinese. In 1844, Sir Robert Peel drew up a royal speech, in which her Majesty says—

"I have directed that the treaty, which I have concluded with the Emperor of China, shall be laid before you, and I rejoice to think that it will, in its results, prove highly advantageous to the trade of this country.

"Throughout the whole course of my negotiations with the government of China, I have uniformly disclaimed the wish for any exclusive advantages.

"It has been my desire that equal favour should be shown to the industry and commercial enterprise of all nations."

"Thus the whirligig of time brings about its revenges;" and the Minister, who in a party speech denounced in a royal speech, proclaims the realization of the beneficent results of the foresight of his political opponents.

It is impossible in a review article to form anything like a complete estimate of the relative merits of the party candidates for public confidence; but incidental points present themselves, to which tests may be applied, which show expressively the relative merits of parties in relation to a specific quality of statesmanship. For instance, the quality of fertility in useful reforms. When Peel came into office, many Tories and Radicals expected an abundance of great and good measures from the great talents and the respectability of the Premier. However inadequate the Whig measures may be deemed to the wants of the country by ardent Reformers, does a single man exist in these islands who now dreams that any Tory pamphleteer will be able to produce an enumeration in favour of his party to match the simple statement of the author of 'What is to be done?'

"The only Tory reforms that we have been able to discover after a diligent search through half a century, are the establishment of the London police, and a formal but useful digest of criminal laws in

1827; for both Catholic emancipation and the repeal of test and corporation acts were forced on and carried by the Whigs against the will of the Tory party. Whereas the abolition of slavery, parliamentary reform, municipal reform, the establishment of national education in Ireland and its commencement in England, English and Irish church reforms, punishment of death reforms, poor law reform, postage reform, law reforms, pension list reforms, abolition of sinecures, diminution of placemen and patronage, reduction of seven millions of taxes—yet still marking on the whole a balance of surplus revenue over expenditure, and an attempted taxation reform, involving the abolition of all monopolies and protections—these sufficiently attest the sincerity and vigour of the Whigs during ten years' official application of their principles; and by these the country was tranquillized, for its wants and necessities were consulted and relieved."

The Scotch Church question is one of the best tests of the capacity of the Ministers which events have presented. Sir Robert Peel declared that he was aware the settling of it would be a feat which would do honour to any statesman. Lord Aberdeen, in the name of his colleagues, promised a bill to Dr Chalmers which would have settled it. The point to which Dr Chalmers, Mr Candlish, and Mr Dunlop held with an unwavering constancy, was this:—"That the ecclesiastical courts shall be declared able to reject the presentee, not without the assignment of reasons by the people, but irrespective of the reasons assigned." This point Lord Aberdeen distinctly and in strong terms promised to concede, in letters to Dr Chalmers and to the secretaries of the committee. He said, on the 1st of February, 1840, that his proposal would enable the Presbytery to reject a presentee, even were the popular objections as frivolous as a dislike to red hair. Mr Dunlop, in the name of the committee, asked him if he would enable the Presbytery to reject the presentee "in consideration of the continued opposition of the people?" Lord Aberdeen, in answer, assured Dr Chalmers he was not aware of any material difference in the objects proposed by the committee and those he should be prepared to support, thus distinctly confirming their reading of his proposal. Had these promises been kept, he would have prevented the disruption of the Church of Scotland. And how minute the point of difference is! He has enabled the Presbyteries, after the mischief has happened and the church is in pieces, to reject a presentee on any reasons, however frivolous. Had he kept his word, and enabled the Presbyteries to reject, irrespective of reasons, the great Scottish event of 1843 would never have occurred, and the Ministry of Sir Robert Peel would have been crowned with the honour of one feat of statesmanship. We will allow you,

the Government exclaims, to reject on frivolous reasons, but we will not allow you to reject irrespective of reasons; and for this hair's-breadth of technicality five hundred clergymen and seven hundred thousand people have been alienated by a Conservative Ministry from the Established Church of their country. Sir Robert Peel aspires to the fame of a statesman, and in Scotland this thistle is his laurel.

There is a reason for the sterility of the Tories in their personal characters, as well as a still stronger one arising from the peculiarity of their position, or what may be called the idiosyncrasy of their party. The character of Sir Robert Peel himself, strong, Saxon, and vigorous though it be, is not rich, inventive, suggestive, bold, or high: he lacks the self-reliance of genius. Hence, on every subject involving principles on which a great statesman would have legislative measures, his conduct and his words present all sorts of contradictions. Contemplating him, we feel like the audience of the dull preacher whose text was "Watch and pray."

"By our preacher perplexed,
How shall we determine?
'Watch and pray,' says the text;
'Go to sleep,' says the sermon."

Hence in England he declaims in favour of the principles of free trade, and yet stands by the sliding scale for the most Leaguer-like of all reasons, because a fixed duty has something of protection in it, as if that ought not to be a reason with him for being in favour of it. Ireland, he declares, he will govern in the spirit of the Emancipation Act, while by dismissing popular magistrates, he transfers the confidence of seven-eighths of the people from the law to Mr O'Connell and the Arbitration Courts of the Repealers—while his Attorney-General declares he cannot believe the immense majority of the people of Ireland on their oaths, and strikes the Catholic names out of the Jury list. Talk of conciliation was flowing from the lips of the Minister at the the very time he appointed to the office of Attorney-General, a man animated by the fiercest hatred to the race and the religion of the people to be conciliated. In Scotland Sir Robert Peel talks respect to the Kirk until she falls in pieces in the presence of his eulogies; and when the disruption had overspread the land, puts into a royal speech praises of his statesmanship in preventing it.

Nothing but the tendencies to opposite courses which exist in the Ministry itself can explain the feebleness in administration

and the sterility in legislation of the Government. Ministers wish to go opposite ways. The state of the Ministry reminds one by analogy of a pack of dogs chained to each other and desirous of going different ways, thus by their efforts producing nothing but a stand-still. Hence the elements of disorder in all places have their way in Scotland, in England, and in Ireland. A most expressive exhibition of this tendency to opposite courses in the Cabinet has just come before us. Everybody knows that Sir Robert Peel has called the principles of free trade the principles of common sense. The Duke of Buccleugh is a Cabinet Minister, and his grace, according to the newspapers, gave his factor, Mr P. Pain, instructions to deny, at a Northampton Anti-League meeting, a rumour that the Duke was in favour of the common-sense principles of the Minister. Mr Pain said he had had a conversation with his grace, whose own words he would repeat: "A greater lie was never penned by the father of all lies." When almost everybody was saying, two years ago, that the country would be saved by the good intentions of Sir Robert Peel, that in his cold and sterile purposes there were the elements of good to come, we felt like the Irishman who was told there was latent heat in snowballs, and who pertinently asked how many of them it would take to boil his kettle. In addition to all the original coldness and sterility that exists in the purposes of good of the Premier, half his colleagues are resolved that the latent heat shall not be extracted, and he himself is incapable of a bold purpose. In such circumstances the chief hope of most of his countrymen is, that he may now bestow upon himself an Earldom, resign the seals of office to abler hands, and confine to occasional displays in the House of Lords that mastery over words in which he is almost unrivalled, and that skill in the use of plausibilities to which he owes his rise and may shortly attribute his fall.

A great requirement which a future Ministry will have to fulfil is to satisfy the demands of benevolence, by devising and executing measures to relieve the distresses and improve the condition of the poor. Of all the signs of good in our present literature, and literature is the precursor of legislation, none is more cheering and none is stronger than the universal demand for remedies for the evils of the condition of the working and labouring population. Life must not be sacrificed to land as it has hitherto been. The rights of the poor, in relation to the soil, must be as carefully guarded as the rights of the rich. The accounts of needle-women working their lives away for a few pence per day—of houseless wretches sleeping under the trees in

the parks—of the three millions of paupers in Ireland—and the like have produced a strong demand for the adoption of effectual measures, not for the partial, but for the permanent stopping of the complaining in our streets.

We frankly confess we turn joyfully from the despair inspired by a consideration of the incapacity and the sterility of the Peel Ministry, to the hope of a Spencer administration to come. The repeal of the corn laws could come from no man so fitly as from the head of a family who have done more to benefit agriculture than any other ten families in England. Every reader of the peerage books has seen the story of how an Earl of Arundel twitted the first Earl Spencer, by saying—"At that time your ancestors were keeping sheep." And Lord Spencer replied—"Yes, my ancestors were keeping sheep, and yours at that time were plotting treason." From that time to this no family has surpassed the Spencers in their devotion to the advancement of agriculture; and we believe no member of the family ever surpassed the present Earl in the eminence of his services to this cause. The fact that it is only a more enlightened attachment to the cause of the farmer which makes Lord Spencer an enemy of the corn laws, may in time be recorded by the pen of the historian of our present affairs. We do not despair of its being seen by the more clear-sighted of the farmers even in our own day.

When in the House of Commons the slang charge of the opposition journals was that Lord Althorp was more fitted for breeding cattle than for governing men and making laws, we beg to record a fact. At that time, when anxious to get at the main points of any question, we used to read the speeches of two men on opposite sides, and they were the Duke of Wellington and Lord Althorp. More eloquent speeches abounded, but speeches more full of good sense, clear, practical, manly soundness of head and heart, we did not find in the debates. Lord Althorp has far more ability than he displays. Nothing has ever given us a higher opinion of the good sense of an English House of Commons than the assurance that no man ever inspired more of the confidence of members of Parliament than Lord Althorp. Plausibilities, dexterities, make-believes, and quackeries, are foreign to his nature. He does not need a Duke of Richmond to bully him into speaking plainly out, for on all subjects he speaks plainly, frankly, and manfully. He is exactly what he seems, only a good deal better. While explaining the affairs of the Government, he spoke like a farmer detailing the rotation of his crops. We were much pleased with him. He appeared to you a good, upright, honest Englishman. He did not

carry your senses off in an admiring fit. It was only on reflection that the admirable qualities of his intellect and his character, visible in all he had said, became radiant to you, and you felt him to be a man to be loved and trusted.

In a Spencer Government, therefore, we should have confidence and hope. The high character, the large fortune, the steady sagacity of Earl Spencer, would inspire confidence, even in the farmers of Steyning, that they were not in revolutionary hands. Ireland is occupied by 30,000 troops, her coast surrounded by ships of war. Let the news spread over her green hills and dales—"Earl Spencer is Minister,"—and the words would be a proclamation of order, peace, and prosperity. Dismissals of popular magistrates, and exclusions of Catholics from jury lists, have transferred the confidence of the Irish from the Law to the Liberator. The trial of Mr O'Connell has rekindled the elements of insurrection. Let Lord Normanby be seen alighting from the vice-regal carriage at the gates of Dublin Castle, and all would again be peaceful and hopeful. In Scotland the mischief is done. No man can undo the evils wrought by Sir James Graham and Sir Robert Peel. But in Scotland the news of a Spencer Administration would be hailed with joy. By refusing to sell sites for churches and manses to free churchmen, religious liberty is abolished by many peers and lairds. "We have hidden the preaching tent up there, Sirs, because the factor is here just now," the poor people in Ross-shire and Sutherlandshire say to their clergymen, pointing to a mountain height more fit for an eagle's eyrie than a congregation. The lairds might expect a Site Act from a Spencer Administration. By the attempts made to enforce religious tests, to turn free churchmen out of their chairs in the Universities—and by the existence of these tests Dissenters are excluded from scientific and literary situations, to which they are entitled by their virtues, their talents, and their acquirements. These things would be put to rights by a Spencer Administration. In England free trade, in Ireland and Scotland religious liberty and equality, would receive the encouragement and establishment demanded by the wants of the age. Such a Ministry might not be able to do all the necessities of the country might require. Faults, blunders, shortcomings, inseparable from human affairs, would belong to them. But such a Government would be, perhaps, as near an approach to the requirements of the country as circumstances will permit.

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# POSTSCRIPT.

*Liberty of Public Discussion; Van Sandau; The Corporation of London; Foreign and Colonial Review; Proposed New Coal Duty; Post-Office Reform.*

THE late debate in the House of Commons, almost unexampled for its length, has exhausted every point of interest connected with the late Irish trials. To the arguments adduced, we need add nothing but the reflection that all parties appear convinced, however differently they may speak and vote, that the prosecution of O'Connell has been a political mistake.* The triumph of Government in the verdict they have obtained has been worse than a defeat. Another such a victory, and the Irish Church will be surrendered. Had the verdict been one of acquittal, the exultation of Repealers would have been great, but out of Ireland no additional strength would have been given to the agitation: on the contrary, many English Liberals would probably have concurred with Government in the propriety of suppressing the Repeal agitation, from its formidable character, by some new measure of coercive legislation. The verdict of a Protestant jury against a Catholic cause has not only no moral weight, but is one, as might have been foreseen, to enlist the sympathies of multitudes in favour of the accused, who would otherwise have remained indifferent or hostile. On this side the Irish Channel there are few Repealers, but fewer still who are not lovers of fair play; and the whole people of Great Britain are now with O'Connell. Englishmen, it has been often said, are singularly devoid of enthusiasm; their habits are reserved; their manners, even to friends, cold and chilling; but the name of O'Connell has become a talisman to warm the current of the blood, and make the heart beat with kindly impulse though it were cribbed in ice. What has been O'Connell's reception in this country? Never, within the memory of man, was mortal so greeted by assembled

* We accept, however, with pleasure, the promise, although it may end, as heretofore, in disappointment, of some redeeming measures connected with legal reforms, and administrative improvement; not the least of which may be those contemplated for the complete codification of criminal law. We trust that the session will not be unfruitful of other practical measures; such as a bill to prohibit interment in towns, and an improved system of drainage, for which we look to the Report of the Health of Towns Commission.

thousands as the great 'Conspirator' at the late meeting at Covent Garden.

If O'Connell was formidable before, what is he now? O'Connell and the Anti-Corn-law League;—O'Connell, the Whig rallying cry and the rallying cry of Whigs and Radicals;—O'Connell and the constitutional privilege of every man to be tried by a jury of his peers;—O'Connell and the rights of conscience; religious liberty and the liberty of public discussion! The legality of the verdict is but a secondary question. If O'Connell be really a conspirator in point of law, it is high time that the law which made him so should be abolished. Here is a man, himself a lawyer of high reputation, whose study throughout life has been to confine the agitation for popular objects within strictly legal limits,—who has done more than any other human being to repress acts of violence and put down secret societies among his countrymen, and the law is at last found to be a trap wide enough to catch him. Be it so;—but is the law, then, to remain a trap into which honest men may fall, instead of a landmark and a beacon, serving at once as a guide and a protection?

We trust that one result of these trials will be to promote a disposition in juries, impartially constituted, to refuse to convict upon interpretations of law founded wholly upon judge-made precedents, and not upon some plain and intelligible statute. We often hear of the obtuseness of juries, and we recommend obtuseness to them on this head. If the law which places the liberty of any man in jeopardy has not been written so plainly that he who runs may read, why should a guilty knowledge of that law be assumed in a prisoner at the bar, and why should a jury be required to find understanding for nice and subtle distinctions, which puzzle even the adepts in legal sophistry? The evil is a growing one;—acts of parliament continue to be written in a style of perplexed meaning, and no one troubles himself about their authority. Counsel refer not to clauses, but cases. The question asked is not what is the signification of a clause, but what decisions have been taken upon it. Judges are, in fact, all but legislators, and it is time to consider where these powers will end, and what limits should be placed upon the exercise of a reasonable judicious prerogative.

We would draw attention to a case which, in the midst of the late political excitement, has escaped public observation, but which seems to us, scarcely less than the State trials, to involve the gravest considerations affecting the liberty of the subject and the right of public discussion.

We allude to the recent commitment for contempt, by Sir George Rose, in the Court of Review, of Mr Van Sandau, a

solicitor. We cannot go into the history of the case, the particulars of which will be found reported in the 'Chronicle' of Feb. 5th and 19th; but what is the crime for which an English judge claims and exercises the power, not of fine and imprisonment merely, but of *ruin* and imprisonment, and imprisonment, perhaps, for life?

It may be necessary to explain that the law gives to a judge —and very properly—a power of imprisoning for contempt any person interrupting a trial, or interfering with pending proceedings so as to affect the free exercise of the judgment and authority of the Court; and it is usual for the press, in reporting proceedings, to abstain from comment till the trial is concluded,—recognising the propriety of the rule. When, however, the proceedings have terminated,—when the verdict has been given, or the judgment pronounced, all the world has hitherto felt at liberty to discuss the merits of the whole case, including the conduct of judge, jury, and counsel, and that, too, with the utmost freedom and latitude of expression.

But we have now a new rule, or, at least to the public, a novel application of the power of committing for contempt, and a solicitor of unimpeachable character, but from infirmities of temper somewhat wanting in discretion, has actually been committed by Sir George Rose (escaping only by an informality from being struck off the rolls), for describing a recent decision of Sir J. Knight Bruce as having a tendency "to cast a veil over detected fraud and perjury," and to deter honest solicitors from exposing the frauds of "dishonest practitioners." Without defending these and other expressions (for which Mr Van Sandau apologised to the Court, while he insisted upon his facts), we would only observe that every wrong judgment has a tendency to cast a veil over guilt; and if it be really a crime in law to condemn a judgment as unjust, or to intimate an opinion that a judge or jury has been influenced by the personal or party feelings from which few individuals can hope to be wholly exempt, the fact should be proclaimed from the house-tops. In what a country do we live! There is no editor of a newspaper—scarcely any writer or political speaker—and no one who has breathed a syllable against the conduct of the late state trials, who is not liable to be instantly sent to prison for contempt, if the doctrine laid down by Sir George Rose can be maintained as not only rule, but rule and practice.*

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It is with some reluctance that we turn from public questions

* We trust the mercantile community will take up this subject, and view the case in its proper light, as connected with their own interests. Whether the judgment of Sir J. Knight Bruce had a tendency to punish or screen

to a subject of more private interest; but a few words will be expected upon the 'Corporation of London and the Westminster Review.'

We feel no anxiety to relieve ourselves from the injurious aspersions cast upon the motives which dictated the elaborate financial examination of the local government of the City, which appeared in our last May number. Any one who will take the trouble to read that paper will see, if capable of appreciating the labour it cost, that it could not have originated in the idle motive of amusing our readers by making out a case against the Corporation, or in any personal feelings against the City Solicitor, to whom, incidentally, a reference was made. That reference was necessary because it did so happen that on many occasions the task of defending the Corporation from all attacks had been assumed by the same gentleman, who, but a few years before, had been the active leader of the friends of Corporation Reform. This historical fact was one it would have been injudicious to omit, and we take no blame to ourselves for imputing inconsistency by giving it insertion; especially at a time when, as we heard from various quarters, the City Solicitor was collecting materials for a reply to the allegations of Lord Brougham in the House of Lords, and to the article which had been announced to appear, on the same subject, in the 'Westminster Review.'

Private life is sacred, but the public character of public men is not only public property, but the right of comparing their opinions when in and out of office is the only security we have against that confidence in their assertions, which experience proves may be often entirely misplaced. The City Solicitor met, as he had a right to do, the imputation of inconsistency, by an address at the London Tavern, formally sanctioned by the Lord Mayor and the Court of Common Council, doubtless with the confidence that, while extricating himself from the embarrassment of a false position, he would do his best to help the Corporation out of the same difficulty.

His address commenced with an assumption which involved a curious metaphysical problem. He stated his intention to prove that he, the City Solicitor, was identically the Charles Pearson of former days. Now the question of human identity is one which has puzzled philosophers in all ages. What two things, it has been asked,

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dishonest solicitors, is a question upon which we offer no opinion. The facts speak for themselves. Since the above was written, we learn that Mr Van Sandau has thought it expedient to procure his liberation by a more humble apology than that which he first tendered, and by paying several hundred pounds in costs. Not the less, however, should public attention be drawn to the whole of these extraordinary proceedings.

can be more unlike than a little laughing rosy-cheeked boy, running about in a blue pinafore, and the boy grown into a grave and elderly gentleman, sitting in a big wig on the bench of a court of justice, perhaps as Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain and Ireland? If in both these cases the individuality be the same, in what does it reside? But in the case of the City Solicitor, the difficulty was increased, for his object was to prove, not only the identity of his personality (which, after all, he contented himself with assuming), but the identity of his sentiments, although occasionally expressed in words which seemed to have had an opposite meaning. At a late dinner at the Mansion House he had spoken of the allowance to the Lord Mayor as "insufficient" for the exercise of a becoming hospitality, and in 1830 he had proposed "largely to reduce" that very allowance. In 1830 he had urged the necessity of a reduction of the "municipal imposts" of the Corporation, especially of its "indirect taxation upon coals, corn, meat, and almost every necessary of life," and in December, 1843, he had to defend those "municipal imposts," or at least to explain and apologise for their necessity. The task of reconciling such conflicting statements, without admitting any change of opinion, or any change of aspect in abuses when viewed through the rose-coloured spectacles of office, was one, from its paradoxical character, requiring no small amount of metaphysical acumen; and so far from sharing the surprise of many persons, that the address of the City Solicitor should have occupied three days in the delivery, we should have felt astonished if the object could have been effected in less.

Very far are we from desiring or intending to combat, by any new facts or arguments, the resolution moved by Mr Travers to the effect that Mr Charles Pearson had triumphantly vindicated his reputation as a public man. We will even adopt it to the extent of admitting that Mr Pearson is entitled to the thanks of non-freemen for declining, without a formal instruction of the Corporation, to enforce the exaction of freedom fines. Those who think that other services the City Solicitor may have rendered the public, or reasons assigned in his address, may probably justify his present position, as the public advocate of the most complicated and costly system of local government to be found in the whole world, we refer to the reports which have already appeared in the newspapers, and the revised copy of that address which we understand may now shortly be expected to issue from the press. The delay, we trust, has given the City Solicitor the opportunity of putting his defence of the Corporation into a shape that will admit of temperate examination. To reply orally or in any other form to a string of personal invectives was impossible. And here, that we may not have to return to them,

let us say a word upon the opinion of Mr Travers, as expressed in the terms of his resolution, "that the sources of income, and the emoluments of Mr Charles Pearson, as stated in the 'Westminster Review,' are at variance with the fact."

This opinion originated in the effect produced by a very skilful but not ingenuous use made of the accidental omission of a word when the article was passing through the press, the word "disbursements,"* and upon this Mr Pearson founded a grave charge of "deliberate falsification," that, as he said, it might be made to appear in the Review that he was deriving "an enormous income from persecuting the poor." Any one will perceive, who will turn to the article (page 52 in the pamphlet), and carefully examine the argument, that no such intention could have entered the mind of the writer. The design was clearly to show that the charges connected with four offices in the City, all of an analagous character as chiefly confined to legal business, occasioned an annual burthen to the public of not less than 12,000*l.* per annum, and whether that burthen (greatly under-rated) was made up of fees or "disbursements" is wholly immaterial to the public who bear it. On the same page the amount of Mr Pearson's *emoluments* were stated in the following note:—

"The emoluments of the City Solicitor for the same year (1833) were estimated at 3,000*l.*; but they are now probably somewhat less, as are those of the Town Clerk."

Mr Pearson informed the meeting that he had returned his income for assessment by the Income-Tax Commissioners at 2,100*l.* To this net amount our readers will add what sum they think proper to cover the salaries of office clerks, and other expenses allowed to be deducted from the taxable income of a solicitor, and then form their own conclusion of the original statement in the 'Westminster Review' relative to the gross emoluments of the office. Those emoluments, the resolution moved by Mr Travers goes on to say, "do not exceed that fair and proper remuneration which is necessary to maintain the character and position of a gentleman and of a high public officer."

The salary of the Chief Clerk of the Admiralty is 1,000*l.*; of the Sergeant-at-arms 1,500*l.* per annum; and the Lord President

* The omission was a simple erratum of four commas. In the MS. as sent to the printer, the quotation from the City Accounts was made as under:—

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To Charles Pearson, Esq., *for disbursements* in respect to the City right of metage, | 61 | 9 | 3 |
| " " " " " Magistracy and Police, | 1493 | 13 | 9 |

The omission of the commas under the words "for disbursements" was overlooked; but as printed in the Review, the words are still implied, although not expressed, as the second line is an obvious abbreviation of the same phrase as in the first.

of the Council, the President of the Board of Trade, and the Poor-law Commissioners, receive 2,000*l.* per annum; all sums lower in amount than the income of Mr Pearson; but we will not suppose that Mr Travers wished to imply that these "high public officers" do not or cannot maintain the character and position of gentlemen. Mr Travers referred only to the difficulty of maintaining the character and position of a gentleman, and at the same time of adequately supporting the dignity of a "high officer" of the London Corporation.

We make no invidious distinctions. Let us not be understood to say that the City Solicitor is overpaid as compared with other officers of the Corporation, or with many private solicitors, who make large fortunes in the profession. No such statement has been made. But for what is this array of legal officers— Solicitor, Comptroller, Remembrancer, and Town Clerk — upon whom and their various "bills of disbursements" for legal business 15,000*l.* per annum (at the least), are expended? What but chiefly to maintain exclusive corporate privileges which men in the position of Mr Travers, as the chairman of reform associations, should be the first to abolish? To maintain, among other things, Chancery suits against great delinquents, like Combe, Delafield, and Co., who refuse to pay City metage dues for barley they do not want to be measured, because grown by themselves for the malt of their own consumption.*

We entirely disclaim the intention of applying any such expressions as "apostate" or "hypocrite" to any members of the Corporation, or the circle of their supporters. They only share in that general hallucination which, we know too well, often affects the best reformers upon all questions of reform which apply to themselves. Nothing could be more instructive, as a lesson to the student of human nature, than to watch the zeal of many

* A recent pamphlet upon 'The Necessity of Reforming the Corporation of London,' by a Citizen, published by Steil (we do not know the author), states that—

"The members of law offices attached to the Corporation, and the assiduity of those in the Court of Common Council to hunt after flaws and raise legal quibbles, always plunges the City pretty deeply into the meshes of the law. The following is the number of causes in which the City was concerned on the 24th of February, 1842:—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Cause in the House of Lords. | | | |
| 1 | ,, | ,, Court of Repeal. | | |
| 5 | ,, | ,, | ,, | Chancery. |
| 6 | ,, | ,, | ,, | Exchequer. |
| 10 | ,, | ,, | ,, | Queen's Bench. |
| 6 | ,, | ,, | ,, | Common Pleas. |
| 4 | ,, | ,, | ,, | Guildhall Session. |
| 2 | ,, | ,, | ,, | Surrey ,, |
| 2 | ,, | ,, | ,, | Kent ,, |

Anti-Corn-law Corporators during the late City election, in canvassing for the free-trade candidate, while they were at the same time deprecating all interference with their trading privileges, and levying a corn-metage tax in the port of London for corporate objects. There is nothing new in this. Abroad and at home—in past times and the present, the friends of liberty, too often consistent only in their love of liberty in "the abstract," have, when their own immediate interest has been concerned, very generally imitated the Scribes and Pharisees of old, sitting in Moses' seat, of whom it was said, "What they say, observe and do, but do not as they do, for they say and do not." A French writer, whose opinions are beginning to excite great attention in his own country, gives us an amusing parallel to the case we have described, with which, for the present, we shall dismiss the subject.*

"Mirabeau, après la seánce du 4 Aout s'etait mis au bain et recontait à un ami les merveilles de la soirée: 'Noble enthousiasme! spectacle unique dans l'histoire du monde! si tu avais vu s'élancer à la tribune les Lafayette, les Lally Jolendal, les Larochefoucauld, les Montmorency et moi-mème! Nous déposait sur l'autel de la patrie ces misérables destinctions de la naissance, ces vains hochets de l'orgueil! Il n'y en a plus! Il n'y a plus de princes! plus de marquis! plus de comtes! Il n'y a en France que des citoyens et des égaux!' En ce moment, trouvant l'eau refroideé, il se tourne vers son valet de chambre—'Ce bain est glacial?' 'C'est pourtant le degré de Monsieur,' repond le brave serviteur, que n'avoit pas perdu un mot du recit. '*Monsieur!*' interrompt Mirabeau, d'une voix de tonnerre, 'Qu'est ce que ces façons là? *Monsieur!* approche!' Puis saisissant par une oreille le pauvre homme tout déconcerté, et lui plongeant à demi le visage dans l'eau. 'Ah bourreau! *J'espère bien que je suis toujours, Monsieur le Comte, pour toi!*'"†

The Corporation of London may be a formidable opponent, but it is not the only antagonist of the 'Westminster Review.'

We have further had the misfortune to excite the ire of the 'Foreign and Colonial Review,' for committing ourselves, more than a twelvemonth back, to an adverse opinion upon the merits

* It may be desirable to add that we do not, at present, know of any error of the slightest moment in the figures given in our account of the aggregate corporate and parochical expenditure of the City of London. One was detected by Mr Charles Pearson in the account for Marylebone, where the item of "burial fees" had been deducted instead of added; but the difference this occasions is immaterial. The City Solicitor's explanation of corporate expenditure, and any comments upon it we might wish to offer, must be necessarily deferred till after his address, in its revised form, shall have appeared.

† Lettres Politique, par M. Charles Duveyrier. Paris: Beck, Editeur.

of the Translation of Faust, Part II, by Mr Archer Gurney. Our brief notice of the work will be found at page 532, vol. XXXVIII (No. LXXV, for October, 1842). It occupies little more than a page; but the editor of the 'Foreign and Colonial Review' has deemed the subject of sufficient importance to be twice adverted to, and to justify an article of ten pages in his January number, devoted to a formal defence of Mr Gurney's translation, and an exposure, or that which is so intended, of what the writer deems the ignorance and incompetency of the 'Westminster' Reviewer.* Our notice of the work appeared with the initials of the gentleman by whom it was penned, who, being somewhat less sensitive than Mr Gurney's friends, declines to comment upon the animadversions addressed to himself. As however, it is possible that a few may feel interested in the question, as one of literary justice, we address ourselves for a moment to the essential fact, whether Mr Gurney's Translation of Faust can be honestly commended as a worthy standard of Goethe? Was it unjustly condemned in the 'Westminster Review?' A very few remarks will enable the reader to form his own judgment.

The defence of Mr Gurney, in the 'Foreign and Colonial Review,' rests chiefly upon two points. The writer apologizes for the faulty lines of the opening scene, by saying that they were not rendered by Mr Gurney, but by his father, *who did not understand German*:—

"This scene, it appears, was translated by Mr Gurney several years ago, before any of the rest of his work; and it was then corrected and in point of fact remodelled, with a view to greater metrical beauty, by his father, who did not himself understand German."—Page 306.

Upon this we need make no remark; but a second point insisted upon, and at great length, is that the translation is praised by a German critic in the 'Leipsic Literary Journal.' This, it occurred to us at the moment, was not very high authority; for an unknown German critic may be very indifferently acquainted with English verse: but what does the German critic say?

We have before us the two numbers referred to, in which the criticism appeared—Nos. 157 and 158 of the 'Leipsic Blätter fur Literarische Unterhaltung,' from which we will make an extract;

* The article concludes with some coarse and personal allusions, unworthy the conductor of any literary periodical, but we will only observe upon them, that the fact assumed respecting the editor of the 'Westminster Review' is incorrect.

but first let us take a part of one of the quotations from the journal, as given and translated in the 'Foreign and Colonial Review:'—

"A young Englishman, Arthur Gurney, who, as we hear, has spent a long time in Germany, and made himself acquainted, in Weimar and other places, with German habits and customs, and German ways of thinking, has now ventured, completely, and in rhymed verses, not to translate, *but to render* into English the second part of 'Faust.' We read, in truth, this *rendering* with ever waxing astonishment; wondering how it should be possible for an Englishman to make that clear to the practical British nation which has remained mysterious to the ideological Germans. 'Wonderful,' we again exclaim; 'this Englishman has succeeded in making that firm which even for us was unsolid, and in giving that which charmed us from its mystery, an equally charming lucidity.'"

The reader is desired to notice that in no part of the above quotation is there any dash or break in the lines, to denote, in the usual manner, an omission, or to intimate that the paragraph is made up of unconnected sentences; and he will learn therefore, with some surprise, that in the original there occurs between the words 'ideological Germans,' and 'Wonderful,' a column and a half of criticism, in the course of which the German critic points out, in very emphatic language, Mr Gurney's unfitness for the task of translating Goethe. After quoting Mr Gurney's opinions of the spirit and intention of Faust, the journalist says:—

"So meint der Engländer. Was Goethe wol dazu gesagt haben würde, wenn er diese Uebersetzung noch erlebt hätte! Vielleicht ein vornehmes: 'Nun, das ist ja auch gut. Es lässt sich jedes Ding von vielen seiten betrachten, und uns freut es, dass dieser Engländer auch von seiner aus eine Meinung darüber zu äussern unternommen hat.' Herr Gurney schreibt für Engländer, und uns kann es nur freuen, wenn das räthselhafte, wunderliche und wunderbare Werk auch einen Briten so angezogen, dass er sich gedrungen fühlt, seinen Landsleuten den Schlüssel zum Räthsel zu liefern. Unser Schlüssel ist es nicht. Damit sei nicht gesagt, dass er nicht schliesst. Wir würden indess Dass, was er öffnet, uneröffnet der Deutung eines Jeden überlassen haben, da für uns das Räthselhafte und die Poesie in andern Theilen des Gedichts ruht und dasselbe überhaupt etwas Anderes und mehr ist als die Allegorisirung eines sittlichen Gedankens. Welche Welt von durchlebten Gedanken und Anschauungen gingen als Schatten vor dem innern Gesicht des Dichtergreises vorüber, und in contemplativer Ruhe streckte er hier den Zauberstab aus und rief: Steh und verweile! bei andern fuhr er mit der Hand durch die Lüfte und rief: Vorüber! Und dies wogende Meer, diese bewegte Welt, diese grosse Laterna magica grosser Ideen, Kämpfe und Zeitströmungen soll zu einem

dürren, dürftigen moralischen Rechenexempel werden! Aber der Engländer hat Recht. Er schrieb für sein Volk und dieses Volk will ein praktisches Zeil, eine kirchlich-orthodoxe Moral sehen; ohne diese keine Poesie, wenn sie gelten soll."

Perhaps a more unfavourable judgment on the merits or demerits of a translation was never pronounced by critic than this of the Leipsic journalist. The work of a great magician, a world of noble thoughts, the magic lanthorn of life in the hands of Goethe, Mr Gurney, says the journalist, presents to the reader as nothing more than the dull and dry morality of the schoolboy's copybook. The journalist proceeds to give various instances of passages rendered into lines having a totally different signification from that of Goethe. We will take one of the shortest:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Auch kommt er an! | Each mortal man |
| Das All der Welt | To earth must bow; |
| Wird vorgestellt | Behold him now |
| Im grossen Pan. | The mighty Pan. |

The journalist quietly remarks, "Das war frei übersetzt;' but having, apparently, adopted the opinion before looking at the work, that the author was a young man of talent, who, "as we hear," had studied German ways of thinking, "at Weimar and other places," the critic jumps to the conclusion that the false renderings of the translation are not the result of ignorance, but that Mr Gurney knew well what he was about, and threw a veil of orthodoxy over the meaning to disguise its philosophy from his practical and pious countrymen. We are then indulged with the commendations quoted in the 'Foreign and Colonial Review,' of Mr Gurney's sonorous and flowing poetical diction, all of which only prove that, although the journalist could read English sufficiently well to perceive that the translation before him did not convey the meaning of the original, he had but a dictionary acquaintance with the niceties and refinements of the language. It may excite a smile to show the kind of specimen which the German critic adduces as an excellent and "characteristic translation:"—

"I see her clearly, yet, to say the truth,
I still must doubt if *she be she* in truth.
The present often may deceive our eyes,
And past long Chronicles far more I prize.
Here, then, I read that all Troy's greybeards thought her
Worthy to be of Venus' self the daughter;
This rule apply a tailor might, or tinker;
I am not young, and yet most beauteous think her."

If any of our readers, unacquainted with German, should for a moment imagine that the choice phraseology of the preceding belongs to Goethe, let them try these lines by the test of comparison with any to be found among the most careless compositions of Byron, Scott, or Wordsworth, and remember that Faust is not only a highly-finished work, but the most remarkable production of the age. The following is the original:—

> "Ich sah sie deutlich, doch gesteh' ich frei,
> Zu zweifeln ist, ob sie die rechte sei.
> Die Gegenwart verführt ins Uebertriebne;
> Ich halte mich vor allen ans Geschriebne.
> Da las' ich denn, sie haben wirklich allen
> Graubärt' gen Trojas sonderlich gefallen;
> Und wie mich dünkt, volkommen passt das hier,
> Ich bin nicht jung und doch gefällt sie mir."

The 'Foreign and Colonial Review' is a new periodical, which was started, on a change of editors, as a rival to the 'Foreign,' and partly, it was understood, as an organ for the views, on political economy, of an influential member of the present Administration. Mr Gladstone, however, has formally denied, in the House of Commons, the authorship of a recent article attributed to him; and as he is a gentleman and a scholar, the facts we have submitted must leave his supposed connexion with the work more than ever doubtful. Those facts we leave without comment. The 'Foreign Review,' under its present management, is one of the most ably-conducted of our quarterly contemporaries;—whether its rising literary reputation is likely to be overtaken by the 'Foreign and Colonial,' the materials we have supplied will enable the public to judge.

We must now revert, with feelings of regret, stronger than we know well how to express, to one of the unlooked-for results, incidentally, of an object to which the 'Westminster Review' materially contributed—the appointment of a Commission for promoting metropolitan improvements, especially with a view to the embankment of the Thames. We need not repeat the opinion, which we share only with many others, that to throw open the banks of the Thames as a broad promenade and great public thoroughfare, would be the noblest improvement of which the metropolis is susceptible, and every one must have heard with pleasure that a plan for the embankment of the Thames would be among the first fruits of the Commission. But great in proportion to the gratification we felt at this announcement has been our sorrow, approaching even to mortification, to learn that the whole scheme would be perilled, inevitably delayed, and perhaps

finally abandoned, through the absolutely *suicidal* fiscal recommendations embodied in the report of the Commissioners. At a time of universal free-trade agitation, when the pressure of public opinion against all taxes upon the necessaries of life is becoming so overpowering that no government can hope long to resist it, and in the face of resolutions of committees of the House of Commons and the evidence of former Commissions of inquiry, what does the metropolitan Commission? The report of the Commission actually proposes to continue, perhaps in perpetuity, the hateful *octroi* system of the Corporation of London, by which a line of corporate circumvallation is drawn round the metropolis, with a radius of sixteen miles from St Paul's, for the collection of a duty upon coals;—and to augment the duties already collected.

Any one who will refer to the constitution of the Commission must admit it to be unexceptionable as regards the good taste in architectural embellishments to be expected from accomplished *virtuosi.* That the Commissioners are also bold men cannot be denied;—as skilful financiers, well read in political economy, as administrative reformers, practically acquainted with the bearing of all indirect and local taxation upon the comforts of the poor, they were not appointed, and that they should be required to interfere by Government with questions of this nature, we sincerely lament; and the more so, because the 'Westminster Review' would be wholly wanting to itself, and utterly disregardless of every principle it has advocated, connected with local government, if it did not enter its most emphatic protest against the support given by the Commissioners to a principle of taxation mischievous as it affects the public interest, wasteful as it regards collection, and as applied particularly to a tax on coals, cruel and oppressive to the poor.

The present duties upon coals are the following:—A duty of fourpence paid in to the account of "City cash" for corporate and general objects; a duty of eightpence, mortgaged till 1862 for the approaches to London Bridge and other improvements; and a duty of one penny for the expenses of the coal market. Upon the expediency of raising money in this manner, what opinions have been expressed by commissions of the House of Commons?

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE COAL TRADE, 1830.

"They are impressed with the expediency, both as regards the general interests of the country, and that of its shipping interest in particular, of removing all duties on coal consumed in this kingdom, whenever financial arrangements can be made for effecting such removal with security to the public revenue."

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF THE COMMONS' COMMITTEE ON THE COAL-TRADE BILL, 1838.

"With regard to the duty of 8d. per ton on coals imported into the port of London, applicable to public improvement, your Committee are of opinion that the said duty should cease after the monies borrowed on those duties shall have been paid off."

Let us briefly state the reasons why these recommendations should have higher weight than those of the present Commissioners.

First, the metropolis is not in a coal district. It has the natural disadvantage of dear fuel, from which the great manufacturing towns are exempt, and ought not, therefore, to be increased. A few pence upon a ton at Manchester would hardly be felt—and here in London, say the Commissioners, they can weigh but as a feather; but it was the last feather which broke the back of the camel. Second, all interference with internal trade, whether by excise duties or the obnoxious *octroi* system of the continent, affects the prices of a commodity to an extent greatly beyond the amount of the tax. We have no space to discuss this matter fully, but we make the deliberate assertion from a general knowledge of the subject, that if the trade were free, all restrictions done away, and proper facilities provided for the discharge of cargoes, the cost of fuel might be rendered cheaper by four shillings per ton than its present average price to the consumer. That is to say, a sum of 600,000*l.* per annum might be saved upon the annual aggregate consumption of the metropolis! Thirdly, the price of fuel is one of the causes of *increasing destitution* in the metropolis. Few of the Commissioners are perhaps aware of the enormous quantities of coke or coal required for some of our large manufacturing establishments where great furnaces are continually employed, but they might form some idea of it from the familiar fact that the consumption of an Atlantic steamer is about two hundred tons per week. We know not the consumption of such a house as Maudslay, Sons, and Field, the great engineers; but suppose them to make a calculation that, with existing railroad facilities, the cost of carriage for their machines from Lancashire would be less than the amount they would save in the price of coals if they removed their establishment, and what would be the consequence? On five hundred fourth-rate tenements now occupied by Maudslay and Co.'s workmen, there would be seen the words "To let!"

The prices of fuel in London is the only reason that the pauperized district of Spitalfields, &c., did not become the Manchester of England. But for the price of fuel the seat of the chief establishments of the wealthy cotton lords would have

been the eastern suburbs of the metropolis, where they would have found not only hands but the best market for their productions. The influence of the prices of coals upon the interests of the working classes, is thus stated by one of the Hand-loom Commissioners:—

"In the suburbs of Manchester, house-rent is much cheaper than in Spitalfields; a weaver being able to obtain a small house, with four rooms, for the rent of one room in London. Provisions also are somewhat cheaper in the country than in London; but the most important advantage is cheap fuel. Next to bread, perhaps, in this cold and damp climate, the most important necessary of life is fuel; and so indispensable is it to an operative that he should be placed where, during a long and severe winter, fuel can be obtained upon reasonable terms, that I doubt whether anything can prevent the rapid decline of all the principal London manufactures, by their removal to the northern counties, unless means can be devised to cheapen here the supply of fuel. The weavers of Manchester, during the hard winter of 1838, were paying for coals but 9d. per cwt., for which the silk-weavers of Spitalfields were charged 2s. 2d. The distress which thence ensued, at a time when the thermometer fell to zero, and three-fourths of the looms were idle, it would be impossible to describe. A woman, the wife of a silk-weaver, relating the sufferings of her family, said to me, 'Often, sir, and often, were we obliged, when half starving, to go without a pennyworth of bread, and buy a pennyworth of coals, or take the children over to a neighbour's *to borrow a warm* at their fire, or put them early to bed shivering and crying with cold.'

"I stop, for a moment, to contrast the superior condition, in this respect, of the poorest Irish cotter to that of the London operative. In England a notion prevails that the innumerable bogs of Ireland must necessarily be unproductive; but they constitute the wealth of the Irish poor. The turf cut from the bogs, and dried, makes a fuel but little inferior to coal. The bogs may, therefore, be regarded as coal mines on the surface. Whatever may be the privations of the Irish cotter, he rarely wants for firing. For 5s. he can purchase a *bank*, that is to say, leave to dig, at his leisure, a square plot of ten yards, which produces him a stock of fuel sufficient for the year, and in some parts, where the bogs are of great extent, liberty to dig turf is given or taken without payment. Compare this with the state of the London operative, who, out of 15s. or 20s., has to spend in winter 2s. for one solitary cwt. of coals, and make that quantity last for the whole week."*

In the poorer districts of the metropolis there are many thousand families who with difficulty procure coals sufficient to cook their scanty meals, and *never, in the coldest weather, light a fire*

Report of W. E. Hickson, Esq., on the State of the Weaving Districts.

*merely for warmth.* We wonder Hood overlooked this fact when he wrote

> "Oh, God! that bread should be so dear
> And flesh and blood so cheap.
>
> Work, work, work,
> For my labour never flags;
> And what are its wages? a bed of straw,
> A crust of bread and rags.
> This shattered roof, and that naked floor;
> A table, a broken chair;
> And a wall so blank my shadow I thank
> For sometimes falling there."

The effect of this remarkable 'Song of the Shirt' has been to organize an association for the relief of the poor needle-women, and the good people composing it will, we doubt not, make the calculation which the Metropolitan Improvement Commissioners have neglected, of how many bushels of coals, at two shillings per hundred weight, a poor creature can afford to purchase out of her earnings at shirt-making—the rate of remuneration being three-halfpence per shirt! The association will doubtless proceed as in other cases, not to open new sources of employment, or to recommend measures for cheapening the necessaries of life, but to aggravate the evil by bestowing relief in aid of wages. *Coals* will be given as charity! God help the poor!

The facility of collecting a coal duty is, no doubt, a great temptation to legislative projectors in need of money, and it has been urged that it would be wrong to charge the Consolidated fund with any sum requisite for a merely local object. We will meet the difficulty and the objection. The fair principle to be adopted as the rule of public grants is, that the money voted for improvements in a local district, should be as nearly as possible in the proportion of the local contributions of that district to the general taxation of the country. Let the Commons inquire what that proportion is; let them ask themselves what London is—a district which would swallow up ten Liverpools and fifty ordinary county towns, and we believe they will find that the people of the metropolis have a fair claim to a drawback upon the taxes they pay, of perhaps *one-third* of any surplus revenue at the disposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

* One-third the amount of the assessed taxes is paid by the metropolis. In 1829 the house duty produced in all England and Wales, 1,241,791*l.*; of which the metropolis paid 770,166*l.*—five-eighths of the whole. In 1801 the metropolis paid about one-half the Income tax, and nearly one-fourth the Property tax, as then raised throughout the whole of Great Britain.—See *Marshall's Digest.*

Should the claim be but for less, and insufficient for the object, why would it be still necessary to depart from the recognised principle of *direct* taxation as applicable to local expenditure. Eighteen months back Sir Robert Peel told a deputation from the Metropolis Improvement Society, that the holders of house property in the metropolis who were benefited by improvements were the parties who should pay for them. We think so too. Why not have a Metropolitan Improvement rate, payable, like the sewer's rate, by the landlord? A rate of threepence would produce 100,000*l.* per annum. Such a rate would not be unpopular if the Commissioners would make their objects popular by giving full publicity to their proceedings; and if the Government would, at the same time, promise such measures of improvement in local administration as would reduce generally upon other branches of expenditure the burthens of local taxation.

We will not take leave of our readers without adding a few words upon another subject, rendered necessary here by the unavoidable omission in the present number of our usual 'Critical and Miscellaneous Notices' of new publications. Mr Rowland Hill has published an analysis of the evidence taken before the late Post-office Committee of Inquiry, and we are anxious to assist in giving the utmost possible circulation to one of the principal facts of his pamphlet, entitled the 'State and Prospects of Penny Postage,' published by Knight. The fact to which we allude is the complete refutation of the statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer during the last session, that, under the new system of penny postage, "the Post office did not pay its own expenses;"—and the refutation is by Colonel Maberly himself, the Secretary of the Post office. The statement was made not upon a return, but a mere estimate, which is now proved to have been incorrect in nearly every item. One of its items was a sum of 612,850*l.*, the whole cost of the packet service wrongly charged, and charged, for the first time, to the account of Post-office expenditure, as if designedly to damage penny postage. It did damage it so far that foreign governments balancing at the time the propriety of corresponding reductions, immediately took alarm on reading Mr Goulburn's statement, and withheld the boon on the ground that the English system had proved a failure. The mischief abroad, that has been occasioned by this extraordinary official blunder, has been incalculable; and we do not doubt, for it is a question of personal honour, that Mr Goulburn in his place in the House will hasten to remedy the evil, to the utmost of his power, by a correct explanation of the case, now that he is better informed. In the meantime our friends on the continent would do wisely

to disseminate through all the foreign journals the following evidence given by Colonel Maberly:—

"As I have stated over and over again, looking at it as regards the Post-office revenue now as compared with what the Post-office revenue was before the penny post, the surplus of income over expenditure is somewhere about 600,000*l.*!"

The national honour is equally involved in the present relations of the Government and the country to Mr Rowland Hill. If his plan had proved abortive, we can understand why their author should have been dismissed; but to adopt his plans, admit their success as far as they have been yet carried out, and to disown all public obligation to Mr Hill, is to disgrace the nation. Is there a nobleman in the House who would thus disown a debt contracted on Newmarket race-course, and is a great moral debt to be utterly disregarded by statesmen and legislators? We talk of American "repudiation," but what is this? And where, in the history of the United States, shall we find a parallel to Post-office treatment of nearly every one who has proved himself a national benefactor by the great improvements he has effected in postal communication? Mr Dockwra, who originated town posts shortly before the Restoration, and Mr Palmer, who introduced mail coaches about the latter end of the last century, both saw their plans adopted, and found themselves, like Mr Hill, turned adrift by the Treasury, through the complaints and opposition of the Post-office authorities.

We hear with much pleasure that a plan has been set on foot by some gentlemen of Bristol for a national testimonial to Mr Rowland Hill. It has been said with truth that if every one who has saved a penny in correspondence through the new system would but enclose a penny stamp to the author of penny postage, the amount subscribed would realize a handsome fortune.* The idea is excellent, and the plan requires only to be well organized, to be attended with the most perfect success. No subscription would be more universal. But the public, for their own interests, should not only do this, but more;—they should insist, through their representatives, that Rowland Hill should be placed in his proper position in the Post office, with full, free, and unfettered power to carry out his plans to the full extent, which have yet been but partially developed.

While we write, we are reminded of the benefits which would result from one of his proposals, that of a light parcel delivery, by a letter from Paris, in which the writer inquires why he cannot send to London through the Post, under the new postal convention between England and France, a copy of the 'Journal

des Economistes,' which he finds the Post office will take no further than Calais?

Our readers should know that while that treaty was in progress, an effort was made to procure the privilege of an interchange, through the Post office, of pamphlets written by literary and scientific men on both sides the water. This failed (as was understood) through the difficulties started by the English Post office, who pleaded the old fallacy, that the mails would break down with their load. A clause, however, which we subjoin in a note,* was introduced in favour of *periodicals*, but even this niggardly provision for the interests of literature and science has been, up to the present moment, rendered a nullity. Four times we have endeavoured to send periodicals under the new treaty, and in each instance found them charged nearly five shillings, as letters over weight. In a fifth instance, we went personally to St Martin's-le-Grand, and submitted a packet addressed to France for pre-payment. The postage demanded was nine shillings We then referred the clerks at the Pay office to the treaty, of which they appeared to know little or nothing, but they obliged us by

* Article LXXII.—Periodical works, not of daily publication, issued in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and in France, in the shape of pamphlets, may be forwarded from one country to the other by means of the two offices, under the following conditions, namely :—

1. The postage on such works must be paid, but only to the frontier of the territories of the respective states.

2. They must be sent in bands or covers open at the sides, so that they may be easily examined.

3. They must be printed in the language of the kingdom in which they are published; and they shall be in every respect subject to the conditions prescribed by the laws, ordinances, and regulations of both countries, with regard to the circulation of daily newspapers, and other publications of the nature in question.

The rate to be levied in France, as well on the above-mentioned works addressed to the United Kingdom, as on those addressed from the United Kingdom to France, shall be that fixed by the laws of March 15, 1827, and December 4, 1830.

The rate to be levied by the Post office of Great Britain on similar works addressed to or coming from France, shall be as follows:—

1. For every work not exceeding two ounces in weight, one penny.

2. For every work above two ounces in weight, and not exceeding three ounces, sixpence.

3. For every work above three ounces in weight, and not exceeding four ounces, eightpence.

4. And for every ounce above four, up to sixteen ounces (the limit imposed on the transmission of such articles by the British office), twopence additional, every fraction of an ounce being reckoned as a full ounce.

Convention between her Majesty and the King of the French, signed at London, April 3, 1843.

sending our packet into the secretary's office to inquire whether it was one which under the treaty could be forwarded at the reduced rate. The answer returned was in the affirmative, and that the correct postage would be eightpence. The eightpence was paid; and although in France a volume like the 'Westminster Review' can be sent any distance for a franc, *fifteen francs* were demanded for this identical packet (under four ounces) when it arrived at its destination. Where the blame lies we know not, for our efforts to obtain an explanation at home have not hitherto been successful. In addition to this subject of complaint, the privilege which scientific men formerly enjoyed of sending their letters and printed papers abroad through the ambassador's bag has been stopped. Such is the present state of international communication between two great Powers claiming to be at the head of European civilization. H.

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## NEW PUBLICATIONS.

[*The length and variety of the contents of the present Number have compelled us to defer the whole of our usual 'Critical and Miscellaneous Notices.*]

### BIOGRAPHY.

Biographical Dictionary. Vol. III, Part II. Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

Everett's Life of Dr A. Clarke. Vol. I. Hamilton, Adams, and Co., Paternoster row.

### FICTION.

Harry Mowbray. By Captain Knox. Part XII. J. Ollivier, 59 Pallmall.

The Mab'inogion and other Ancient Welsh Manuscripts, with an English Translation and Notes by Lady Charlotte Guest. Longman, Orme, Brown, &c., Paternoster row.

A Christmas Carol. By Charles Dickens. Chapman and Hall.

Bob Norbery; or, Sketches from the Note Book of an Irish Reporter. James Duffy, 25 Anglesea street, Dublin.

### HISTORY.

The History of Etruria. Part I. Sepulchres of Ancient Etruria. By Mrs Hamilton Gray. J. Hatchard and Son. Piccadilly.

History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Continent to the Conclusion of the late War with Great Britain. By G. Bancroft and Charles Botta. A. Fullarton and Co., Edinburgh.

Wathen's Arts and Antiquities of Egypt. Longman, Brown, Green, &c.
Jamaica, its Past and Present State. By J. M. Phillips. J. Snow, Paternoster row.

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## MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

The Cold Water Cure. R. Beamish. Samuel Highley, 32 Fleet street.
The Cold Water Cure. By Edwin Lee, Esq. J. Churchill, Princes street, Soho.
Andrew Combe's Principles of Physiology. People's Edition. Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.
Glossology; or, the Additional Means of Draynosis of Disease to be derived from Indications and Appearances of the Tongue. By Benjamin Ridge, M.D. J. Churchill, Princes street, Soho.

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## MISCELLANEOUS.

The Currency Question. The Gemini Letters. Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.
Nursery Rhymes of England. By James Orchard Halliwell. J. Russell Smith.
Domestic Scenes in Greenland and Iceland. John Van Voorst, Paternoster row.
Niebuhr's Tales of Ancient Greece. Edited by Felix Summerly. Joseph Cundall, 12 Old Bond street.
The Correspondence between Burns and Clarinda. Arranged and edited by her Grandson, W. C. M'Lehose. W. Tait, Edinburgh.
Two Years in France and Switzerland. By M. M. Lamont. Edward Moxon, Dover street.
Life in the Sick-room. By an Invalid. Edward Moxon, Dover street.
Barham's Enkheiridion of Hehfaistiown. J. W. Parker, Strand.
Laxton's Builders' Prices. 1844. Simpkin and Marshall.
The Law relating to Friendly Societies and Benefit Building Societies. By John Tidd Pratt, Esq. Longman and Co., Paternoster row.
Woman's Worth. H. G. Clarke, 66 Old Bailey.
Wright's St Patrick's Purgatory. J. Russell Smith, 4 Old Compton street, Soho.
Halliwell's History of Freemasonry in England. J. Russell Smith.
Report of the Commissioners appointed to take the Census of Ireland for the Year 1841. Printed by Alex. Thorn, Dublin.
Kreb's Guide for Writing Latin. Allen, Morrill, and Wardwell, Andover.
Sanitory Inquiry Report. Supplement.—Interment in Towns. 1843. W. H. Clowes and Sons, Stamford street.
The Grave of Genius. A Tale. By J. O. La Mont. W. Strange, Paternoster row.
Notes on Natural History. By Andrew Pritchard, M.B.I. Whittaker and Co., Ave Maria lane.
Outline of the Operations of the British Troops in Scinde and Affghanistan. By Geo. Buist, LL.D. Bombay.
The Vital Statistics of Sheffield. By G. Calvert Holland, Esq., M.D. Robert Tyas, 8 Paternoster row.
The Poor Man's Companion. A Political Almanac for 1844. By Joshua Hobson. J. Hobson, 5 Market street, Leeds.
The Works of Cornelius Mathews. Harper and Brothers, Cliff street, New York.
The Intention and Principles of Building Societies Considered. By Greenway Robins, Architect. Relfe and Fletcher, 17 Cornhill.

Monastic and Social Life in the Twelfth Century, as Exemplified in the Chronicles of Jocelin of Brakelond. Translated by T. E. Tomlins.
Biographical Illustrations of Westminster Abbey. By George Lewis Smith. Part II. Whittaker and Co., Ave Maria lane.
Guide to Government Situations. C. Mitchell, Red Lion court.
Fifty Days on board a Slave Vessel. By the Rev. Pascoe Grenfell Hill. J. Murray, Albemarle street.
Trial of P. de Zulueta. C. Wood and Co., Poppin's court, Fleet street.
The Rationale of Magnetism. By S. Spurrell. P. Richardson, 23 Cornhill.

## MUSIC.

Fraser's Musical Reformer. Edinburgh.
The Sequential System of Musical Notation. By Arthur Wallbridge. W. Strange, Paternoster row.

## PAMPHLETS.

Hints to Repealers. By Wm. Johnson Campbell. J. Murray, Albemarle street.
Thoughts and Suggestions relative to the Means of promptly Extinguishing Conflagrations in Buildings and in Ships. By a Friend to Humanity. Highley, Fleet street.
Vexata Quæstio. Two Addresses on the Depreciation of the Currency. By Robert Wm. Dickenson, Esq., of Ilfracombe. J. Clarke, 13 Moorgate street.
The Alist, or Divine. A Message to our Times. Part I.
Alist. An Autobiography. Part I. J. Darling, Little Queen street, Holborn.
The Present System of Publishing; being an Examination of a Proposed Plan for superseding it. R. Groombridge, Paternoster row.
Repeal without Disunion, addressed to the Inhabitants of Great Britain. By George Ramsay, B.A. Wm. Tait, Edinburgh.
Remarks on the Maintenance of Macadamised Roads. Alex. Thorn, 86 Abbey street, Dublin.
Birkenhead and its Dock. By Samuel Stansfield. Liverpool.
The Portfolio. No. IV, and Supplement. J. Maynard, Panton street, Haymarket.
Journal of the American Oriental Society. Boston. London: Wiley and Putnam.
The True Character and Certain Consequences of our Present Currency System shown by Sir James Graham, Bart., in his 'Corn and Currency.' Simpkin and Marshall.
The Atmospheric Railway. By J. F. Bergin, M.R.I.A. Hodges and Smith, Dublin.
A Proposed Joint-Stock Building Society Bubble Examined. By John Bowen. Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly.
A Sketch of the Philosophy of Puseyism. In Seven Essays. By John Gwyther Hughes, Esq. Ward and Co., Paternoster row.

## POETRY AND THE DRAMA.

Studies on Sensation and Event. By Ebenezer Jones. C. Fox, Paternoster row.
Longfellow's Ballads: Voices of the Night, and Spanish Student. Edward Moxon, Dover street.

Psyche. By Mrs Tighe. H. G. Clarke, 66 Old Bailey.
The Spirit of the Nation. Parts I and II. J. Duffy, 25 Anglesea street, Dublin.
The Robbers' Cave, or Four-horned Moon. A Drama. G. W. Nickisson, 215 Regent street.
Poems on Man in the Republic. By Cornelius Matthews. Wiley and Putnam.

## POLITICS.

Lettres Politiques. Par M. Charles Duveyrier. Beck, Editeur, Rue St André des Arts, Paris.
France, her Government. J. Madden and Co., Leadenhall street.
Martin's Ireland before and after the Union. Wm. S. Orr and Co., Paternoster row.

## PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE.

Liebig's Chemistry of Agriculture and Physiology. Third Edition. Taylor and Walton, Upper Gower street.
The Classical Museum. No. III. J. W. Parker, West Strand.
A New Theory of Gravitation. By Joseph Denison, Esq. Whittaker and Co., Ave Maria lane.
Geology, Introductory, Descriptive, and Practical. By David Thomas Ansted, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S. Part I. John Van Voorst, Paternoster row.
A Treatise on Moral Freedom. By Dr Cairus. Longman, Green, Brown, and Longmans.

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## DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER FOR PLACING THE PLATES.


Postern gate at Mycene, &c . . . . . to face page 152
Ancient Circular Chambers in Beotia, &c. . . . . . „ 161
Reigate Church, Red Hill . . . . . . „ 232
Cheltenham Proprietary College . . . . . „ 243
Offices of the Anti-Corn-law League . . . . . „ 253
Hall of Commerce . . . . . . . „ 256

THE

# WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

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Art. I.—*Corn and Currency; in an Address to the Landowners.* By Sir James Graham, Bart., M.P., of Netherby. Third Edition. London. 1827.

IN recalling public attention to the well-nigh forgotten pamphlet whose title heads this page, it is not our especial purpose either to denounce the dishonest repudiation of national engagements which it proposes, or to refute the sophisms by which the proposal is recommended. We take it as the basis and starting-point of a retrospective review of the public life, character, and opinions of a public man, whose past career and present official position afford a very unsatisfactory indication of the low tone of political morality in this country. That the Author of 'Corn and Currency' has been allowed to take place and precedence as one of the most successful politicians of this generation; that he has been an admired and applauded leader in two Oppositions, and found his way into two Cabinets; that Reformers have cheered him as a first-class patriot, and Conservatives delighted to honour him as a defender of religion and the Church; and that, at this moment, the national opinion tolerates him as Home Secretary, the official head of the magistracy, Minister (virtually) of Public Justice, and Public Instruction—indicates a shortness of memory, and a laxity of conscience in the public mind, which we take to be a far more serious evil than the Corn Law itself; as it is, in fact, the element in which Corn Laws, abuses of patronage, and the other mischiefs of class legislation live and thrive. Not, chiefly and specifically, to point an attack against Sir James Graham in particular, nor even to denounce the Conservatism that needs and uses such an instrument—but to test the quality of that national conscience and opinion which are answerable, in the last resort, for all the sins of both—have we submitted to the tedium of studying 'Corn and Currency,' and wading through some fifteen years of *Hansard* and the newspapers.

Before commencing our retrospect of the life and opinions of one of the most noted political changelings of our time, we wish

to have a clear understanding with the reader on one point. It is not as apostate, turn-coat, renegade, or "recreant Whig," that we have chiefly to speak of Sir James Graham. We have no quarrel with change of opinion, as such: all wise men change their opinions, more or less. There are many ways in which change of opinion and of party may take place, without any impeachment of the man's morality or intellect—the point of infallibility excepted.

Opinion may change by *conversion*. When Sir Robert Peel changed his opinion on the currency—when Mr Macaulay changed his opinion on the ballot—no considerate person talked of "apostacy." It is always open to a man to say, "Whereas I was blind, now I see."

Opinions may change by *growth*. To say that Lord John Russell's present Whig politics are very considerably different from the Whig politics of his 'Essay on the History of the English Government and Constitution,' is simply saying that Lord John Russell's mind is not a petrifaction. From disfranchisement of East Retford to Schedule A. and ten-pound suffrage; or from moderate fixed duty to total and immediate repeal; or from an appropriation clause to religious equality, and Justice to Ireland—these and the like are changes of opinion by which no man can be dishonoured.

Opinion may change, or seem to change, by *reaction*. The successful assertion of one true principle of public policy may bring out all the more prominently before a man's mind those other and counter principles—likewise true, in their place and way—which are necessary constituents of the equilibrium and well-working of social institutions. Thus, it is a quite conceivable case that, after such a revolution as the Reform Act, many an ardent Reformer of the rotten-borough constitution might become—with little real change of opinion, but with a very great change of party sympathies and affinities—a cautious Conservative of the ten-pound-franchise constitution, and be more anxious to consolidate a past victory than to press on to new ones. "Finality" was an unlucky word; but the thing intended by it is hardly that unadulterated absurdity which some of our Radical friends treat it as being. It is quite true, as Lord John Russell once said, that "no country can bear a revolution once a year;" and the principle of permanence has its rights as well as the principle of progress. A change of political opinion—of action, rather—resulting from a man's own political successes, may thus be perfectly sincere; and, when sincere, its sincerity will be evidenced by certain unmistakable signs. The new-born Conservative will honour his Conservatism by carrying on more

vigorously than ever his old war against the practical abuses and injustices, which discredit and weaken existing institutions; and, while deprecating a second organic change, he will be anxious that the first should work well—should bear a rich harvest of root-and-branch administrative reforms—should at every point satisfy popular desire and realize popular expectation. In proportion to his aversion to a second experiment, will be his anxiety that the first should be thoroughly successful: in a word, the honest progressive Reformer will have become the equally honest, and scarcely less useful, Conservative Reformer. A courteous, forbearant, conciliatory demeanour towards old coadjutors, hardly needs to be named among the qualities which distinguish such a Conservative as we are supposing from a mere vulgar renegade.

How far our Whig finality statesmen since 1832 have realized this ideal of reforming Conservatism, it is not here our business to inquire. Certainly, no such fine things can be predicated of the Baronet whose political life is the subject of this article. The charge which we have to bring against Sir James Graham is, not that he has changed his opinions and his party, but that, in all his opinions and party changes—from the hot, Cobbettite Whig-Radicalism of his younger days, to the more recent obstructive Tory opposition and the present Home-Secretaryship—he has been alike violent, reckless, and unscrupulous; always rough and unfair to his opponents, always ready to cater to the worst prejudices, the angriest passions, and the most selfish interests of the class or party which for the time being he has served. It is usual, in speaking of great political renegades, to revert regretfully to their "earlier and better days." Such regrets would be out of place here: we cannot find that Sir James Graham ever had any better days than his present. Between the Whig-Radicalism that could advocate the iniquities of 'Corn and Currency, in an Address to the Landowners,' and the Conservatism that stickles for the purity and integrity of the Church of England in Ireland, we confess ourselves unable to make a choice—we do not see that the one is before or after the other. Perhaps it is not wonderful that the two should be united in one man; but it is marvellous that that man should have successively had the confidence of two parties, and found a place in two Cabinets—first, under the most proudly honourable of our public men, and next under the most prudent and decorous.

Sir James Graham's political life may be said to have begun with the publication of 'Corn and Currency,' of which the first

edition appeared in 1826.* Few, probably, of the present generation of newspaper readers have ever actually seen this first essay in statesmanship of our Home Secretary; which is a pity—for it is the best key we have to the understanding of what Sir James Graham really is. Were there nothing more notable in this production than false economics and flimsy logic, which a clever man may reasonably be supposed to have long ago outgrown, we should think it hardly fair to disinter it at this time of day. But there is that in 'Corn and Currency' which not one man in a million ever does outgrow: the book shows a mind deficient in moral perceptions. It is an elaborate plea for plunder; a well-digested and carefully put-together scheme for enriching debtors by cheating creditors; an incentive to fraudulent bankruptcy; an argument (we use his words) for "lightening" the state vessel by "cutting away the broken mast of credit"—a dissertation on the conveniences of "opulent knavery." As we believe this very disreputable *brochure* is scarce and difficult to come by, we subjoin a few extracts, to justify a mode of designating it, which might otherwise, to the oblivious and forgiving public, seem to border on the abusive.

It is hardly necessary to preface our extracts by reminding the reader that, in 1819, by the Act called Peel's Bill (for which Sir James Graham voted) the legislature had tardily fulfilled its often-reiterated pledge to the public creditor, by making preparations for rectifying the depreciated currency, and restoring a metallic standard of value. Whereupon—good faith being found to have inconvenient consequences for the indebted and mortgaged portion of the aristocracy—Sir James Graham exhorts the landowners of Great Britain to employ their legislative power in redressing the grievance of a too costly and losing honesty:—

"If the landowners would preserve their estates, either the standard must be adjusted to their incumbrances, or their incumbrances to the standard. * * * Let them exert all their power, and insist on the revision of Mr Peel's Act of 1819; an act no less fatal to the landowner than to the payer of taxes; an act now about to come

* We find, in 'Burke's Peerage and Baronetage,' that the Right Hon. Sir James Robert George Graham, of Netherby, was born June 1st, 1792. He succeeded his father, as second baronet, in April 1824.

Sir James Graham entered parliament in 1819, as member for Hull, and voted for "Peel's Bill." In 1826 he was elected for Carlisle. His name pretty regularly appears in the Whig minorities, but he took little active part in parliamentary politics until 1830, when he represented Cumberland. In November, 1830, he came into office with the Whigs, as First Lord of the Admiralty. In the first two parliaments after the Reform Act he sat for East Cumberland. Since 1837 he has successively found refuge in Pembroke and Dorchester.

into full operation; an act which, from its first introduction, goaded the people to insurrection, and the returning influence of which has not failed to produce the same alarming consequences. Here the landowners may, with safety, make their stand. The position is impregnable. The payers of taxes, the productive classes, are ready to defend it; substantial justice is on our side. And who are they that are against us?—the annuitants, the fundholders, and the economists, a body which the landowners, if true to themselves, and in concert with the people, cannot fail to defeat. * * * It would be wise, then, carefully to review the real effects of the measure of 1819, as bearing on the landowner, the debtor, and the tax-payer, the classes which comprise the great bulk of the community."*

Pennsylvania is very much of the same way of thinking, as to the claims of the classes which comprise the great bulk of the community.

The idea of its being even remotely possible to keep faith with creditors—of its being right and honourable at least to make the attempt, though at some peril to the estates of the landowners—never seems to have entered our Baronet's mind for a moment. He assumes, as of course, that the thing is impossible; that to bankruptcy or composition we must come, sooner or later—and, for the interests of all parties concerned, the sooner the better. He handsomely advises that the nation should "fail" at once—to-day, while it is called to-day—in order that the creditor may get a respectable dividend:—

"What, then, must happen on the recurrence of war? Either the debt must be obliterated, or an unlimited issue of paper must be resumed; and amidst all the horrors of the French revolution, the assignats are the beacon most to be avoided. Would it not then be wise to avert this alternative? Self-preservation is the first law of states, as well as of individuals, the inalienable right of every community. An invasion is threatened; rebellion rages; the burden of taxation becomes intolerable; the means of safety are in the hands of the government; the money provided for the quarterly dividend is lying in the Exchequer; and then, in the prophetic words of Mr Hume, 'necessity calls, fear urges, reason exhorts, compassion alone exclaims; the money will be seized for the current service, perhaps under solemn protestations of being immediately replaced: but no more is requisite; the whole fabric, already tottering, falls to the ground, and buries thousands in its ruins. This may be called the natural death of public credit; for to this period it tends as naturally as an animal body to its dissolution and destruction.' The interest, therefore, of the creditor must urge him to compound with the debtor before he drive him to desperation. To-day, while it is called to-day, he may obtain reasonable terms, and secure his pro-

* 'Corn and Currency,' p. 61.

perty in peace: but a little while, and the opportunity will be gone. 'The public is a debtor whom no man, and no body of men, can oblige to pay. Present necessity forces states into measures against their interests; and the interest of preserving public credit, the only interest binding on the public debtor, may easily be overbalanced by the amount of the debt and by a difficult emergency.'" *

It would be foreign to our present purpose to go into the old controversy about the effects of the acts of 1797 and 1819 on the rights of the public creditor. With the merits of this question we have here no concern, but only with the political morality of Sir James Graham: and this is to be tested by reference, not so much to the abstract merits of the case, as to his opinion of these. Be it borne in mind, then, that the writer of 'Corn and Currency' distinctly allows, that the public creditor advanced his money on the faith of a parliamentary pledge that cash payments would be resumed at the close of the war; that this prospective and promised resumption was an element of the original contract, a part of the consideration:—so that the restoration of the standard of value, in 1819, was only the tardy fulfilment of an old promise, gave the creditor nothing more than his stipulated due. Sir James Graham himself speaks of "the parliamentary pledge so frequently given, and at last so fatally redeemed, of returning to cash payments at the end of the war." † And, in reply to the argument—

"That though the currency of the country was really depreciated for a quarter of a century, yet that there were repeated parliamentary pledges, that, at the termination of the war, the ancient standard should be restored, and, therefore, that in all contracts during that time, reference was had to an expected return to cash payments."

His answer is:—

"That these pledges were broken as often as they were given; and that Mr Vansittart's resolution still stands unrepealed, which, in one of the years when the market-price of bullion was highest, negatives, by a solemn decision of the House of Commons, the fact of depreciation." ‡

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* P. 91. † P. 94.

‡ It seems almost too small a thing to note—and yet it is worth noting, as a sign of that conscious unveracity in argument which, if a man begin life with it, not all the years of Methuselah can cure him of—that, five pages further on, Sir James Graham treats the solemn decision of the House of Commons as a solemn falsehood, and argues that, because false, it is without force to *invalidate* his doctrine of creditors' rights:—

"Nor will the argument avail anything that the Legislature never recognised the difference of value between paper and coin; for, in the same year when Mr Vansittart's resolution was carried (a resolution, as stated by Mr Brougham, which every man who could count ten on his fingers knew to be false,)" &c.—P. 114.

That the pledges were broken as often as they were given is certainly an excellent reason for breaking them once more, and once for all.

Sir James Graham is prepared to take very quietly any general outcry of horror at a breach of faith, when the convenience of the case is clear:

"Then comes the general outcry of horror at a breach of faith, and the violation of existing contracts. All this tender feeling and scrupulous justice would have been mighty well in 1797; it would have weight even now, if no previous interference had taken place between debtor and creditor: but twice, since the commencement of the French war, have the present ministers of the crown disturbed every fixed money bargain, by direct legislative interposition. * * * On the ground of public convenience, the ancient standard was overturned in 1797, and on the same grounds it is equitable to demand a mitigation of the effects of its forced restoration."†

The proposed mitigation of the effects of the fatal redemption of a solemn legislative pledge, was neither more nor less than a forced annual transfer of cash, to a considerable amount, from all creditors to all debtors:—

"Inasmuch as I have proved that Mr Peel's Bill, in full operation, will be a *bonus* to the annuitant of more than thirty per cent., I strenuously and boldly contend, both for the equity and the necessity of imposing a direct tax, to a considerable amount, on all annuities charged on land, or payable from the Exchequer."‡

The import of "considerable amount" may be gathered from the enumeration of the advantages contemplated. The proposed tax on all annuities was intended to countervail a large "remission of the taxes which interfere most with our trade and manufactures, and enhance the price of articles of first necessity to the consumer;" in particular, "great reductions" in the taxes on tea, sugar, tobacco, and malt, and the "absolute repeal" of the legacy tax, the assessed taxes, and the taxes on soap and candles:—"the proposed annuity tax will cover all these beneficial changes"‡

We must not neglect to note that, when our Baronet speaks of the equity of debtors taxing their creditors, he forgets that he has previously admitted its "considerable injustice." He

Thus, Mr Vansittart's resolution is, *ad libitum*, true or false, solemn or ridiculous, an entity or a nonentity, a good case in point, or a petty difficulty to be contemptuously disposed of. The logic of this is not worth a word: it is not Sir James Graham's logic, but his morality we here have to do with.

* P. 110. † P. 103. ‡ P. 105.

shows, however, that the injustice will be highly beneficial to the community:—

"I will not attempt to deny that the course which I shall presume to recommend to the landowners is open to grave objections, and that it must produce considerable injustice. But if it save the aristocracy, if it save the landed interest, it will also restore vigour to our commerce and plenty to our labouring poor. It will inflict partial injury on a few, but it will bestow lasting benefit on the community."*

But, though considerably unjust, the scheme has at least the merit, in its author's eyes, of being a naked injustice. There is no "delusion" in it (p. 103). He adds:—

"The tax on all annuitants is a direct avowal of the inability to pay according to the full amount of our ancient standard. It is a memorial to all governments and to all nations, that there are limits beyond which taxation cannot be carried. * * * It will operate as a wholesome check on our future financial measures."

And he kindly shows, with a considerateness which one could not have expected, that, after all, the creditor himself will be no great loser by the operation: for, "what the direct tax may take from him, the remission of indirect taxes would in a great measure restore." And this consideration, he says—

"Leads me in my conscience to believe, that the weight of an annuity tax, such as in fairness could be imposed, would not create any real loss, or operate as a privation, to the annuitant himself.

"The only annuitants who *must* suffer would be the annuitants now living abroad. If they be natives, I cannot compassionate their lot, when their interest will no longer militate with their duties, and when, without a sacrifice of income, they may return to the land of their fathers. If they be foreigners, I regret the hardship of their case, but I contend for its necessity; and our national prosperity must not be endangered for the sake of our credit with strangers." †

Precisely what they say in Pennsylvania.

Our new Jack Cade (to borrow the term Sir James Graham has applied to others) further shows, at some length, that this considerably unjust, yet highly convenient, and on the whole equitable adjustment of matters is not open to any serious objection on the score of practicability. The victims are few and helpless:—"the number of creditors is known to be small; the whole body of fundholders scarcely exceeding 280,000 persons."‡ And it would be impossible for these fundholders to save themselves by selling out:—

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* P. 98. † P. 106. ‡ P. 113.

"The very discussion of the measure will so depress the price of funds, as to render the immediate loss of principal by sales fully equivalent to the diminution of the annual interest by the tax." *

Nor are the class of mortgagee creditors in better case for self-defence. In answer to the objection "that the mortgagee will instantly foreclose in every case, and seek to regain his principal for the purpose of investing it beyond the reach of this impost" —he says:—

"It would not be impossible to devise a special remedy for this difficulty; since, even without any legislative interference, the Lord Chancellor, during the war, in the exercise of a sound discretion, frequently granted to the mortgager a greater length of time for the repayment of the principal, than the contract stipulated. I am not, however, disposed to believe that an annuity tax would disturb many existing mortgages, for the greater part of the money so invested consists either of trust funds, or of the capital of public bodies. Neither the one nor the other can be sent abroad; the investment must be in this country; and a transfer from land to the funds would avail nothing, for, by the original supposition, the annuity tax would be an equal impost on the mortgagee and on the fund-holder. Some few bold individuals might venture to call up their money, and to embark it in trade, or to place it in foreign funds: but the risk in some cases, and the impossibility in others, of changing the investment, would, in effect, be tantamount to an actual prohibition." †

In short, the robbery would be in all respects as convenient and safe as lucrative. Nor are there any prospective and possible mischiefs to countervail the near and certain gain. The notion of a loss of national credit consequent on the repudiation of national debt is a mere bugbear. For, as Mr Hume justly remarks, the opulent knave will always stand higher in the money market of the world than the honest bankrupt:—

"The fear of an everlasting destruction of credit is an endless bugbear. For a prudent man, in reality, would rather lend to the public immediately *after* we had taken a sponge to our debts than before; as much as an opulent knave, even though one could not force him to pay, is a preferable debtor to an honest bankrupt. The former, in order to carry on business, may find it his interest to discharge his debts when they are not exorbitant; the latter has it not in his power." ‡

On the whole, we do not know that any statesman now living began life more discreditably than the writer of 'Corn and Currency.' That it did not instantly and utterly ruin Sir

* P. 106. † P. 107. ‡ P. 116.

James Graham as a public man,—that it has not been so much as a transient difficulty in the way of his advancement in the councils, successively, of our two great political parties,—that he has never found it necessary to make any disavowal of its sentiments beyond admitting that "he had gone somewhat too far" in some of his predictions,* and intimating that "he was not vain of his own work;"† that the advocate of "opulent knavery" has been allowed to promote himself to the championship of the Irish Protestant Church in all its purity and integrity;—all this is most disgraceful—we say not to the heads of this or that party—but to that public conscience and opinion of which all parties are, more or less, representative.

Sir James Graham's politics, from his entrance on parliamentary life to the period of the Reform agitation, were those which have more recently been designated Whig-Radicalism; with a strong dash, however, of the Radical element. A "fine foaming patriotism"‡ was in his votes and speeches. He was fond of quoting Locke, and honourable-friending Mr Hume. He declaimed against "tax-eaters" in the genuine Cobbettite dialect, and gained honourable mention in the columns of the 'Weekly Political Register.' He lustily attacked salaries, sinecures, and pensions; discharged vollies of patriotic eloquence at the "flights of voracious birds of prey gloating in the upper regions of the air,"§ and, in a speech which perhaps contributed more than any other single parliamentary effort to prepare the way for the Reform agitation, showed how one hundred and thirteen Privy Councillors divided among them annually 650,164*l.* of the public money.‖ His patriotism was as disinterested, too, as it was vigorous and thorough-going: he "disclaimed having any objects of his own to carry, in the opposition he sometimes found it his duty to give to men in power; his ambition was fully satisfied in representing a large and populous county of England."¶ And, when floated into office (disclaimers notwithstanding) on the tide of the Reform enthusiasm, the First Lord of the Admiralty was as good an agitator, until the Bill was safe, as the member for Cumberland had been; went "beyond the strict limits of prudence," and even "to the very verge of the law," in

* March 6, 1834. † March 14, 1839.

‡ "A speech marked with the features of the good old times, and distinguished by all that *fine foaming patriotism* which marked the genuine Whig," was his designation (March 12, 1830) of some former and forgotten oration of a recreant Whig, then on the ministerial benches.

§ May 10, 1830. ‖ May 14, 1830.

¶ February 15, 1830.

his appeals to the democracy;* and made Cockermouth ring with denunciations of "recreant Whigs."†

Up to this point, Sir James Graham had not given the world any decisive signs of political scrupulosity. He was not supposed to be what is called an "impracticable" man. His general repute was that of a Whig statesman with Radical leanings; possessed of a ready parliamentary tongue, first-rate official aptitude and party serviceableness, far-going popular opinions, fine foaming patriotism of the hustings quality, and a facile conscience on the law of debtor and creditor. One of the last things, perhaps, that a quiet looker-on at the political game would have anticipated as coming within the range of probability, would have been the Netherby Baronet's breaking with his party—and that party in office—on a point of conscience. But so it was: there is no accounting for consciences, any more than for tastes. All men draw the line somewhere. The Arab robber draws the line at salt, the Chinese cheat at saucers, and the author of 'Corn and Currency' at Irish tithes. In 1834, Sir James Graham seceded from the Whig ministry, on the ground of "religious feelings and conscientious scruples"‡ about the appropriation of a possible and contingent surplus of Irish Protestant Church property, to any other than Irish Protestant Church uses. He had no religious feelings and conscientious scruples about cutting away the broken mast of public credit; his religion had started

* "I admit distinctly that appeals were made on that occasion [the Reform-Bill agitation] to popular support, perhaps beyond the limits of prudence. I am not here to conceal anything; and I repeat, that I think that the appeals which were then made to popular feeling were carried to the very verge of the law, and, perhaps, beyond the strict limits of prudence."—*Confidence in the Ministry, January* 29, 1840.

† Sir James Graham has often been disagreeably reminded of the following passage in his hustings speech at the Cumberland election, May, 1831:—

"The last time I addressed you from these hustings, I remember I had a wish to know who represented the borough of Cockermouth, and, excepting the returning officer, no man could tell me. And who now represents that borough? [A voice in the crowd, 'Scarlett.'] Ay, and sorry I am to hear him named in that way, for he was once a valued friend. Yes; the ex-Attorney-General, a recreant Whig, a follower of Fox, a nominee of Earl Fitzwilliam, a man honoured and respected until he began to wage an infamous war with the press,—he, I say, has been obliged to fly from the indignation of the people, and seek refuge in Cockermouth, under the wing of my Lord Lonsdale. He has crept into the House of Commons through the postern gate of which a reverend vicar now on these hustings keeps the key. He has skulked from the offended majesty of the people, and is to be found the representative of those burgage tenures for which the late Mr Satterthwaite showed so much fondness. [A voice in the crowd, 'How do you like that, my lord?']"

When reminded of this, in the days of his own recreancy, Sir James could only interject (February 22, 1837), "That was a long time ago!"

‡ Speech of March 30, 1835, on Lord John Russell's motion.

no objection against considerable injustice, when convenience was in the case, and the victims were few and weak; and his conscience was sufficiently under the control of his judgment to appreciate the advantages of opulent knavery as compared with bankrupt honesty:—but, on tithes, religion and conscience were inexorable. He had even been a consenting party to the introduction of the famous 147th clause of Lord Stanley's Irish Church Temporalities Bill (in 1833), which spoke of a "surplus of monies" to be "applied to such purposes as parliament shall hereafter appoint or direct"—the "promotion of education in Ireland" being indicated by his colleague as one of the purposes contemplated.* He had joined in extinguishing 70,000*l.* of the Irish Protestant Church's annual revenue, under the name of Vestry Cess, and was prepared to vote the confiscation of thirty per cent. of its tithes for the benefit of the landowners: but Lord John Russell's appropriation clause was quite too much for him. He "had strained his conscience to the utmost, and had endeavoured to carry compromise on this question with those from whom he was compelled to differ, and with whom he agreed on all other points, so far as he could with a due regard to consistency of principle, but he would not, he dared not, carry it further."† Appropriation was "but the commencement of a series of attacks, first on corporation property, then on private property, and, as a conscientious man, he could not support it."‡ His conscience was not hampered by reiterated parliamentary pledges to the living creditors of the state—but there was no getting over that clause in the Act of Union, which pledged Great Britain to keep faith with the *manes* of those Irish Protestant legislators who sold their country, and some of whom "thanked God they had a country to sell." The engagement in the Articles of Union "had always pressed heavily on his judgment, with reference to this subject:" the clause relative to the Protestant Church "was the clause which induced the Protestants of Ireland to yield their reluctant assent to that great measure." As he pathetically says, in the exordium of his speech of March 30, 1835:—

"This fatal question has hurled me from power; it has severed some of the dearest and closest of the political connexions of my life; it has suspended and blighted—I hope it has not destroyed—some of my earliest friendships; it may yet drive me from parliament, it may force me into the retirement of private life, it may incapacitate me for office—but still I must repeat what the honourable gentleman asserted, that it is of vital importance, and it admits of no compromise."

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* See the Debate of June 21, 1833.

† Speech of March 30, 1835. ‡ Ibid.

Of a yet higher order of eloquence is his peroration:—

"I have been induced, sir, to lay before the House the grounds upon which I intend to give my vote on the present question. I told you that I had, upon this subject, religious feelings; that the property, the disposition of which is the subject of our discussion, was set apart by the piety of our forefathers, whether in England or in Ireland, to maintain and to propagate the Protestant religion; and I tell you that it is sacred, and must be applied to that purpose. Those who minister at the altar shall live by the altar. This decree is high as heaven, you cannot take it away; it is strong as the Almighty, you cannot overthrow it; it is lasting as the Eternal, it can never cease to bind you. It is binding on you as Christian legislators and as Christian men; and, for one, there is no consideration on this earth which shall induce me to compromise or to violate it."

Sir James Graham had now regularly taken his place in the ranks of the Tory Opposition; and the fine foaming patriotism was exchanged for a fine foaming religious conservatism. True, he had but recently (December, 1834), while the result of the elections was still undecided, declined the overtures of the Tory Chief to join the cabinet then in process of construction; and at the East Cumberland election (January, 1835) had informed the applauding electors that the composition of that cabinet "was as bad as he could well imagine—it was entirely composed of men to whom and to whose measures he had been all his life opposed." But he had, more recently (February 26), refused to concur in a vote "which might have the effect of placing" the worst possible cabinet "in a minority, under circumstances which must put to hazard their continued existence;" and had mildly explained his hustings denunciation of them, as importing that "in such an administration he could not place unlimited confidence." It eventually turned out that the real cause of the delicacy about taking office in 1834 was that, if he had then joined Sir Robert Peel, "his conduct would have been liable to misconstruction." * All liability to misconstruction being dissipated by lapse of time, it was ultimately discovered that the worst possible materials of a cabinet were exceedingly good materials, and the year 1841 found the once Whig-Radical Sir James Graham a Tory Secretary of State.†

Sir James Graham, we have seen, changed his politics on the

* Speech to the Dorchester electors, September, 1841.

† The administration of 1834-5, and that formed in 1841, both included the names of Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Wharncliffe, Lord Ellenborough, Lord Lyndhurst, Earl De Grey, Mr Goulburn, Sir Edward Knatchbull, Sir George Murray, and Sir Henry Hardinge.

ground of religious feelings and conscientious scruples. Through a seven years' parliamentary opposition, he continued to act on the principles and in the spirit of that religion which makes much of tithes, and little of justice, mercy, and charity. No public man of our time has done more—Lords Lyndhurst and Stanley themselves not excepted—to exasperate and inflame those sectarian antipathies which have rendered Ireland the chief difficulty, if not the insuperable impossibility, of British statesmanship. Year after year, on the Irish Church question, the Irish Corporations question, and the Irish Registration question, as on the English Education question, he uniformly thrust his religion in the way of common justice and common sense; argued political questions as questions of creed and church; and studiously enlisted the worst sectarian animosities, both in and out of parliament, into the service of an exclusive, obstructive conservatism. And yet, from time to time during those years, we find him fervently "deprecating" the mingling of religion with politics, and eloquently deploring the mischievous consequences of the "unhappy intermixture." We know of nothing that matches this in all the parliamentary history of our time. The course of Sir Robert Peel's opinions, as traced in a former Number of this Review, exhibits the same kind of phenomenon—flat opposites piled one above the other in successive and alternate layers; but the Chief is far outdone by the proselyte follower: even the opinions of Sir Robert Peel on agricultural protection and manufacturing distress present no such succession and alternation of contradictions, as do the opinions of Sir James Graham on the connexion and mutual relations of religion and politics. On the point whether religion has any, and what, connexion with politics—which Sir James Graham has chosen to make the turning-point of his political life—he does not seem to have yet made up his mind. Whether he holds that religion is the all-in-all of politics, or that religion is to be entirely excluded from politics, we are quite unable to discover; for, during his parliamentary warfare of the last ten years, he has most steadily and pertinaciously asserted *both.*

Thus, on the 8th of March, 1836—the religious feelings and conscientious scruples being still in the ascendant—he perorates a lengthy, vehement, anti-Catholic and anti-Irish harangue on the Irish Municipal Corporations Bill with—

"The Protestants of the two countries are now resolved, as one man, to maintain and support their religion, the Protestant establishment, by every constitutional means in their power—an establishment still favoured by the law, and blessed, as I believe, by a higher sanction."

In the following June Sir James is prepared, if need be, to die with and for his religion, the Protestant establishment:—

"Honourable members have talked as if some convulsion was near at hand, and of being prepared for the worst. I do still strongly confide in the strength and stability of the Protestant establishment of this country; and I do solemnly believe that it will still preserve us from all danger of tyranny, bigotry, fanaticism, and anarchy. Our Church may, it is true, on the other hand, have to sustain a serious breach; it may be about to fall. But I, for one, if called upon in that fatal hour, to let the Church crumble into dust, and with it the British Constitution, which rests upon it and is mainly supported by it, shall declare, in the language of Lord Bolingbroke, that, 'when truth and reason and the cause of liberty fall with it, those who are buried in the ruins are happier than those who survive them.'"—*Tithes and Church (Ireland), June* 2, 1836.

In the ensuing February, our Baronet's religious feelings and conscientious scruples are again strongly roused on the Municipal Corporations question: in the true spirit of Exeter-Hall Protestantism, he reads the Catholic members' parliamentary oath, with a pretty broad hint on the subject of perjury.* And a fortnight later, on the same question, he follows up the attack on the honour and honesty of the Catholic layman, with bitter and sarcastic insinuations against the morals and manners, the life and learning, of the Catholic priest:—

"While I have the pamphlet in my hand [a publication on Spanish politics] I may, perhaps, as well read another short extract. It is a portrait drawn by a master hand; it was meant to describe a Spaniard, but I am much mistaken if we do not recognise in it some prominent features of a character nearer home. 'The Spanish monk is generally an illiberal and most illiterate person, of coarse manners, and not of a moral life; but he is well versed in low intrigues, in the management of the ignorant peasants about his convent, and in the conduct of most worldly interests. Cunning, patient, persevering, bigoted, accessible to all, and having access to everybody, and by means of the confessional, of spies, of gossip, and by perpetually mixing himself up with the family affairs of his neighbour, he becomes most thoroughly well informed of what is going on.' What is the reflection? 'An army of such men, in a country like Spain, is sufficient to overturn an empire.' If, unhappily, there should be an army of such men in Ireland, it is sufficient to overturn an empire."—*Municipal Corporations (Ireland), February* 22, 1837.

From which it of course followed that the Irish people were not to be trusted with elective municipal institutions.

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* February 8, 1837.

After this, one is painfully surprised to find, a few weeks further on, in a debate of the same session, on the same subject, Sir James Graham's religious feelings at so low an ebb, that he deems the mingling of religion and politics the greatest misfortune that can befal any country, and can devise no language strong enough to express his sense of the noxious qualities of the mixture, except that of the Epicurean poet:—

"I cannot avoid feeling regret when I see the recurrence of the greatest misfortune that can befal any country—the mingling of religious and political matters. So strongly am I sensible of the evils which result from permitting political to be influenced by religious considerations, that I can scarcely avoid exclaiming, in the language of the Latin poet,—

'Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.'"

—*Municipal Corporations* (*Ireland*), *April* 11, 1837.

And, that there may be no mistake or uncertainty which of his parliamentary opinions on this point is the real and genuine one, he takes an early opportunity, on the next politico-religious question that arises, of telling the House his "sincere and deliberate opinion" respecting the "unhappy intermixture of political subjects with the higher subject of religion;" penitentially adverting to his own occasional transgressions of his own rule, "in the warmth of debate," as "unguarded" and to be regretted:—

"Again I must express a feeling, which, coming from me, was received with something like a sneer from the other side of the House on a former occasion, yet still presses upon me so strongly that I must repeat it—that I cannot help regretting that all political subjects of paramount importance on which the opinion of the House is required to be taken, are now unfortunately mingled with the higher subject of religion; which unhappy intermixture has the effect, in my opinion, of desecrating the one, and adding to the acerbity of the other. I may sometimes, in the warmth of debate, be betrayed into expressions which, being unguarded, I may regret; but the sentiment I have just expressed conveys nothing more than my sincere and deliberate opinion."—*Church Rates, May* 23, 1837.

Yet the sincere and deliberate opinion is by no means the final one. In December, 1838, we find the directly contrary opinion enunciated with all the signs of at least equal sincerity and deliberation: the intermixture, so far from being deplored as unhappy, is eloquently vindicated, as according with the avowed object of our forefathers and the ancient policy of these realms:—

"But, it will be said, Why mingle religion with political strife?

My answer is, that the national religion is studiously blended with all our national institutions, that it was the avowed object of our forefathers to render the State itself an oblation not unworthy of the Most High; and this connexion between the Church and the State is the ancient policy of these realms, under which our native land has consolidated her strength, matured her happiness, and acquired her glory. Show me one occasion for the last three centuries, since reason was emancipated from the thraldom of Popery, since Luther and Calvin taught men to think, and Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley left them an example how to suffer and to die—show me, I say, a single occasion in which the mind of the people of these islands has been greatly moved, and I will show you that the national religion was the moving cause, the real groundwork of the civil conflict."—*Speech at Glasgow on receiving the Freedom of the City, December* 22, 1838.

And then he goes on to show how "the Reformation, the Great Rebellion, the Revolution, the Union with Scotland, the Act of Settlement, the Union with Ireland—all attest the truth of this assertion;" and vindicates his own fair fame against the "cry," which he "thinks he hears," of "this apostate Whig, this recreant Reformer"—by saying that he "has always understood Whig principles" to be "the principles of the Revolution, the maintenance of Protestant institutions in opposition to Catholic;" that is to say, he has always understood the philosophy and morals of politics to be rooted in religious antagonism. He further delights the applauding burgesses, magistrates, and clergy of the West of Scotland, by denouncing the measures of his old Whig friends as "sacrilegious." *

In the session of 1839, Sir James Graham's parliamentary and political religion was again on duty, loudly denouncing and busily obstructing the Whig ministerial scheme for National Education in England. The sincere and deliberate opinion of December, 1838, still kept its ground against the sincere and deliberate opinion of May, 1837. The latter seems, indeed, to have been not altogether forgotten; for "he was, he begged to say, always averse to enter much upon such topics—he always felt strong aversion to discuss theological questions in that House; he was aware of the great diversity of opinion on such subjects, not only in that House, but throughout the country,

* One would like to know how Sir James Graham stands now, in the estimation of some of the enthusiastically cheering and cheered auditors of this politico-religious rhapsody. We observe the name of Dr Chalmers among those who assembled on that occasion to do honour to political integrity and consistency.

and he was always sorry to give offence to any one." * Still, strong aversion notwithstanding, the theological question is discussed at ample length; and, in a speech bristling all over with "truth," "true religion," "national religion," "Protestantism"—not omitting a side-glance at "Socinian chapels"—our religious Baronet vigorously protests against the adoption of any "middle course" for the conciliation of rival creeds; and denounces, as "visionary and impracticable," every kind of "arbitration between God and man:"—

"I will not detain the House by a detail of what are the principles of an established religion. It is enough to remark, that those principles are adverse to the admission of the plan of her Majesty's Government. That plan views no religious creed with favour; it goes to admit an equality of right for State endowment to all. The moment that doctrine is admitted, a paramount State religion is at an end. Now, in this country, the State has chosen the religion of the Established Church to represent the Government in religion; but in selecting that particular creed, the State still permits each individual to be guided in matters of belief entirely by the dictates of his own conscience. The moment, then, we go beyond this, and admit the right of the civil magistrate to apply the public money, not in accordance with this view, but as circumstances and his discretion may seem to warrant, then we shall put an end to the Established Church; the existence of which I believe to be essential to the peace, the happiness, and the prosperity of the entire community. * * * I know there are many persons who think they can accommodate the difficulty attending the application of these doctrines as regards a State religion, by the adoption of a middle course, and that they will be able to introduce a kind of arbitration between God and man: but such opinions I deem visionary and impracticable. The great characteristic of the present day, the prevailing national evil, is a constant thirst for change and love of innovation, which stamp the features of the present superficial age in which we live. I earnestly desire to see education generally diffused, and I am for encouraging it among all classes by private means; but I very much fear that any combined plan for a system of national education such as that in question would inevitably fail. * * * In my mind, there can be no sound education without religion, and there should be no education in any religion at the expense of the public, but that of the Established Church. I believe that religion is one of the pillars of civil government, one of the firmest props of the State. If it were shaken, the Government of the country would

* June 20, 1839 (Government Plan for National Education).
It was only on the 18th of the previous April, that he had evinced his sorrow to give offence to any one, by reviving the old story of Catholic perjury: "Let others"—*i. e.* others than the Irish Protestants—"put strained constructions upon their oaths."

be shaken along with it; and if it were overthrown, then would the State be overthrown also."—*National Education, June* 20, 1839.

This high-toned parliamentary religion did its work, had its day, and was quietly shelved—whether or not to be reproduced at a more convenient season, time only can show. In most curious contrast with the preceding, are Sir James Graham's next recorded utterances on the subject of religion and education. When the license of opposition was exchanged for the responsibilities of office, it was discovered that only by the adoption of some middle course can the difficulties of the Education Question in England ever be surmounted. Instead of "truth," "true religion," "Protestantism," "national religion," "paramount State religion"—we hear smooth things of "compromise," "impartiality," "amalgamation," "co-operation," "middle course," "neutral ground," and "olive branch;" and the dislogistic "arbitration between God and man" is politely translated into "due regard to the just wishes of the Established Church on the one hand, with studious attention to the honest scruples of the Dissenters on the other." On the 28th of February, 1843, the outlines of the Government scheme of Factory and Pauper Education were thus announced to the surprised and delighted House:—

"If I can but induce the House, in the temper which at this moment pervades it, on this one subject, to lay aside all party feelings, all religious differences, to endeavour to find out some neutral ground on which we can build something approaching to a scheme of National Education, with a due regard to the just wishes of the Established Church on the one hand, and studious attention to the honest scruples of the Dissenters on the other, in my judgment we shall be conferring a greater benefit on the people whom we represent, than by any course of policy which can be adopted."—*Condition and Education of the Poor, February* 28, 1843.

In conformity with this neutral and pacific programme of Ministerial intention, proselytism was utterly disclaimed; Church clergymen were to teach religion to Church children, and Dissenting clergymen to Dissenting children; and the schools of the National Society and those of the British and Foreign School Society were alike recognised as competent to grant certificates. The creed and catechism of the paramount State religion were made non-essentials of State education:—

"I shall propose that there be a chaplain of the Established Church, appointed by the bishop of the diocese, to superintend the religious instruction of such children in these schools as belong to the Established Church. With reference to those children who ob-

ject to the ritual of the Established Church, or whose parents object for them, I shall propose that any licensed minister of the particular profession of faith of such Dissenters shall be at liberty to visit such children, under certain regulations, for the purpose of instructing them in their spiritual concerns. The rules and regulations for the secular instruction in these schools will be subject to the opinion and approval of the Committee of the Privy Council for Education, by whom the schoolmasters will be appointed, and an inspector will superintend and watch the whole; and every schoolmaster who shall be declared incompetent or unfit for his duties, will be dismissed forthwith. I conceive that, under this arrangement, while, on the one hand, the ûtmost security is taken that the children of parents who are members of the Established Church shall be educated in strict comformity with the creed of that church, on the other hand, full security is given on behalf of the Dissenters, that their children shall be brought up in the tenets of their own religious faith, free from all attempts at proselytism, or from having their respective creeds shaken or tampered with."—*Ibid.*

Poor Sir Robert Inglis, less adroit at changing sides than the experienced Home Secretary, could not refrain from entering his protest, on behalf of the paramount State religion, against the Ministerial disclaimer of proselytism, and complaining that the Government plan "did not recognise the Church as the instructress of the people."

All through this session of 1843, we find Sir James Graham in a most gracious and amiable frame of mind. He deplores and gently rebukes—more, however, in sorrow than in anger—those "passions of our sinful nature" which have made "this Christian religion" a "root of bitterness;" from the serene heights of a Christian and philosophic soul he moralizes, pityingly, on poor human nature, as if, like Mr Pecksniff, he did not belong to it:—

"How melancholy that this Christian religion, which was ushered to earth as bringing the glad tidings of peace and goodwill to man, should, by the passions of mankind, be made, as it were, the root of bitterness, hatred, and controversy, and should bear engrafted on it all the worst passions of our sinful nature."—*Church of Scotland, March* 7, 1843.

In this benign and conciliatory mood—at peace with himself and with all mankind, Whigs, Dissenters, and Catholics included—our Home Secretary, on the 24th of March, returns to his Factories Education plan; praising the late Government for having made an honourable compromise, modestly trusting that the impartiality of the present is sufficiently demonstrated, painfully aware of the difficulties that beset his plan on the right

hand and on the left—yet, on the whole, full of hope in the results of "steering an honest but a steady middle course:"—

"The honourable member (Mr Hawes) referred to some opposition which was given by me, and those with whom I act, to the controlling power of the Committee of Privy Council, as it stood in the first education scheme propounded by the late Government. The honourable member must remember that by that scheme, religious instruction was designedly excluded from the plan of education in the normal schools; and to that arrangement I was entirely opposed. Objections were also taken with respect to the power of the Committee of Privy Council, and of the inspectors, and the honourable member must be perfectly aware that the result of the controversy was a compromise. The late Government, much to their honour, agreed to an arrangement, by which the inspectors, who were appointed to superintend the education in the national schools, should receive their appointments subject to the sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury; whilst the inspectors of the British and Foreign Society's schools were to receive their appointments independent of any such sanction. That arrangement was accepted by the party with which I have the honour to act, and it has been carried with success into execution. Not only did that arrangement receive our sanction when we were in opposition, but since we have been in power, we have strictly adhered to it; and I hope that the conduct we have pursued, both with respect to the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society, has demonstrated our impartiality and a sincere desire to act justly."—*Factories Education, March* 24, 1843.

*I. e.* our sincere desire to arbitrate fairly between God and man. He proceeds:—

"It is not correct to say, that by this bill Dissenters are sacrificed to the Church. Although it is indispensable that the master should be capable of instructing the children of members of the Established Church in the catechism and liturgy, yet ample precautions are taken to prevent the abuse of his authority by any attempts on his part to proselytize. The master is removable by the Committee of Privy Council, on the complaint of any one trustee. * * * I cannot dissemble from myself that, on the right hand and on the left, this measure is beset with dangers. I did hope, and I still continue to cherish the hope, that by steering an honest but a steady middle course between the two opposite extremes, we might avoid the stranding of the measure on the shoals which beset it on either side, and carry it triumphantly, with safety, into harbour. * * * I am satisfied that without the cordial co-operation of the Church established by law, no large measure of education can be carried into effect in this country; and I go further, and say that without such co-operation no Government would be justified in attempting to carry it into effect. The object of the Government is to establish a

system of education extensive in its operation, and not confined to any particular sect; and they invite the co-operation of the Church to enable them to carry it into effect, with a due regard to the principles of toleration, and with the respect which must be rendered to the honest scruples of Dissenters. * * * We must not sacrifice principle to expediency, but, on the other hand, we must not push just principles to such an extreme as to render their application practically impossible."—*Ibid.*

The fate of this scheme of neutrality, impartiality, and amalgamation is fresh in the public memory. The disappointed and discomfited Minister had to make large alterations in his Bill, preparatory to withdrawing it under a pitiless storm of Dissenting agitation; whereupon—after the usual preface, "No man in this House can more strongly deprecate the introduction of religious topics into our debates than I do"—he thus sermonizes:—

"How is it that such strife, such anger should be exhibited in the name of religion? Is it any mark of sincerity, either in Churchmen or Dissenters, that they should mingle with religion bitter and angry controversy? I say that the Great Author of the Christian faith has left mankind, to the latest day, a test by which the sincerity of his followers may be tried. He has said, 'By this shall all men know whether ye are my disciples, if ye love one another.' In the early time, when the small band of Christians, with all its privations and its wants, was exposed to every species of suffering, extending even to martyrdom, the distinguishing characteristic to which I have referred attracted the notice of the Heathen, and they exclaimed, 'See! how these Christians love one another.' In these later days, the sceptic may point with scorn and derision at professing Christians, and observe, 'See! how these Christians hate and despise each other.' Alas! these are the difficulties with which we have to contend."—*Factories Education, May* 1, 1843.

Yes! but these difficulties were once your cherished and cultivated facilities. These difficulties were the ladder by which you climbed into power. This strife and anger were the ammunition of your parliamentary warfare through a seven-years' siege of office. It is all very well that you now express your "regret that anything which has fallen from you should be thought to cast reflections or disparagement upon gentlemen professing the Catholic faith," and assure the world that you "never entertained the remotest intention of doing so." * It is very well that you now "conceive that no advantage can arise from discussing in this House the import of oaths," because, when the Legislature presented an oath to be taken by Roman Catholics, "it marked its confidence that they would take that

* July 7, 1843 (State of Ireland).

oath as they were taught by honourable feelings, and a holy and religious education to regard it, and the interpretation of the oath was left to the conscience of each." * It would have been better to have thought of these things sooner. It is curious, by the way, how, after all these dubious wanderings to and fro, Sir James Graham still keeps constant to his first Conservative love —the purity and integrity of the Church of England in Ireland. Notwithstanding the numberless disclaimers and deprecations of the unhappy intermixture of political subjects with the higher subject of religion, he still "repudiates" any settlement of the Irish Church question "by subtraction," as "contrary to the sacred principles of religion." †

Leaving to wiser heads the ascertainment of Sir James Graham's opinion as to the mutual relations of religion and politics—the present writer relinquishes the problem in absolute despair—we proceed to test further his political morality, by reference to his votes and speeches on certain others of the questions which have occupied the attention of the public and the legislature during his parliamentary lifetime. Of these we may first mention the Ballot, as that on which his conduct has been the most extraordinary. Sir James Graham's relation to this question is full of anomalies. He has recommended the Ballot, under the responsibilities of office; since that, he has denounced it as mean, dirty, cowardly, and hypocritical; and yet, while so denouncing it, he has vindicated his former recommendation, and expressed his willingness to give it his future support, on a condition named. He has more than once declared himself to be irrevocably pledged, as a man of honour, against it; and yet he has more than once, while declaring himself so pledged, also declared himself ready to adopt it, pledges notwithstanding, in certain specified contingencies. Again we say, we must content ourselves with stating facts: the philosophy that is to reconcile the facts is utterly beyond us.

Our readers will probably remember that very curious revelation of Cabinet mysteries which was made by Lord John Russell, in his speech to the Stroud electors in August, 1837; from which the world learned that the Ballot (with a twenty-pound franchise) constituted part of the original draft of the Reform Bill, as prepared for the consideration of the Grey Ministry by a Committee of four—of whom Sir James Graham

* February 13, 1844 (Ireland). † Ibid.

was one.* We quote the following from Lord John Russell's statement on that occasion:—

"When I was a member of the Committee which framed the great outlines of the Reform Bill, I was selected to propose a plan, of which the chief heads were adopted by the Committee. That plan began by proposing the total disfranchisement of fifty small boroughs, and the partial disfranchisement of fifty more. It then went on to propose the enfranchisement of all the great manufacturing towns. The plan originally contained no proposition with respect either to the Ballot or the duration of parliaments; but, in the course of the discussions which took place in the Committee, proposals were made upon those subjects, which, after some consideration, were adopted; and in the plan which we ultimately submitted to Lord Grey's Cabinet, we suggested that the vote by ballot should be adopted, and that the duration of parliament should be five years. I am mentioning this fact, because I know that several statements have been made upon the subject, and at the time when those statements were made, I had the permission of his late Majesty to state any facts upon this subject which I thought necessary in the way of explanation. I have done so. I should, however, state that, at the same time that the Ballot was proposed by the Committee, it was suggested that the franchise should be raised to 20*l.* But the decision of Lord Grey's Government, upon the whole, was not to propose anything to the legislature with respect to the duration of parliament and the ballot; and ultimately the amount of the qualification for the franchise was fixed at 10*l.* I am only stating these things, to show that whatever opinions I may entertain with respect to these subjects, they are at all events matters that I deem fit for discussion and consideration, and that I have always been ready to discuss them."

Is it credible that, two years after this piece of private history had become public, Sir James Graham had the nerve to stand up in parliament, and say that "he had never advocated the Ballot at any time—he had always refused his assent to it?" But Sir James was in a bold mood that day. He had the courage to speak of his ejection from Cumberland as a tribute to his political consistency:—

"In the election for Cumberland I was perfectly explicit; I said that nothing whatever should induce me to support the Ballot, and I lost my election. * * * I never advocated the Ballot at any time; I have always refused my assent to it. I have more than once risked my election by opposing the Ballot, and on the last occasion I lost my seat."—*Ballot, June* 18, 1839.

* The others were Lord John Russell, Lord Durham, and Lord Duncannon.

He goes on to push his favourite argument* of a finality compact between the Reform Ministry and their parliamentary opponents:—

"I admit that, with regard to a great nation, finality does not exist. But, with regard to individuals, I do contend, that in considering our solemn obligations and pledges as members of a Cabinet, I say that finality does exist; and though finality may not be binding on any of the noble lord's colleagues who were not of Lord Grey's Cabinet, I do contend that the pledge of finality is binding on them, one and all."—*Ibid.*

And yet, strangely enough, the solemn pledge turns out, immediately afterwards, to be really no pledge at all. In reference to the recent Ministerial policy of making the Ballot an open question, he says—

"It is necessary or unnecessary; it is safe, or unsafe and dangerous. If it is dangerous, you ought not to risk its adoption. If it is safe and necessary, for heaven's sake adopt it, and bring the whole force of the country to support it. The safety of the country would release you from the pledge; let there be a fair field, and let the Government divide in favour of the Ballot."—*Ibid.*

Then why talk about the pledge at all, if it be of that shadowy and unsubstantial texture that public safety, interpreted by private judgment, constitutes a valid release from it? But the fictitious pledge made one point in debate, and the hypothetical release made another; and both, accordingly, were put on duty for the hour, and, after doing the work of the hour, carefully laid by for future service.

The debate on the Ballot, in 1842, brought out our politician under some of the most disagreeable aspects of his character. In his speech on this occasion (after repeating the old story about the finality-pledge given by, and binding on, the members of Earl Grey's Cabinet), he vehemently denounces the Ballot as intrinsically immoral—yet vindicates his own recom-

* An argument, whose immorality in point of principle is only equalled by the falsity of its alleged *data* of fact. Neither as representative of the people, nor as servant of the Crown, can a public man tie up his hands, by a party compact, from doing and advising that which his judgment, for the time being, tells him is right and wise. But all this of the anti-ballot compact is a sheer fiction. Lord John Russell, in his speech of March 1, 1831, introducing the Reform Bill, was allowed by his colleagues to treat the Ballot and the duration of parliament as reserved points. Lord John Russell is as good a judge of the meaning of an honourable obligation as Sir James Graham; and we find him, in the debate of June 21, 1842, actually arguing, not that he is pledged to resist the Ballot, but that he is *not* pledged to adopt it.

mendation of it in 1831; and actually declares himself ready to support it again, if he could only believe that its adoption would be a barrier to further change. Lord John Russell's disclosures at Stroud having been adverted to, he tries to take off the edge of that most awkward *tu quoque* with the following piece of jesuitry:—

"I never received such permission, and am therefore at a disadvantage. I may, however, be permitted to say, that the Committee appointed by Earl Grey's Cabinet prepared the measure, not as one which they themselves implicitly and fully recommended, or to which they were individually pledged, but as a scheme to be considered by their colleagues. If the Ballot was a part of that scheme, it was taken in connexion with other propositions, and the whole was framed *ad referendum*."—*Ballot, June* 21, 1842.

It may, however, be presumed that a man would scarcely propose a thing *ad referendum*, which he was predetermined to denounce as mean, dirty, cowardly, and hypocritical. He proceeds:—

"The county of Cumberland having been mentioned, and as I am closely connected with one division at least of that county, I may be excused a reference to that part of the right honourable member's argument. In Cumberland I am possessed, I may say, of considerable property, and I received the support also of a large body of the landed proprietary of that county. But yet, under the system of open voting, when public feeling ran high, and when my public acts were not sanctioned by the freeholders, these circumstances proved unavailing; and I stand here a remarkable example, not only of the independence of the freeholders, but of the independence of the fifty-pound tenants, many of whom gave votes contrary to the principles and opinions of their landlords, and in a manner which I must say was at once bold, fearless, and independent. I repeat, therefore, I stand here an example of the independence of the Cumberland tenantry at least. But I must say that, apart from all these circumstances, I am of opinion with the honourable member for Middlesex, that the whole system of secret voting is inconsistent with the English character. I say that to preserve silence both before and after the election is impossible, and even if a man could preserve such a silence, his own acts must betray him. To carry out appearances, he must belong to the wrong club, he must wear the wrong colours, he must drink the wrong toasts, he must profess friendship for the wrong man; in short, he must act in discord with himself. All this it is impossible for an Englishman to do with success. If he be an honest man and a firm friend, he will not want the Ballot; if he skulks, he will not avail himself of it. The only persons to whom the Ballot would be valuable, would be those dirty, hypocritical cowards, men whose faces belie their purpose, men who pretend

to be your friends only to deceive and betray you, who flatter you with vain hopes of support which they have no intention to realize; men who talk of intimidation, but seek the opportunity of gratifying their sordid envy, their revenge, and that bitter hatred, which, combined with their cowardice, marks them as the most contemptible of mankind. Those are the men who demand a measure that is a mere *recipe*—

"'To lend to lies the confidence of truth.'"

—*Ibid.*

Yet he told us, in 1839, that the Ballot was demanded by the bold, fearless, and independent men of Cumberland—demanded by them with such earnestness that they turned him out of their county for his consistency in opposing it.

But this is a small matter. The point to which we want to fasten the reader's attention is this:—that Sir James Graham here tells us that he deems a dirty, hypocritical, cowardly, and lying system, a thing to be recommended—not, indeed, implicitly and fully—but only *ad referendum*. He is very particular on this point. He cannot bear to have it misapprehended. He never for a moment meant more, by his recommendation, than that the hateful and unclean thing should be taken into consideration, with the utmost latitude of discussion. When hard pressed, in the course of debate, he says—

"I think it very desirable that there should be no misapprehension on one point, and I therefore deny that I am bound by any recommendation whatever of the ballot at any time. I have twice stated what I now repeat, that the whole of those measures which were enumerated in a report drawn up by four members of Lord Grey's Cabinet were points to be submitted for the consideration of that Cabinet, upon the fullest and most distinct understanding that, as members of the Cabinet, each individual was to have the utmost latitude of discussion in that Cabinet, with respect to all the points therein contained."—*Ibid.*

The "utmost latitude of discussion" on cowardice and hypocrisy! The gratification of sordid envy and bitter hatred, a "point submitted for consideration!" A "*recipe* to lend to lies the confidence of truth," recommended *ad referendum!* Nor is this all. Sir James Graham is ready, at this moment, not only to recommend *ad referendum*, but actually to adopt this complication of iniquities, this dirty abomination—if only he could see reason for believing that it would serve a good Conservative use, by being a "barrier to further change;"—

"If I could believe, with the right honourable member for Poole, who spoke in the earlier part of the evening, that by granting the ballot we should be raising a barrier to further change, I would give

the ballot my support; although, even then, I should think it open to great objections."—*Ibid.*

That is to say, he will license moral turpitude, if you can but guarantee to him the parliamentary constitution of 1832—though even then he should see great objections. He will give you the *recipe* for safe lying, if you can only convince him that it will not hurt the cause of Conservatism. Give him a barrier to further change in existing institutions—and the barriers of eternal moralities may shift for themselves. He will vote for demoralizing the English people, if you can but satisfy him that *that will be all*—that there will be no further change. Of course, we do not suppose that Sir James Graham meant this. He meant to make a speech against the Ballot. A loose tongue, a loud voice, and dauntless assurance—with that coarseness and bluntness of moral perception which make a man throw about his words at random, without a thought of their meaning—are all that are necessary to explain the phenomena of this anti-ballot oration. But what shall we think of that public opinion and morality which have tolerated and rewarded this man—first, as foaming patriot, and next, as foaming religionist? Surely one might have hoped that some other things were doctrines of the Established Church, besides Irish tithes.

Sir James Graham's economics are as shifting and unstable as his political morality and religion. With one remarkable exception (to be noted presently) we cannot find that he has, at any one time, said a thing on the great questions of public economy and finance that have been agitated in his time, which he has not, expressly or by implication, unsaid at another time. In 1819, he voted for "Peel's Bill." "Experience and subsequent consideration" having proved to him that the "doctrine to which he then yielded" was "the most palpable folly that ever had been palmed upon the House as sound and wise policy,"* he published three editions of a book showing the iniquity and mischievousness of that bill. It was a measure "fatal" alike to the landowner and to the tax payer; the position in which it placed the class of "creditors in general" was equivalent to a "sure, but destructive revolution, by which, if it were not arrested, the ancient aristocracy of these realms must ultimately be sacrificed to creditors and annuitants."† The currency question was then the "very core" of the corn question; it was vital, fundamental, axiomatic; he was "certain that, before long, it must be forced on the attention of the legislature by the land-

* See his Speech of June 3, 1828. † 'Corn and Currency,' p. 76.

owners themselves, if they meant to preserve their estates."* These opinions survived, with some modification, as late as the year 1834; when we find him admitting their partial error, but re-asserting their substantial soundness:—

"I did, in offering a prediction on the subject, go somewhat too far, as is often the case with those who attempt to foretel the future effects of measures. I said that the alteration in the standard of value would be the ruin of the labourer, and that it would be productive of great danger to the landed interest. I have frankly stated where I think I was wrong in that prediction. Would to God I had been wrong in the latter point. So far from my having been wrong upon that point, all that has since occurred has only tended to confirm the statement which I then put forth on the subject. All the previous family engagements, all the mortgages of those connected with the landed interest, were actually increased by the alteration effected in the standard of value."—*Corn Laws, March* 6, 1834.

Since then we have quite lost sight of the 'Corn and Currency' opinions. Sir James has changed back again; digested the palpable folly of his youth, ignored the axiomatic truth of his ripening manhood, left the sure but destructive revolution to take its course, and helped the author of Peel's Bill to legislate on corn without once putting in a word for currency.

On Corn, Sir James Graham has not been more consistent than on Currency. His first opinion (in 1826) was for a "steady supply," and a "moderate price," to be attained by "constant importation under a fixed duty:" he thought "fifteen shillings a quarter would be ample."† In 1830, he passed from the moderate, yet ample fixed duty, to something resembling the dialect of total and immediate repeal:—

"I have never supported the Corn Laws, but the country has been driven to them by necessity. They are as a pebble, but which, in the sling of a stripling, may overthrow the giant. Free trade has relieved some articles of secondary necessity, whilst there is a monopoly of the article of the first necessity; and thus there is a transfer of the burden from the strong to the weak. And till the questions respecting currency and corn are adjusted, free trade will operate with the greatest possible injustice."—*Reduction of Public Salaries, February* 12, 1830.

In 1834, he was all for the sliding-scale and finality: "he was prepared to stand by the existing Corn Laws, and to resist any, the first inroad which might be attempted to be made upon them."‡ The sessions of 1836, 1838, and 1839, witnessed similar opinions and similar pledges. His leader's peremptory refusal

* 'Corn and Currency,' p. 22. † Ibid. p. 99. ‡ March 6, 1834.

to put into the lottery of legislation was responded to in fine phrases of his own, about the "paramount duty of the Government of the country to put some restraint on the pruriency of the disposition to legislate, and, above all, to put some restraint on themselves."* Since then, Sir James Graham has been a consenting and acting party to the first inroad; has forgotten the paramount duty; and has helped to administer a potent stimulus—in new sliding-scales and new tariffs, which unsettle everything and settle nothing—to the pruriency of the disposition to legislate. In 1843, we have the satisfaction of finding that our Baronet's conversion to the orthodox free-trade faith is completed, in a way that leaves nothing further to be desired, except the fruit of good works. He is become one of the best of our free traders in the abstract; taking no credit to himself, however—for the principles of free trade "are not much contested in this House, they are the principles of common sense."† In all which he merely comes back to the language of his political youth—with one remarkable exception: viz. that he then deprecated all partial applications of "the sound principles of free trade," every "experiment of the destruction of monopoly in one branch of industry, while it is suffered to continue with unabated force in others," as "an outrage even of the semblance of justice."‡

Of a like tesselated, patchwork quality are Sir James Graham's opinions as to the sources of our national prosperity in general, and the relative worth and importance of the land-

* March 14, 1839.

† Debate of February 15, 1843, on the Distress of the Country. The following, from his speech on that occasion, is worth preserving:—

"The time has long gone by when this country can exist as a purely agricultural country. We are a commercial people; and while this country remains as she is, the mistress of the seas, she must be the emporium of the commerce of the world. I am quite satisfied that in England agricultural prosperity independent of commercial prosperity cannot long exist. I go further, and I agree with the honourable member opposite, that with a population increasing so rapidly as does the population of this country, somewhere about 220,000 souls a year, it is indispensably necessary that extension should be given to the field of commerce; and it appears to me that no party is more deeply interested in this than the landed interest. The tendency of population is always to press on the means of subsistence. The increased population must be fed. To be fed, it must be employed. It can only be employed by the payment of wages. Wages can only be paid out of profits; and profits depend on an effective demand for the products of labour. [An honourable member on the opposition benches, 'Those are my principles.'] The honourable member says, they are his principles; they are the principles of every man of common sense."

It is clear that Sir James Graham understands the Free-Trade question as well as Mr Cobden.

‡ 'Corn and Currency,' p. 102.

owning interest and the manufacturing interest, in particular. In 'Corn and Currency,' he graciously patronizes the manufacturer as the "landlord's best customer;" and discourses of the impolicy of making "corn dearer in England than elsewhere," and so "enhancing the price of labour and provisions as to secure to the foreigner successful competition, and to choke with obstructions the principal channels of native industry."* And something like this seems to be Sir James Graham's opinion now: but the opinion has undergone a long and disastrous eclipse in the interval. In that strong "rent" speech of 1834, from which we have already quoted, the Corn Law is defended on "political considerations"—the political consideration specified being that "the landed interest is an interest of more importance than any other interest in the country;" and, "if the effect of the proposed measure should be to reduce rents twenty per cent., I speak advisedly when I say that two-thirds of the landed property of England will at once change hands."† In 1839, moral considerations are superadded to the political: the "landlord's best customer" is become little better than a common nuisance, and the "principal channels of native industry" are found to be only a fine name for foul garrets and dark cellars, debauchery, temptation, pestilence, sin, and sorrow:—

"What change more cruel could despotism itself inflict, than a change from the 'breezy call of the incense-breathing morn' to a painful and grievous obedience to the sad sound of the factory bell—the relinquishment of the thatched cottage, the blooming garden, and the village green, for the foul garret or the dark cellar of the crowded city; the enjoyment of the rural walk of the innocent rustic sabbath, for the debauchery, the temptations, the pestilence, the sorrows, and the sins of a congregated multitude. Where are our moralists, that their voices are not raised against the fearful consequences which the proposed change brings in its train."—*Corn Laws, March* 14, 1839.

But the lapse of two years more brings us back to the "landlord's best customer," and the "principal channels of native industry." Incense-breathing morns, thatched cottages, rural walks, and rustic sabbaths have served their turn—and "painful and grievous obedience to the sad sound of the factory bell" is straightway metamorphosed into "manufacturing industry and enterprise." Mr Ferrand having told Mr Cobden that "every farthing he (Mr Cobden) had gained by the cotton trade was d yedin the blood of the poor"—not, by the way, a much harder

* Ibid. p. 13.
† Speech on the Corn Laws, March 6, 1834.

thing to say of Mr Cobden's farthings, than the charging them with being accessary to debauchery, temptation, pestilence, sin, and sorrow—the Home-Secretary's feelings are pained, and he cannot refrain from saying kind and handsome things of the slandered cotton trade:—

"Really, without offence, I must say that I never hear without pain language from any side of the House which may have the effect—I know it will not by any member be uttered with the object—of exciting angry passions on the part of the commercial or manufacturing interests against the landed interests, or on the part of these against the former. Neither can I refrain from frankly admitting that the main source of the prosperity of this country is its manufacturing industry and enterprise."—*Poor Law Commission, September* 28, 1841.

In 1844, Sir James Graham has got his "moralist"—so much desiderated in 1839—and can find no better name to greet him with than "*Jack Cade.*" The painful and grievous obedience to the sad sound of the factory bell is made a cabinet measure; the fearful consequences are seen to lie not in the direction of crowded cities and congregated multitudes; "we cannot legislate on feeling;" and incense-breathing morn is not worth the sacrifice of twenty-five per cent. on wages. For all which we heartily thank Sir James Graham. If he did most culpably forget the responsibilities of Opposition, it is something that he has, on this point, shown himself mindful of the responsibilies of office, and stood, with the whole weight of his official power, between the industrial resources of the country and an assault combining as much stupidity, fanaticism, class jealousy, and political recreancy as were ever before found leagued together in one division-list. We are not much given to praise the present Ministry, have long since ceased to expect good from them, and regard the fact of their existence as most discreditable to public morality and intelligence: but it is more discreditable still, that the first time they have been seriously shaken should have been about the first time they have been clearly and thoroughly in the right.*

* We have been accustomed to rate the political morality of Lord John Russell many degrees higher than that of Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham; but his lordship's recent conduct on the Ten-Hours question does bear a very unfortunate likeness to the worst features of the Tory opposition tactics—reminds one, most unpleasantly, of the men so famous for forgetting that "opposition has its responsibilities as well as office." Lord John Russell's opinion on this question, under the responsibilities of office, was as follows:—

"It seems to me that the noble Lord (Ashley) has not answered the question

On the whole review of Sir James Graham's political life and opinions, we find one point, and only one (his championship of the Irish Church being not perfectly clear of exceptions) from which, so far as we know, he has never swerved:—viz. that the class of mortgaged and indebted landowners are a class worthy of special legislative protection. On this point, we believe we may pronounce his public character to be without spot or blemish of inconsistency. The doctrine has shaped itself differently in his mind, at different times: once it was the sponge, now it is the sliding-scale, that must "save the aristocracy," "preserve the landowners' estates" from harpy creditors, and "prevent the landed property of England from changing hands:"—but, however the means may have varied, the end has always been the same—either by adjustment of incumbrances, or by protection of rents, to save insolvent owners of land from breaking. This is Sir James Graham's strong point. This is the one light-speck in the general haze—the dot of *terra firma* in the chaos. Sir James Graham may fairly boast that, amidst inconsistencies and self-contradictions without number, he has always been consistent to the principle that the landed aristocracy and gentry must have acts of parliament put between them and their creditors—must have their debts paid, or somehow provided for, at the public cost. His sympathies have been, through life, with a class of men the most mischievous that any country can be cursed with—the needy people of quality, the insolvent lords and gentlemen, the opulent knaves who cannot live without their hands in other people's pockets. We do not know what,

put by my honourable friend the member for Wolverhampton (Mr Villiers), viz. whether, having reduced the hours of labour, the noble lord can provide, at the same time, that the same remuneration shall be given for the shortened hours of labour? Does the noble lord mean to carry his principle to the extent of fixing wages by law, or does he not? If he does mean to do so, the Committee know, of course, the impossibility of adopting such a course; and if he does not, the Committee must know that whatever shortens the hours of labour, and with the present high price of provisions reduces the rate of wages, instead of being a proposition of humanity, would be a proposition of the greatest inhumanity. Therefore, as I think the proposition, if carried into effect, would be cruel in its operation, I must vote against it."—*Factories, July* 1, 1839.

Lord John Russell's general character as a public man does undoubtedly deserve that a single questionable act should have the best construction which a liberal interpretation of moral probabilities will allow; but if Sir Robert Peel or Sir James Graham had availed themselves of the licence of opposition to vote against a former official opinion so deliberate, decided, precisely-expressed, and apparently well-considered as the above, all the world would have known what to think of it—there would have been nothing questionable about the matter. Does any man believe that Lord Ashley would have had Lord John Russell's vote on the 18th of March last, if Lord John Russell had been a cabinet minister?

if any, may be the Netherby Baronet's individual interest in the maintenance of this doctrine of the right of landowners to have their debts provided for by act of parliament, and have no disposition to inquire. Nor is it necessary to waste words in discussing the honesty of it. The political morality which protects and patronises the great opulent knave-interest, fitly accompanies the political religion which stands up for the purity and integrity of the Church of England in Ireland. These two are the only net product that we can find of Sir James Graham's political life. After striking out all the inconsistencies and contradictions—balancing and neutralising every *plus* with its correspondent *minus*—these are all that the equation gives us.

It would be scarcely fair to close our estimate of Sir James Graham's political character, without acknowledging that he possesses, in a high degree, many of the qualities of a useful servant of the state. His administrative abilities are, we believe, generally allowed, by those who have the best opportunities of judging, to be of the first class. He is a ready, capable man, both in office and in parliament, with a fine talent for getting through business. He made an excellent First Lord of the Admiralty; and improved the efficiency of the navy while curtailing its expenditure. Although he refused to abolish impressment, he placed two acts on the Statute Book calculated to diminish its necessity and mitigate its practical oppressiveness. Unfortunately for the public, his present share in the ministerial cast of parts is one in which mere administrative dexterity is but a poor set-off against a shabby spirit, a rough temper, and an unscrupulous partisan conscience. As a Home Secretary, Sir James Graham is one of the worst and most dangerous ministers we have had these twenty years. He has done more to poison the fountains of public justice, and undermine, by word and deed, the great securities of public liberty, than any other of our statesmen since the Castlereagh-and-Sidmouth time. One of his first official acts was to pack the borough magistracy with partisans—to make some four hundred new ministers of justice, by way of strengthening the hands of his party.* The plea was, that "Conservative magistrates" were wanted; wanted, not as magistrates, for the better administration of justice, but as Conservatives, to counterbalance the Liberals. The defence was, that the Whigs had done the same; which if they had, they ought to have been, not imitated, but

* See the Debate on Mr Hutt's motion, May 5, 1842.

impeached. Partisanship in every form has always found favour in Sir James Graham's eyes.* It is characteristic

* His deliberate sacrifice of the public interest as connected with the important subject of medical reform ought not to be forgotten. Two years ago it was whispered that Sir James Graham, by virtue of his office of Secretary of State for the Home Department, intended to reform and regulate the medical profession, and in the first instance *to grant a new Charter to the College of Surgeons.* The members of the profession, generally, feeling quite assured that it was injudicious and improper to commence with such a proceeding, and equally convinced that Sir James was not sufficiently aware of the consequences of such a step, as connected with measures of the highest importance to the profession itself and to the public welfare, were exceedingly anxious that the Home Secretary should be adequately informed upon the subject before he proceeded to grant new charters, or to introduce any act of medical legislation; but he refused to see individuals and deputations, or to listen to the representations of any of the medical profession who might fairly be considered to be the most conversant with the facts.

It was true that Mr Warburton's committee had examined some of the physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries residing in the metropolis; but of the ten or twelve thousand medical practitioners residing in the country—not one.

Sir James, necessarily imperfectly informed, proceeded blindly and ignorantly onward; and, in answer to all applications and all offers of information on the subject, replied that the Charter to the Royal College of Surgeons was resolved upon, but that when he presented his Bill for the regulation of the profession generally, he would have no objection to see deputations.

That distinguished physician, Sir James Clark, endeavoured to stay his hand; and addressed to the Home Secretary, through the press, first one Letter, and then a second, pressing on his attention the fact that he was beginning at the wrong end—that a new Charter to the College of Surgeons ought to be one of the results of a well-considered act of parliament, and not preliminary to it. Sir James Clark's just, correct, and enlightened views on the subject, his thorough knowledge of what constituted a wise legislation thereupon, and which had the approbation of the profession generally, were entirely disregarded by the Home Secretary.

Still, the latter was repeatedly applied to by sections of the profession, urging in the most earnest and almost humiliating terms, that he would condescend to see deputations from the country, who would afford him the fullest information on the subject of medical regulation and reform, of the requirements of the profession and the expectations of the public.

The Provincial Medical Association of England and Wales, holding its annual meeting at Leeds, in the beginning of last August, took the subject into consideration.

This association, comprehending at least fifteen hundred members, physicians, surgeons, and general practitioners, and who might fairly be considered as representing all the medical men of South Britain, resolved on appointing a deputation of twenty-five of their body to wait both on Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham, to explain to those ministers the views and expectations of the profession. The former referred the deputation to the latter, as coming more particularly within his province; and the latter declined to see the gentlemen, but replied by letter, as he had done many

of the man, that his first public difference with his Whig colleagues, in 1834, was on the case of a political judge (Baron Smith); whose vehement partisan addresses to grand juries, coupled with alleged gross neglects in the discharge of the ordinary judicial duties, found a prompt and fearless defender in Sir James Graham. We need not recal the particulars of the case then made out for a committee of inquiry; that it was a tolerably strong one may be inferred from the fact that the Irish Secretary (Mr Littleton) conceded the committee, and even Lord Stanley "very frankly and cheerfully gave his assent to the motion." But Sir James Graham sturdily resisted it, and divided against his colleagues, "as one who valued the independence of the judges and his own character." * A still more courageous stand was made for the independence of the judges, last year, in the case of the late Lord Abinger, the "recreant Whig" of 1831. It was proved on the one side, and not questioned on the other, that Lord Abinger had made his jury-charges (both grand and petty) the vehicle of angry political argument, and bitter, criminating insinuation; that he had laboriously prepared his juries to bring in bills and find verdicts against Chartists, by harangues against the points of the Charter—showing how universal suffrage would lead to the destruction of public credit and private property, to American repudiation, agrarian law, and the downfal of monarchy and aristocracy—that the House of Commons would never consent to it, and if they did the House of Lords would not, and if *they* did the Crown would not, "without force or violence"—from which the inference was obvious, that force and violence are Chartism; and finally, lauding the lenity of the Government in not indicting the Chartist "conspiracy" as high treason. In all which judicial indecencies, repeated again and again, Sir James Graham could see not a vestige of indecorum, but only a "faithful and honest discharge of duty,"

months before to similar applications, that the new Charter to the Royal College of Surgeons was decided upon (although it did not receive the royal sanction for more than a month afterwards), but that *before* he introduced his Bill to Parliament (when it would be too late to remedy the mischief he had done) he would have no objection to see the deputation.

The profession, as a whole, have much reason to complain of Sir James Graham, for his contemptuous silence towards them as to his intentions; turning a deaf ear towards all applications from persons likely to afford him correct information; concocting a charter as a preliminary, instead of a consequence of an act of parliament, notwithstanding solicitations conveyed in language most urgent, although, perhaps, almost humiliating; and more especially refusing to see the deputation of eminent men from such a meeting as that at Leeds.

* See the Debate of February 13, 1834.

deserving "not censure, but the highest praise;" he "did not coincide" even in the "opinion that there were indiscreet passages in some of the charges."* Much of the "highest praise" was elicited, probably, by the Judge's bold and startling doctrine on the subject of "unlawful assemblies." At Chester, Lord Abinger "had always thought that a meeting consisting of several thousand persons must, in its very nature, be illegal, because it was absolutely impossible that at such meetings there could be anything like discussion;" a thought which most conveniently agreed with certain kindred thoughts of the Home Secretary, who had, some months previously, constituted the constable judge of the dangerous and "exciting" tendency of language spoken at public meetings, with powers of suppression and dispersion on his own responsibility.† We do not believe that public liberty and its securities have a more unscrupulous and thorough-going enemy in the present generation of British statesmen, than this recreant Whig.

Sir James Graham's personal qualities—of course we only speak of these as manifested in public life—do not present a more agreeable object of contemplation than his political conduct and opinions. He has all the worst faults of our present Premier—the pliancy of principle, the taste for *ad-captandum* parliamentary logic, the dexterity in dressing up cases for the house—without the suavity of temper, the moderation of opinion, and the decorum of language and manner, by which, in Sir Robert Peel, these vices are so often made to show almost like virtues. He lacks the sense of shame. The recklessness with which he attacks the inconsistencies of men infinitely less vulnerable than himself, shows that he does not feel the reprisals which he is continually provoking. Castigation is lost on him. The most stinging parliamentary retorts—and no man gets them oftener, as no man more richly deserves them—evidently do not sting. He is insolent, overbearing, and unmannerly. "How many of them understand the subject?" is his courteous and decorous notice of the memorial of seventy thousand distressed operatives.‡

* Debate on Mr Duncombe's motion, February 21, 1843.

† "I have yet to learn that it is not the duty of a constable, when he sees an assembly tending to a breach of the peace, and hears language used of a most exciting character, to apprehend the parties engaged in the proceedings of such an assembly. If a constable interfered without sufficient cause, he would do so at his own peril."—*Right to hold Public Meetings, July* 25, 1842.

‡ July 26, 1842, on receiving Mr Ashworth and other delegates from the manufacturing districts.

On Mr Ashworth remarking that the labouring classes could not help making their reflections when they saw the landlords' rents increasing while

With Ireland sunk low in miseries that might make any tolerably good-hearted man forbearant and conciliatory, and agitated with discontents that might suggest caution to any ordinarily prudent statesman, he cannot refuse himself the pleasure of a parliamentary fling at the "convicted conspirators." He loves to say hard and bitter things of, to, and at his political opponents, with an especial preference of his old political friends. Witness the peroration of his speech on the Want-of-Confidence motion in 1841:—

"Never was a country cursed with a worse, a more reckless, or a more dangerous Government. The noble lord the Secretary for Ireland talks of 'lubricity:' but, thank God! we have at last pinned you to something out of which you cannot wriggle. And, as we have the melancholy satisfaction to know that there is an end to all things, so I can now say with the noble lord,

"'Dabit Deus his quoque finem.'

"Thank God, we have at last got rid of such a Government as this."*

We do not find this sort of temper in Sir Robert Peel, or Lord John Russell, or Lord Melbourne, or the Duke of Wellington. There are only *two* other leading public men, at present—one in each House of Parliament—who habitually bring spite into their politics.

On the whole, we will not say of the present Administration, that "never was a country cursed with a worse, a more reckless, or a more dangerous government;" for we do not precisely think this; but seldom, we do think, in recent times, has this country been afflicted with a government more fitted—in the

their own condition was deteriorating, Sir James interrupted him with the inquiry, "Whether he was to infer that the labouring classes thought they had some claim to the landlords' estates?"

* May 28, 1841. This coarse and insulting harangue—in which his old friends and coadjutors, with whom he had shared the difficulties, perils, and triumphs of the Reform year, are likened to "desperate tenants" setting fire to premises which they have had notice to quit, and "pirates" blowing up the ship which they are unable to defend—was answered by Serjeant Talfourd, in a speech which had the only demerit of being quite unadapted to the moral perceptions of the mind on which it was meant to act. The recreant Baronet did, however, so far feel it, that he took care, in his after-dinner speech at the Dorchester election, to give his auditors their stupid laugh at "the renowned author of *Ion*."

For a specimen of random imputation of a grave public delinquency, carelessly and slashingly made on erroneous *data*, disingenuously defended after full exposure of its baselessness, and, to the last, not more than half apologised for—see the discussion of April 16th last, on the Whig appointments of stipendiary magistrates in Ireland.

materials of which it is composed, the bigotries and hypocrisies by which it was lifted into power, and the shabby subserviency by which it keeps itself in office without power—to dishonour the national character, lower the national standard of morality, and bring into contempt all notions of public consistency and integrity in public men. It is a government whose existence is a reproach to the age, and in nothing more so than in the position which it assigns to the RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR JAMES GRAHAM.

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ART. II.—*A New Spirit of the Age.* Edited by R. H. Horne. Smith Elder and Co.

A TITLE of large promise. Amidst all that is even now stirring all human things to their deepest depths, the announcement of a yet newer spirit is pregnant with high interest. For it is, after all, the "spirit" which can alone give value to the material. The aspiring, the upward, and the onward, are all encircled in the term spirituality. It is synonymous with progress, with the growth of man from the savage state, with matted hair, projected muzzle, high cheekbones, and prominent eyes, up to the highest forms of human beauty; it is synonymous with the release of man from physical drudgery to mental exercise—his intellect gaining knowledge, and his spirituality teaching him, or impelling him to, its rightful application in the purposes of beneficence.

Through the whole range of human pursuits, we find constant traces of this advancing spirit, more rife at the present than at any former period of the world's history. And the reason for this is obvious. There is a large leisure class who have time to think, who are clothed, fed, and lodged while thinking, with more or less freedom from anxiety, and their thoughts are directed to the processes best adapted for guiding the work of the workers, and shaping it to the most useful ends. The workers have more supervisors over them, and produce better results; they waste less labour. A society of all workers would do little more than realise their own physical consumption. A sailing vessel, with a large crew and no captain, would be lost, with all its power of physical labour. Converted into a steam-moving vessel by the long studies of men of leisure, the drudgery of the mass of the crew is dispensed with, and a very small minority do the work. They are set free to become men of leisure or workers at other

things. All that is greatest in the history of human action has been produced, not by the workers, but by the thinkers. The changes that take place are the result of thoughts of individual minds, practicalised by the more active workers, of greater physical energy. Even law-makers are but rarely statesmen or legislators. The world rarely sees the "spirit" which moves the external agency of a wise and beneficent law. Practical men gain the reputation, the power, the wealth. The "spirit" rests from its work contentedly, unknown, and says, "It is good."

All art, invention—*i. e.* original art—is but the embodiment of "spirit" in some form directly or indirectly useful to man. Art is but the combination or arrangement of natural principles to produce new results; and the organization of bodies of men or bodies of matter are, in all cases, operations of the "spirit." The art by which Michael Angeló found the statue in the marble block, and the art by which Oliver Cromwell found a cavalry regiment in a rude mass of men and horses, were alike operations of the "spirit." The spirit of Watt could discern the form of the steam-engine in the metallic ore, with the dim vista of countless thousands of human beings set free from drudgery in the hewing of wood and the drawing of water; and the spirit of Arkwright beheld the forms of various kinds of matter combining into a mill for grinding out clothing by miles. These men put forth their "spirit" in actual forms to the cognizance of the world. Other spirits, as Homer and Shakspeare, gave their creations to the world in written descriptions; their ideal embodied their actual. Michael Angelo, Oliver Cromwell, Watt, and Arkwright, actualised their ideal. But there it is, the selfsame "spirit" in all, making itself obvious to man's apprehension in one or other of the various modes by which man holds converse with his fellows, of greater or lesser significance.

What, then, is there *new* in the spirit of the present age? Development has mightily increased, but we can discern no change in the quality. Wisdom is but wisdom now, as it was in the earliest ages. The spirit of benevolence existed from the time that the first man possessed more provisions than he could eat. The benevolence grew in proportion as wants were supplied, and its retardation has been caused only by the wants outgrowing the supply. The aristocratic Greeks of old could be benevolent to each other; but the slaves of the mill who ground corn for their bread, they regarded only as lower animals. Benevolence in the present day has greatly increased, because intellect, discovering steam, has diminished wants, and the spirit of man speaks out more freely.

The title of this book is a manifest misnomer, of unphilo-

sophic construction—a title indicative of the *littérateur* spirit which so commonly sacrifices meaning for the purpose of catching the eye and ear—a bookselling title, not conveying the spirit of the book itself. We turn to the preface, to enable ourselves to correct the defect of the title.

It appears that Mr Horne, thinking Hazlitt's 'Spirit of the Age' nearly obsolete by the lapse of twenty years, wishes to make the public aware of the peculiarities of—

"A new set of men, several of them animated by a new spirit, who have obtained eminent positions in the public mind, the selection not being made from those already 'crowned' and their claims settled, but almost entirely from those who are in progress and midway of fame.

"The selection therefore which it has been thought most advisable to adopt, has been the names of those most eminent in general literature, and representing most extensively the spirit of the age, and the names of two individuals, who in this work represent those philanthropic principles now influencing the minds and moral feelings of all the first intellects of the time."

Further on, Mr Horne professes his intention at some future period to make the present work complete—if the sale be good—by adding to it, 'The Political Spirit of the Age,' 'The Scientific Spirit of the Age,' 'The Artistical Spirit of the Age,' 'The Historical, Biographical, and Critical Spirit of the Age,' and 'The Educational Spirit of the Age.' That is to say, the preface negatives the title, by showing that the book is not the spirit of the age, but a selection of certain literary men whom Mr Horne considers "the most eminent in general literature," and "two individuals of philanthropic principles," whose "claims" he proceeds to "settle," for the purpose of "crowning" them. The promised 'New Spirit' we must look further for. The 'Spirit of the Age' turns out to be, not the general progress of man on the globe we inhabit, not even the spirit of Europe, but the spirit of a very small class of men in a very small corner of Europe, and that not in "general literature," but in particular literature, chiefly confined to poetry and fiction, with a considerable infusion of the drama.

Mr Horne, claiming to be "an author of the last ten or fifteen years," assumes the capacity to sit in judgment, and pass sentence on contemporary writers. The structure of the mind which assumes to do this, is a proper subject for inquiry; for it must be a mind of no light capacity to be capable of weighing and looking through so many minds, to discover the spirit within them. Such a mind is in itself a great spirit of the age, and we are disposed to welcome its advent in a reverential mood. Such a mind would not enter on its task

without due knowledge added to intuitive judgment. Knowing that men of even the highest powers are subjected to the occasional trammels of the mechanical routine of the bookselling trade, we may assume that the philosophical perceptions of the editor were overruled by the title-making propensity of the bookseller, and acquit him of any intention of misleading.

Had the work been anonymous, we must have been content to form our estimate of the capabilities of the writer from its internal evidence. But we have a catalogue of works bearing the name of Mr Horne—*prima facie* evidence of an industrious writer—and abundant material to test his general capacity as a spirit of the age, and also of his fitness for estimating the spirits of the age. His first acknowledged work, published in 1833, was entitled 'Exposition of the False Medium and Barriers excluding Men of Genius from the Public.' Subsequently he became editor of a periodical, 'The Monthly Repository.' In 1837 he published 'Cosmo de' Medici, an Historical Tragedy.' In the same year he put forth the 'Death of Marlowe, a Tragedy in One Act.' In 1840 appeared 'Gregory the Seventh, a Tragedy.' Subsequently he edited a publication in monthly numbers, entitled 'The Life of Napoleon;' and in 1843 appeared an epic, entitled 'Orion.' In his preface to the 'Spirit of the Age,' Mr Horne states that during the last seven or eight years he has "contributed to several quarterly journals," probably to monthlies also. In addition, he has published a report of his proceedings as a factory commissioner, and was an occasional lecturer at the meetings of the Syncretic Association,* of which he was a zealous member. He has also edited an edition of Chaucer. There can, therefore, be no doubt that he is a ready and industrious writer.

The first work, which, for the sake of brevity, we shall call the 'False Medium,' is dedicated "to Edward Lytton Bulwer, a patriot and a man of genius." As Mr Bulwer was at that time well known to the public, it is evident that he had found some means of thrusting aside the 'False Medium.' The "exordium" in this work is—

> "A common stone meets with more ready patronage than a man of genius."

That is to say, the stone being placed in a cabinet, as a specimen, by some one who selects it from a heap of other stones, it

* An association composed of unacted dramatists and others, impressed with the idea that they were unfairly treated by managers of theatres and others. One result of this association was the production of a rejected tragedy, 'Martinuzzi,' at the Lyceum, where it was received by the public in a manner to confirm the judgment of the managers who had rejected it.

is taken care of, whereas no one takes care of a man of genius, and Mr Horne gives instances of men of genius, "poets and philosophers," from Homer down to Camoens, who have been buffeted about the world during their whole lives, and only valued after their deaths. "Authors in general," from Demosthenes down to some individual not specified by name, have been an ill-used race; imprisoned when possessing property, and starved when possessing none. Sir R. P—— is accused of neglecting an author, scholar, and man of science, who had been of much service to him, so that "his wife is obliged to wash in one room while he translates Greek in another."

Now we object at the outset to a man of genius being made a dependent on "ready patronage." A man of talents may be subservient to those who require his talents, but a man of genius must be essentially original. He is a guide and not a servant; he points out new paths of excellence, unrecognised at the outset by any one but himself, and to appreciate which, in some cases, even the few require years of instruction, and the many require centuries. If he were not in advance of his time, he would not be a man of genius. We speak now of the genius for great things, the genius which elevates. To expect that people should rush in crowds, to worship that which they neither recognise nor comprehend, is an absurdity; to expect that they should pay for it in ready coin, is a conclusion that no man of great genius ever dreamed of. People do not pay for being taught anything, but what they can take to market and sell or exchange away to advantage, or such accomplishments as may tend to personal influence. They will pay to be taught to dance, or sing, or work, in order that they may be enabled to sing, or dance, or work, for gain; but they will not pay to be taught philosophy. People will also pay to be pleased, and those who have pleasure to sell, find a ready market. A man or woman may have a talent for dancing, for singing, and working, in modes which people like, but if a man or woman has a genius for inventing new dances, or songs, or work, of an intrinsically superior kind, but which people have not been accustomed to, the genius must be contented to turn instructor without pay till the new art is rendered popular. Genius varies in its quality. One man originates a new philosophy; another originates a new mode of cheapening pleasure. One will get pupils by units, the other gets customers by thousands. But were the originator of the new philosophy to complain that he could not sell his philosophy for current coin, we should be apt to suspect him of false philosophy, and tell him he had mistaken his genius. The popular thing is the paying thing; the widest popularity is amongst the masses; and

the greater the refinement, the less is the popularity. It is the essence of high genius to be in advance of its age. The genius of the Greek tragic poets was not in advance of their age. They had cultivated audiences to whom they presented the highest intellectual excitement of the time, but we doubt whether their popularity was great with the masses of uncultivated slaves.

"Dramatic Authors," Mr Horne asserts, are as ill-used as all other authors, and but for the "barriers and false medium," the author of 'Paul Clifford' could produce a sterling comedy, in which the philosophy, wit, and humour could only be surpassed by its sound and beneficial moral tendency. Yet Mr Horne would seem to set little value on the moral principle. Speaking of Edmund Kean, he says—

"They (certain tragedies) contain some of the elementary principles of tragedy which *he* (Kean) only can feel and portray."

And in a note he remarks—

"The great tragedian is no more; but he can never be dead so long as those live who have once awoke from ordinary existence to appreciate him. A deep continuous feeling is worth all your tombs; for no capricious *moral* multitude can destroy or even disturb its sacred isolature."

Edmund Kean is a most unfortunate instance for Mr Horne to have chosen. There is no doubt he possessed genius of a peculiar kind. There is no doubt that by personal energy he broke through all false mediums; and there is no doubt that he was very highly paid for his services, by a public to whom his peculiar genius gave great excitement. Unfortunately also, there is no doubt that his personal character was rather that of a savage than of a civilised man. He was one to gaze on, but not to associate with. His stage powers were all that he gave to the public in return for their recognition and large pecuniary payment. The "*moral* multitude" are assuredly rather hardly dealt with by Mr Horne.

Composers and Musicians, Actors and Singers, all are alike ill-treated. "Mrs Jordan with a paltry salary of four pounds per week." Claiming to be a man of genius, Mr Horne has a strange propensity to try things by money value. "Pasta furnished with old clothes by the wardrobe women;" "Miss O'Neill brought out at a low salary, the owlish managers doubting her success."

Novelists, Painters, and Sculptors, fare no better. Men of Science, Original Projectors, and Inventors, still worse.

In treating of the causes of all this, Mr Horne remarks:—

"Napoleon was the greatest patron of genius and art in every possible class that ever lived. Those only who are conscious of

superiority in themselves, apart from their station, who possess copiousness of intellect and power to do or suffer, can be above all petty jealousies and fears, and thus fit to govern others." "Shakspeare was treated by Elizabeth as an amusing playwright; and as he never meddled with 'public spirit' or politics, she suffered him to continue his labours unmolested."

We incline to think that Napoleon's patronage of any genius adverse to himself is far from a proved case. He patronized *talents* that were useful to him. The genius of Carnot never succumbed, and was never forgiven.

Mr Horne seems quite unable to comprehend that the genius of Shakspeare was above queen or court. He would have had him made a duke at least, as a recompense for his writings. And a pension of course, though of pecuniary gains the great man had probably enough for his wishes.

The evil of men of genius who write books, is, according to Mr Horne, the "false medium" employed by booksellers, in the shape of a "Reader," who peruses MSS. offered for publication, who never judges rightly of the merit of a work; who invariably rejects all works of genius, and only accepts or approves of the very worst. This reader is always either "a fool or a knave," and, "in either case, the author is the victim." Unmeasured terms of abuse are heaped on this "reader"—on all "readers."

"He lords it dogmatically over the gin-and-bitter coteries he can bear down and impress with an idea of his knowledge, acute judgment, and literary importance. In the society of capable men over their brandy punch, he is still as a mouse."

The Dramatic Reader at the theatres is even worse, so bad, that Mr Horne is surprised none of the ill-used authors have burned down the patent theatres.

"No man who does write poetry can ever think of doing us anything but verbal mischief."

Such Mr Horne affirms to be the opinion of dramatic readers, but he adds—

"Our idea of a tragic writer, exasperated by wrongs and want, is not quite so harmless; we are glad, however, of their escape."

It does not appear that Mr Horne proposes that any one but the writer should sit in judgment on his own compositions, or at least—

"Few of mankind are prepared to relish the beautiful with that enlarged taste which comprehends all the forms of feeling which genius may assume—forms which may be necessarily associated with defects."

This is very like pointing out, that genius must necessarily be its own rewarder, the many not comprehending it.

The "remedy" for all these evils, Mr Horne states to be—

"The foundation of a 'Society of English Literature and Art for the encouragement and permanent support of men of superior ability in all departments of human genius and knowledge.' * * * The permanent advantages to be derived by those whose claims are recognised by the establishment should be realised by annuities for life, from 300*l*. downwards. * * * this not to extend to gentlemen who write novels and poems for which they ought to be hung."

When a man has written a fine epic and obtained the 300*l*. a-year for life,

"He has done enough; would you have a man write epics, and keep him at it, like a wheelwright with a government order?" * * * Again, the producer of a powerful tragedy would only be entitled to an annuity of 100*l*., not that we do not consider such a tragedy as great an effect of human genius as the finest epic, but because there is a manifest difference in the time and labour employed, and also that a tragic author thus brought with his due honours before the public would have a great chance of emolument from the stage, whose gradual improvement would be a necessary consequence."

We pause to extract one more sentence from this 'False Medium.'

"He (Tonson) was the real Milton—he had got all the money" (from the sale of 'Paradise Lost'). Tonson and his nephew died worth 200,000*l*."

We now turn to the 'New Spirit of the Age,' and find the following assertion.

"That in the pure element of dramatic composition, they (the unacted dramatists) also consider themselves worthy to be ranked with some of the dramatists of a nobler era, is undoubtedly true—and one of them has been heard to set at nought the scoffs of his time, by claiming to rank in the pure elements of tragedy, with the dramatists of the Greek or Elizabethan ages."

In a note we are informed that this claimant is Mr Horne himself, the author of 'Cosmo de' Medici,' and 'Gregory the Seventh.'

The plot of Cosmo is briefly as follows: Cosmo, a patron of art, who gives livings and employments to scholars and artists, and professes a love for justice above all other things, has two sons, the elder, Giovanni, a student, described as of most sweet disposition; the younger, Garcia, given to hunting. These two brothers much dislike one another, and the elder exhibits his sweet disposition by constantly scolding the younger. By way

of producing an attachment between them, their mother persuades the elder to join a hunting party with the younger. In the forest they quarrel as to which had slain a boar. Somehow this quarrel changes into a dispute about a young lady, and they draw and fight. Garcia, the younger, breaks his sword in half, but yet contrives to kill his brother, whose body he leaves on the spot. A courtier finds the body, and the broken sword point, which he conveys to Cosmo, informing him that Giovanni's sword was "unsheathed and stained as though he had fought." Cosmo, nevertheless, asserts that he has been "murdered," and suspects that Garcia knows of it. By way of making sure, he has the dead body placed in an alcove, with a curtain before it. Garcia is ushered in, and Cosmo, after charging him with the murder of his brother, draws the curtain, shows the body, when Garcia says, "I did it;" but adds, "it was in self-defence." Cosmo insists that the blood is flowing afresh at sight of the murderer, but Garcia asserts that it is congealed, and very naturally appeals to his father "not to harrow his senses till he owns what is not." But the just Cosmo will hear nothing, draws forth "Garcia's broken sword," raises it to heaven, and says—

> "Thou constant God! sanction, impel, direct
> The sword of Justice! and for a criminal son
> That pardon grant, which his most wretched father
> Thus in the hour of agony implores!"

Subsequently we are informed that, with his own hand, and of course with this broken sword, the father has taken his son's life, soon after which an eye-witness informs him that Garcia slew his brother in self-defence.

Throughout this play the sympathy goes only with Garcia, ill-used on all sides. The man of justice should also be a man of judgment to weigh evidence, and of stern purpose to act only on evidence. The evidence was in favour of Garcia. His sword was broken, and Giovanni's was "unsheathed and stained, as though he had fought." A father, with a heart, would have left no means untried to prove his remaining son innocent, but Cosmo leaves no means untried to wrest evidence and prove him guilty. It is an inquisitor, not a father, nor a minister of justice, who is before us, and with an inquisitor we can have no sympathy. A father, butchering a son with a broken sword, is horror, bordering on the ludicrous.

There are several prose scenes in this play, we presume, intended for humour; they are, indeed, "heavy lightness." There is also a philosophic sculptor to whom Cosmo gives an order for a

monument after the deaths of his sons, as "life-sized figures," of his whole family. The philosophical Passato reasons thus:—

> "The duke is great and generous; yet methinks
> It ill suits greatness in philosophy,
> Because his kin have sought their natural rest
> Some seasons prematurely, thus to rave?
> I will return to mine obscurity,
> To stand upon some cliff that goat ne'er hoofed.
> * * * *
> Companion shadows and commune with Time."

Scattered through this play there are passages of great poetic sweetness. In power of depicting character, and as a work of art, it is a failure.

With 'Gregory the Seventh' we neither make nor meddle. 'The Death of Marlowe' unquestionably bears considerable resemblance to certain writers of the age of Elizabeth. There is much passion in it, but it merely excites, it does not call for sympathy. It rather reminds us of the tragedies of mad Nat Lee, but it has life about it, which 'Cosmo' has not.

By his own acknowledgment Mr Horne considers himself equal to "the dramatists of the Greek or Elizabethan ages," in the production of these "powerful tragedies," and entitled to "a permanent annuity of 200*l.* and upwards, with a further chance of emolument from the stage." His epic, 'Orion,' which contains much pleasing descriptive poetry, and which was originally sold for one farthing per copy, indicating a genius for original advertising, is, we presume, entitled in his estimation to the permanent annuity of 300*l.*, so that he has already done enough to entitle him to a handsome retiring income, when the "Society of English Literature and Art" shall be in full operation. To wish he may get it would be an easy matter, if we could satisfy ourselves that he deserved it.

After a careful examination, we come to the conclusion that he does not possess the high mind that is ever the attribute of lofty genius. He does not value genius for itself alone, but for what it will fetch in the market. "Permanent annuities, due honours, further chances of emolument," are the sordid rewards he contemplates, and these off-hand, without loss of time, in order that authors, like clergymen, may enter on immediate enjoyment of their benefices. All men of genius, he says, are ill-used, all the public are fools, and those who profit are part and parcel of the 'False Medium.' He is himself, he considers, ill-used, and, of course, he is disappointed. His tragedies have not been acted, and his epic has been sold for a farthing. Such

a mind is not in harmony, and cannot be fitted to sit in judgment on the spirits of the age—is unfitted even to distinguish them. A man of talent—a man of industry, Mr Horne is, but assuredly not a man of genius, nor a philosopher. We have not seen his Factory Report, but we should expect to find it a medium of considerable prejudice, inseparable from the mind of the writer. A well-appointed home, reputable clothing, and proper breakfasts, dinners, teas, and suppers are evidently essentials to induce in him a quiet mind, and, moreover, "due honours," but we doubt whether even in such a case, a preponderance of self-esteem would not defeat all previous preparations. A tragic writer who can talk of the "burning down a theatre" as a means of redressing "wrongs and want," cannot well be a dispassionate judge.

A man of genius, capable of great things, and of estimating the 'Spirits of the Age,' must, according to our notion, be a very different person. Genius, *i. e.* the power of creation, we take to be an emanation of the "divinity that shapes our ends," and can no more work for hire than God himself could in the creation of the world. Great genius is ever in advance of its time, and can no more be appreciated by its contemporaries, than God's creation could be appreciated by the megatherian and ichthyosaurian tribes who inhabited the world prior to the advent of man. Genius is a prophet where "out of the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh." Genius works for the gain of its disciples, not for its own. It works to advance others, not to glorify itself. The earthly body it inhabits, needs "meat, clothes, and fire," or in lieu of the latter a genial climate. Deprived of these things it cannot work, but it needs only the essential, not the adventitious. It does not need a "respectable" income, nor a lodging in May Fair; it needs neither costly clothing, nor modish association, neither sumptuous fare nor costly wines; it needs not even "due honours." The blind men of genius, Homer and Milton, could have recked little of externals, while they poured forth the spirit from within. And in a very humble residence was the genius of Richter developed. There is one thing only which can reward genius—the sympathy of appreciating spirits. Beyond this, indifferent to the man of high genius are all externals; "homely fare and hodden gray," are as good as turtle and velvet. We can conceive a man of genius in this our modern England, dwelling in an union workhouse, clothed in workhouse garb, and fed on workhouse food, teaching, perhaps, the A B C to workhouse children as a quittance for his meat, clothes, and fire, furnished with spare leaves of account books as a reward for diligence, and per-

mitted to sit by the kitchen embers in the still night, and even thus producing works despised by existing publishers and an existing public, and destined to be hailed by future men as the gift of a great benefactor. We know of one earnest man, not of genius, but a devoted linguist, who saved his lodging by lying on the bare floor of empty houses, to take care of them while wanting tenants—earning his food by copying MSS. Not being enough "man of the world" for this lodging work, he was obliged to seek his nightly rest by the sheltered sides of brick-kilns, and a few occasional pence by singing at low public-houses, and with these appliances he actually accomplished the publication of the two first numbers of a Dictionary on a new system. At one time this man had an income of five pounds per week for teaching languages, but he was shouldered out of employment by people of greater energy than himself.

Let it not be alleged that a man of genius requires a library and appliances. The man of original genius is not essentially a man of cultivated art. Homer was not a student of books. Earth, sea, and sky, and all on and in them were his themes, and out of his own soul he spoke or sung; and if it be asserted that in this our England men of genius need the appliances of art, there are the museum and library called the "British," to which garreteer or cellar-dweller may alike obtain access, though they be clothed in frieze, baize, or sackcloth; there are the eternal realities of men and women, and streets, houses, churches, and parks, and the never-ending river, carrying bodies, souls, and imaginations over the watery highway to the furthermost parts of the earth, and there is ever work to be done of the task kind, for him who earnestly seeks it, to supply the body's bare necessities. A judge, of repute in the United States, obliged to live in a city while attending in the courts without any practice, and with only a supply of money for a given period, at the rate of a few cents per day, hired a garret, for which he paid the whole term in advance, and laid out the remainder of his money in sea biscuit, which he himself wheeled home in a borrowed barrow, and stored up in his garret, and on that and water he subsisted for many months, while pursuing his studies. And this in a city where the commonest mechanic ate three meals of meat per diem.

Genius is essentially unconscious. Artists, when mere imitators of genius, are self-conscious, and hence the petty squabbles amongst "men and women of talent," poetasters, dramatizers, actors, and musicians, who make their art a trade; for "two of a trade can never agree."

Mr Horne has done rashly in taking up Hazlitt's ill-chosen title, and trying to enlarge upon it. The 'Spirit of

the Age,' if meant to express any particular kind of spirit, should express the general predominating spirit of the world as to some particular branch of progress. In this view it is an entire failure, for the prominent characteristic of the present age is physical progress, *i. e.* progress in all arts tending to diminish human drudgery, and ultimately to extinguish it—arts, also, tending to enlarge the sphere of human pleasures. In the petty spirit of caste, Mr Horne, a professional writer, deems that written books are of more importance than things; that writers of things are greater men than the doers of things. It is true that contemplation must be the creator of great action, but it may print the results of its thoughts as indelibly on things and events as on paper.

In this view the strong Saxon spirit of George Stephenson, the "Hengist of Railways," is a spirit of the age that has written a work whereon those who ride may read glad tidings of man's rescue from the bondage and thraldom of ignorance; of his power of unison with his fellows for the purpose of conquering and civilising the earth, reclaiming its swamps and morasses, and adding to its beauties. Prometheus, in the elder mythus, brought fire from heaven to earth for man's uses. George Stephenson may be the hero of some future mythus, which will tell how he harnessed fire to chariots of iron, which became swifter than the winds of heaven. Isambart Kingdon Brunel is a spirit of the age that would not be content with the work of George Stephenson, but made a yet greater work in advance of the spirit of his age, refusing to submit to the set patterns even of the great originator. David Napier, the restless planner of steam-boat after steam-boat, each swifter than the last, and the planner of the great Bristol iron steamer, are spirits of the age. Clegg, of the railway air traction,—the rope of wound-off-wind; Smith, of Deanston, the physician of diseased land; Liebig, the multiplier of human food by chemic science, are all spirits of the age. Marshall, of Leeds, the greatest of the "captains of industry," he who spins flax for half the world, and when profits become too large, voluntarily cuts them down, and "builds another mill" to keep up his annual revenues—he who works to underwork cotton cloth and replace it by cloth of linen; he, too, is a spirit of the age.

"Men, my brothers, men, the workers; ever reaping something new:
That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do."

Colonel Thompson, the apostle of free trade, and Cobden, its practical and indomitable champion; O'Connell, the last repre-

sentative of clan-leadership, using his power to bond together a nation of disunited Celts; and Wakefield, the orginator of systematic colonization,—all are spirits of the physical progress of the age. Faraday is the representative of the power which, in all ages, has sought to gather nature's secrets for man's uses, and Rothschild is the representative of the great power-accumulators of the world, the hoarded labour of mankind, ever on the increase, till at last it shall grow to a surplus, when men will rest from their work, and say "it is good." Many a weary day is before us, before we attain that desirable end, but the time will come.

Roebuck,—the watch-dog of the people,—the most fearless advocate in the House of Commons of public as opposed to mere party objects; Lovett, the true-souled Lovett, the champion of education for his fellow-men, the working classes; the two Chamberses, of Edinburgh, whose genius has achieved the task of popularising knowledge at the cheapest rate,—all are samples of that spirit of the age, which says the soul of man shall not die within him for want of culture.

But taken merely on the limited plan proposed by Mr Horne, of names generally known in literature, the 'New Spirit of the Age' is miserably defective. Is Mr Horne ignorant of the existence of John Stewart Mill, author of 'A System of Logic,' perhaps the highest effort of intellect modern literature has produced?

Where has he been wandering; on what Welsh mountain or in what distant valley has he been residing, that the name of W. J. Fox has never rung upon his ear, other than as a theologist?—a name so well known to the public by his sermons on Christian Morality; by his numerous articles in the higher class of periodicals; by the finest dramatic criticisms extant. A name that stirs the blood of every public audience where he appears, and calls forth responsive shouts; a name that stills even Chartist opposition at free-trade meetings. Well has he been named by Elliott, of Sheffield, the "Orator-bard." He almost speaks in rhythm, his words are music, reason becomes poetry, hearts thrill, eyes glisten, brains work, souls gush and mingle, the orator becomes a prophet, and one universal echo proclaims one universal mind. Where has this Mr Horne been buried not to have heard of this "spirit of the age," who with unpremeditated harangues steals into men's hearts, as surely as the Greek orators of old did, with their prepared and finished orations? Mr Horne seems to be totally unaware that W. J. Fox has been heard of out of the pulpit. This is clear from his only alluding to him as a theo-

logist. This ignorance might be pardonable as a result of a residence distant from the metropolis, but it was the business of one taking on himself the task of pointing out the 'Spirits of the Age,' to visit the metropolis, if necessary, to fit himself, at least, for his nomenclature, if his publishers failed to supply the necessary materials.

And even Elliott, of Sheffield, the poet of the people, the Corn-law Rhymer, a man known, we apprehend, from Pentland Firth to the Lizard, a genuine poet, and one who, albeit a Radical, found praise even from 'Blackwood;' whom Southey greeted from his inn at Sheffield "to shake hands with a brother poet," even Elliott, of Sheffield, is excluded from Mr Horne's collection. Is this with purpose aforethought, or is it gross negligence? A 'Spirit of the Age' editor leaving out one of the most popular poets!

And where is Mrs Austin, an original spirit also; an assimilating spirit, one who, thoroughly metempsychosising with the German mind, can render it into pure English, and make the English mind an abiding place for German thoughts? A true woman, with all a woman's gentleness, yet a free denizen of the great European republic of letters, not unlike the Madame Roland, of the French revolution, placed in a new sphere to teach mankind the uses of Liberty, in harmonising clashing opinions; teaching them to speak with one tongue, and no longer "commit crimes in the name of Liberty." And Mrs Somerville, the lady of science, the queen of the starry heavens, one of the few minds that can compass Laplace, a mind so lofty yet so gentle and humble, as if unconscious of her own attainments? Have not the names of these writers penetrated the asylum of the editor?

Professor Wilson, who has for many years stirred friend and foe with his untiring pen, might surely have been glanced at. And Peacock, the novelist, who, had he written nothing but 'Maid Marian,' would have carried his name down the stream of time to distant ages, by showing how well his own spirit could enter into the spirit of past ages. The blood thrills, and the heart leaps into companionship with such a spirit of high genial humanity.

And the 'Times' newspaper has, moreover, grown to be a spirit of the age, albeit Mr Horne sees it not. It has its crotchets, and its hobbies, and its party predilections, the influence of which on the public mind is sometimes to be deplored, but may always be felt. Once it was a very weathercock, but it has now fixed itself to point straightforward at certain

things, which, if not things of the best kind, are yet earnestly advocated. It sees that man cannot live by bread alone, though it has ever urged, and still urges at times, and never denies, that cheap corn and bread is a most desirable conclusion. Of O'Connell it dreams that he is not a mere warm-blooded feudal chieftain over Celtic tribes, but a veritable antichrist. It believes that the poor law is a thing of unmixed evil, only operative to the detriment of the deserving poor, and refuses to discern that it does operate also to stop what might be a fearful leak in the growth of national independence. But in the course of nature O'Connell cannot live for ever, and free trade sooner or later will remove for the most part the causes of poverty; the really unfortunate poor will then be better distinguished as the crowd lessens, and these two circumstances removed, the 'Times,' we may hope, will forget its controversies, and strive more and more to make itself a power amongst the people, for the welfare of the people, and not for the purposes of party. In these latter days the genius of a 'Times' reporter constituted the 'Times' a legislator to put down a Welsh rebellion.

Nor should Edwin Chadwick be forgotten, the vizier of the "three kings of Somerset House," whose reports on many subjects connected with the welfare of the great mass of the people alone form a valuable statistical library. He has been one of the most valuable "spirits of the age." Bene*volent*, bene*scient*, and in virtue of these two qualities bene*ficent*, he has dared to do the right thing, though the unpopular thing. He has braved odium, and disregarded obloquy and cant. To become popular is an easy thing; to do unpopular justice requires a man. Satisfied that crime is the result of poverty and mal-administration—that poverty is greatly the result of ignorance—that general education is the cure for ignorance—there is no warmer advocate of the rights and real interests of the poor than Edwin Chadwick. But, knowing also that it is impossible to accomplish the mental instruction of the physically wretched, he sought to secure for those classes of the community who do the work, and pay the taxes of the community, the largest possible share of their own earnings, abstracting as little as possible from them for the maintenance of the non-workers. For it is an unquestionable fact, that all those of the community who do not work, must in some shape or other be maintained by those who do work. To say that he did not strike "palaced paupers" off the pension list, is only saying that he accomplished no more than he was able. Palace, or hovel pauper, would have been alike to his equal justice; but there's a government that doth so

hedge in and protect "palace paupers" that justice cannot reach them. There was one broad principle to look at—the pauper system was encroaching on capital, and in a mercantile country, not to advance is to recede. The food of the community was not enough for all,—the mouths were in excess,—the ship must have her crew put on shorter allowance, and the working crew were, in all justice as well as policy, entitled to full rations, while the invalids were put on half allowance. To have put the invalids on full allowance, while the working crew were reduced, would have been offering a premium to the workers to invalid themselves. To have given full rations and conveniences to the workhouse inmates would have been monstrous injustice to the hard workers out of the workhouse.

The pseudo-benevolent haranguers, who have talked so volubly of philanthropy and charity to the workhouse poor, and out-door relief, have utterly mistaken the matter. They have been generously disposed, not at their own expense, but at the expense of the working classes of England; for we defy them to show any mode of obtaining contributions to the poor rates, except through the work of the workers. The whole food of England has to be produced by the agency of the brains and arms of the workers, whether from English or foreign soil. This total amount has to be divided amongst the whole population in larger and smaller shares, and it must be obvious to the shallowest capacity, that if the whole of the workers ceased to work, there would be no food to divide; and it must follow, as the night the day, that the greater the number of the supernumeraries who do not work, the harder must be the work of the workers, in order to maintain them. Therefore the charitable gentlemen who are non-workers, and cry out lustily for full rations and out-door allowances to paupers or poor non-workers, are, with very great ease to themselves, calling upon the workers to work harder than before. And when, as it frequently happens, these very charitable gentlemen are the advocates of artificial high prices for provisions, in the form of corn laws—that is to say, when they seek to diminish the total amount of food—our indignation at their injustice is only restrained by our contempt for their pauper-like ignorance.

Years hence, when the biography of Edwin Chadwick shall be written—when the results of his labours, known and unknown, shall be gathered together—when trade and food shall be free, and paupers be no more—when it shall be known how many are the wise measures and changes of which he has been the secret mover, stirred by the desire of man's good, and leaving to others the ostensibility and the repute—he will serve for one more

example of the truth, that a high and original mind works for the service of humanity, but not for its thanks. And a future time will recognise him as a true and genuine spirit of his age, who has left his permanent mark behind him.

Having thus briefly attempted to show what Mr Horne ought to have done, and has failed to do, we turn to the examination of what he has done.

First on the list, as the great spirit of the age, appears Mr Charles Dickens. A parallel is drawn between him and Hogarth upon the following ground:—

"Both of them have a direct moral purpose in view—a desire to ameliorate the condition of the poorer classes, by showing what society has made of them or allowed them to become, and to continue."

We doubt this. In Hogarth's 'Good and Bad Apprentices,' we have both of them put upon equal terms by society. The contrast of their fates grow out of a presumed innate goodness on one side and badness on the other. In the story of 'Good Tommy and Naughty Harry,' which is a version of the same thing, Good Tommy came to be lord mayor, and Naughty Harry was eaten up by a wild beast. It forms one of the lessons in one of the old spelling books.

The secret of Dickens's success doubtless is, that he is a man with a heart in his bosom; and as most men and women—though not all—have hearts, a sympathy is created which predisposes liking. He has also a strong perception of all the commoner class of excitements—the murderous, the malignant, and the ludicrous. A very large portion of the common people are susceptible of the former; people of all classes are susceptible of the latter. With all this, he has the eye of a Dutch and also of an Italian artist for all external effects. A street, a dwelling, a rural scene, and the human beings therein, are so painted to the life, and doubtless from the life, that no one who has ever seen them can doubt the resemblance. And all people like to behold portraits of things and persons familiar to them. Mrs Keeley was excessively popular amongst the artizans, on account of the skilful mode in which she handled Jack Sheppard's jack-plane. But Dickens has, beyond this, a strong perception of physical beauty, and also of the beauty of generosity, not merely the hackney-coachman kind of generosity—the shilling giving—but generosity in the large sense—the love of kind, the unselfish attachment of man to man, and of man to men, and also of men to man; the protection of the poor by the rich, of the helpless by the powerful, and of the kindly gratitude thence arising. But with all this, he is not an imaginative writer, he is not a philosophical

writer; he pleases the sensation, but he does not satisfy the reason; he pleases and amuses, but he does not instruct; there is a want of base, of breadth, and of truth; and therefore, though he is probably the most widely-popular writer, he is not a great writer. The great elementary truths on which man's physical well-being, and consequently his mental well-being, must depend, he apparently has not mastered; and the pleasure we feel in reading his works is akin to the pleasure we feel in reading any other work of fiction—the pleasure of fine description and sympathy with human adventure. The impression which his works leave on the mind is like that with which we rise from the perusal of the 'Fool of Quality'—that all social evils are to be redressed by kindness and money given to the poor by the rich. This, doubtless, is something essential; but it is only a small part of the case. The poor require justice, not charity, *i. e.* almsgiving. Charity is a word of large import. The necessity for almsgiving implies previous misery. Destroy the misery by earnest care in the early training of men and women, the disease will be eradicated, and the symptom-soothing process of charity, *i. e.* almsgiving, will not be needed.

In most of Dickens's works there is to be found some old gentleman with surplus cash going about redressing the evils which some other old or young gentleman goes about perpetrating. It is the principle of the proceedings of Harlequin and Pantaloon. Thus the Brothers Cheeryble are the incarnation of the good principle, and Ralph Nickleby of the evil principle; and the good principle is made to triumph. Nickleby Junior comes to his fortune, which his wicked uncle has kept him out of, and Miss Nickleby is respectably married. Most excellent people are those same mill-owning Brothers Cheeryble; but we cannot help reflecting on the position of the mass of workmen whose labours have accumulated their capital. We do not object to the help given to the Nicklebys, but we think justice is the most essential part of generosity. Justice being done in early training, Ralph Nickleby would not have been enabled to accomplish his evil deeds, and the almsgiving of the Brothers Cheeryble would not have been needed.

So in 'Oliver Twist,' Mr Brownlow is the good fairy who thwarts the evil one, and Oliver Twist is finally made happy. Pickwick, too, is a benevolent old gentleman with abundant ready cash, who treats the poor prisoners in the Fleet, as the uncle of Henry Moreland does in the 'Fool of Quality'—pays away his surplus cash to palliate the pressing wants of a few amongst a huge class who suffer under the radical evils of bad

legislation. A strong contrast to this "good fairy" system is found in Bulwer's 'Paul Clifford.' The unfortunate, ill-trained child, who has grown up to be a highwayman, finds no old gentleman to give him a fortune. By indomitable energy, he escapes from the punishment awarded to his ignorant acts, to a "great country where shoes are imperfectly polished and opinions are not persecuted" (by the state), and there he makes himself a home by the force of his own powers. He becomes useful to his fellowmen and accumulates wealth, wherewith he repays the owners of the property he had taken with the strong hand in the days of his ignorance, while gaining his living by rapine, and revenging himself on the injustice of society. This is the true perception of eternal justice, at which Dickens has not yet arrived in his writings. Dickens is a Londoner, Bulwer is a cosmopolite.

In the 'Christmas Carol,' Scrooge the Miser is so drawn as to leave an impression that he cheats the world of its "meat, clothes, and fire," which he buries in his own chests, whereas in truth he only cheats himself. He is the conventional miser of past times; and, when reformed by his dreams, he gives away half-crowns to boys to run quickly to buy turkeys to give away, and pays cabmen to bring them home quickly, to say nothing of giving bowls of punch to clerks. A great part of the enjoyments of life are summed up in eating and drinking at the cost of munificent patrons of the poor; so that we might almost suppose the feudal times were returned. The processes whereby poor men are to be enabled to earn good wages, wherewith to buy turkeys for themselves, does not enter into the account; indeed, it would quite spoil the *denouément* and all the generosity. Who went without turkey and punch in order that Bob Cratchit might get them—for, unless there were turkey and punch in surplus, some one must go without—is a disagreeable reflection kept wholly out of sight. We suspect Mr Horne of a little sly satire on Dickens's propensity to reward all good fellowship by eating and drinking, in his choice of a motto to this paper. Don Quixote had a peculiar way of philanthrophising the distresses of human nature, and so has Dickens, whose remedy for human distresses resolves itself into something like this:—George has five shillings, which he gives to Richard, who gives it to Henry, who gives it to John, who gives it to James, who gives it to Thomas, who gives it to Frederick, who gives it again to George, and by that process they all have five shillings each. The motto is taken from 'Don Quixote' as follows:—

"'Hunger does not preside over this day,' replied the cook,

'thanks be to Camacho the Rich.' * * * So saying he laid hold of a kettle, and sousing it at once into one of the half jar-pots, he fished out three pullets and a couple of geese. * * * 'I have nothing to put it in,' answered Sancho. 'Then take ladle and all,' replied the cook, 'for Camacho's riches and felicity are sufficient to supply everything.'"

Oh! Mr Horne, you are a sly wag after all.

Were provisions as plentiful in practice as they are in Mr Dickens's books, small progress would Mr Cobden make in free trade; but, as Mr Harmony says in the play, "provisions are so dear."

With all these defects, which we hope to see amended in future, as well as the caricature pictures of the Americans, which —bating local circumstances and peculiarities—will apply equally well to the English, the books of Dickens are unquestionably humanizers of the people; and the speeches he has made, and the public meetings he has attended in furtherance of general education, are indications of still better things. At present he is the "form and pressure of the age." He may become a spirit of the age in time.

Lord Ashley and Dr Southwood Smith follow next in the series of magazine articles of which this book is composed. But for these two names and those of Dr Pusey and Macready, a better title for the work would have been the 'Great Literopolis,' as a parallel work with the 'Great Metropolis.' Why Lord Ashley should be thus introduced we cannot imagine, unless it be that Mr Horne wishes to do honour to the Factory Commission, in which he is himself concerned.

Lord Ashley stands in the anomalous position of professing to improve the position of one portion of the working classes, the factory workers, by limiting their hours of labour, at the same time that he diminishes the amount of their earnings by keeping up a high and artificial price of food. Very pithily has this process been named Jack-Cade legislation. But Mr Horne is very earnest in his respect for hereditary legislation. "Thank God there is a House of Lords," once said and wrote Cobbett, when in anger at being thwarted; but Mr Horne, with good didactic deliberation, quotes Chaucer in proof of his case:—

> "And ye, my Lordés, with your alliaùnce,
> And other faithful people that there be,
> Trust I to God shall quench all this noisaùnce,
> And set this lande in high prosperitie."

He states that Lords Normanby and Ashley actually accompanied Dr Southwood Smith into Whitechapel and Bethnal-

green to survey the miserable abodes of the poor; and fearing this is almost incredible when only stated in his text, he confirms it in a foot-note as follows:—

"These statements are strictly authentic. They went privately and unattended into the most squalid and hideous abodes of filth, and misery, and vice, and might well express themselves strongly in public after what they witnessed."—Vol. i, p. 116.

"Privately and unattended." Oh! Mr Horne, Mr Horne, you have certainly some idea that modern noblemen go about with barret caps and plumes, bedizened with jewelry and masks, for all eyes to gaze on and single out for violence and plunder. "Unattended"—*i. e.* we suppose no "Jenkins," with tall cane to guard them. Surely there is no difficulty in believing that where Dr Smith had penetrated uninjured, Lord Ashley might go and return without any great exertion of courage; but Mr Horne is deeply impressed with this self-devotion in a nobleman, as an uncommon act, and is determined it shall be authenticated. "My Lordés" will scarcely thank him for his devotion to their interests. He proves more than enough.

That the people of England have a bad habit of working too many hours for their physical and mental health, is unfortunately but too true; but it is equally true that this habit does not arise from any abstract vicious determination on their own part. It is also true that in the present age they work fewer hours per day than they were accustomed to work in former ages; and it is moreover true that the reason for the diminution of hours is, that they obtain better wages, *i. e.* they get a greater amount of useful things for an hour's labour of the present day than they obtained in the "good old times;" and there is moreover a very prevalent desire amongst them to work still fewer hours, and by God's blessing we trust that this shall come to pass without any of Lord Ashley's legislation, which is akin to the charity of the French princess, who wondered "why people would starve when such nice pastry was sold so cheap."

We intreat Lord Ashley to believe that the chief, almost the sole reason, why English workmen labour too many hours per day, is the undue pressure of population, which forces them to compete with each other to obtain an insufficient share of the national stock of food, which is a minimum quantity. And this excess of population arises from the circumstance, that they live in islands, from which they cannot well swarm like the bees, to go to the food which might exist elsewhere, while Lord Ashley and his colleagues have made very stringent laws to prevent food

being brought to them from elsewhere. Make food plentiful, *i. e.* in excess of the mouths, and the voluntary principle will relieve all Lord Ashley's anxiety about long hours. We will venture on two illustrations.

Some years back, while examining some new buildings at the workmen's dinner hour, we were unintentionally listening to the conversation of two labourers from the Emerald isle, who were planted in the sun behind some hoarding, dining on—smoke—two "dudeens." "Sure, Pat," said one of them, "it's I that wish wages was a guinea a day." "And what would ye be afther thin, Dennis?" replied Pat. "Sure, and its only one day in the week that I'd work, any how," was the rejoinder. We are satisfied that Dennis spoke the simple truth in this matter, and in no way needed Lord Ashley's paternal solicitude.

A very benevolent manufacturer in London, who employed many workmen at their own dwellings, beheld, with compassion, the misery they suffered from high rents and wretched accommodation. They earned good wages, which, if well applied, would have placed them in positions of great comfort. The work they were employed in was independent of locality, and having purchased land in a healthy and beautiful neighbourhood, their employer fitted up several cottages, with gardens and every kind of convenience, and removed thither a certain number of families. He expected to get a greater amount of work done, on account of their removal from temptations to drunkenness. But in this result he was disappointed. The men preferred working in their gardens to working at their trade, and earned no more money than was sufficient for their maintenance, in spite of the remonstrances of their wives. If Lord Ashley will place the factory population in such a position as this, we will undertake that they shall not overwork either themselves, their wives, or their children.

But it is only indirectly that Lord Ashley would interfere with the hours of working men. He professes to protect the children and women of factories, and to say he will prescribe the hours for them, which is equivalent, in other words, to prescribing the hours for the steam-engine and men also. It is unquestionably right that children under age—not recognised as free agents, but who are under the control of persons older than themselves—should be protected from ill treatment; but to deprive women of the right to use their own discretion as to the amount of work they will perform, is gross tyranny. Factory work is one of the few employments by which women can render themselves independent of the support of their relatives,—as a

vicious father or brother, or a husband who will not maintain them and their children by his labour, but confines his attention to robbing them of their earnings according to law. A law which would protect a woman's right to her own earnings, beyond the control of a vicious husband, would indeed be a boon to the working classes.*

We object to any law which would interfere with the natural freedom of human action, other than the protection of individuals and society from the aggressions of other individuals. If, for example, a solitary man chooses, in an isolated spot, to live in an ill-drained and ill-ventilated house, or to live on unwholesome or insufficient food, society has no right to interfere with him; but if he comes into proximity with other people, the law ought to interfere to protect their health from contamination. Also, we think the law may fairly interfere with persons practising on the ignorance of others for the sake of gain. If the owner of the ill-drained and ill-ventilated solitary house tried to hire it to others, he should be prevented from so doing, until it were made wholesome. And we think society might fairly interfere with a man keeping his family in such a house, because the wife and children are under his controul, and society may be endangered by the diseases they may be subject to; therefore it is quite competent for society to say, that after a certain period no houses shall be erected in any inhabited districts below a certain standard of health and comfort. It is certain that the children born in improved dwellings would be an improved race, and the question of food in no way interferes with this. There are a certain number of labourers and artisans constantly unemployed, who are, notwithstanding, fed, and their being employed in the construction of better dwellings, *i. e.* working up native material of all kinds for these and other useful purposes, would not add one shilling to the expenditure of the general community. The possession of better dwellings, with warmth and pure air, would, on the contrary, virtually increase the amount of food, for it is a fact that a person in impure air cannot well digest his food, and therefore requires to eat a larger amount to keep up his strength.

Had Alfred the Great passed efficient sanatory laws, virtually prohibiting the existence of disease, *i. e.* prescribing the minimum of physical comfort and health in dwellings and their concomitants, the probability is, that the increase of population would always have been restrained within the limits essential to

* This point was urged by Mr Roebuck on the attention of the House of Commons in the late debates.

national happiness, and we should at this time have possessed a healthier, wealthier, and far more powerful population. The same results would have obtained with our people as with our cattle; the wretched would be unborn. We have the finest sheep and horses, cows and oxen, that the world has ever produced, because our farmers take care that they shall be well fed and lodged. With the same care for our people, the same results would follow sound legislative enactments, always supposing they could be carried out in practice. But instead of passing laws to increase comforts, we find in the statute books, enactments called sumptuary laws, tending to diminish personal comforts or luxuries. Strange is it that the State should think it necessary to take care of people's money for them, as it still tries to do, by means of usury laws.

Had Alfred the Great passed laws to regulate the hours of labour, they must have been accompanied by other laws to regulate the wages of labour, and in such case, labourers and employers would constantly have been at work, trying to defeat the laws for the sake of their own interests, just as the Jews, ancient and modern, have succeeded in defeating the usury laws. But if such laws had been successful, we should have made no national progress;—we should have been a nation of schoolboys, of servants doing what our governors taught and ordered us to do, but originating nothing; we should have been like the Austrian nation under Prince Metternich, or the Paraguay Indians under the paternal care and instruction of the Jesuits. If a Government be competent to regulate the hours of labour for adults, it is also competent to regulate their wages, their food, their instruction, books, religion, and their particular branches of labour. Such a people would neither require a House of Commons nor suffrage at elections. An aristocracy of landholders might deem this a very desirable condition of things, but the result would be—if we could conceive the possibility of such a thing—the downfal of English energy, English power, English mind, and a state of ruin and misery to the many nations, civilized, uncivilized, and half-civilized, dependent on English guidance and English progress.

We do not doubt that the movement amongst the working classes—instinctive, but not yet perceptive—analogous to the

> "Blind motions of the Spring,
> That show the year is turned," . .

will produce results of far more scope than Lord Ashley's benevolence, which not being based on benescience, cannot bring

forth beneficence. His legislation, if not of the Jack-Cade calibre as to intellect, does not get beyond paternal Jesuitry, which the English genius has far outstripped. He is not a spirit of the age, he is but an appendage of a blind movement of the age, and Mr Horne is a small dog, either leading or following him in the wake of Oastler and Company, who have donned the mantle inherited by the Chartist agitators from Robert Owen, who first propounded the "sacred month" in which the weary were to be at rest as a commencement of the millennium. Prosy, unreasoning, and impracticable was Robert Owen, and he, moreover, wasted about 100,000*l.*, lawful money of the realm, and thus filled the mouths of people with intellects no better than his own, with matter for ignorant exultation that there was no millennium produced by it; but still, we like justice, and think that Mr Horne may continue to expatiate on the virtues of a respectable nobleman like Lord Ashley, without robbing Robert Owen of the merit of originating the plan of short-labour hours.

Mr Horne has a very odd mode of hunting in couples with his spirits of the age, dodging from one to another till we sometimes lose sight of the subject of his remarks. In this mode he has introduced Dr Southwood Smith, which we think very unfair treatment. Southwood Smith is a real man of earnest purpose, working for the poor from strong sympathies for the miseries with which his medical practice has made him familiar. He is, moreover, a practical man of sound purpose, not working for self-glorification, but for a true and useful result. No believer is he of results without causes, no planner of Jack-Cade or French-princess legislation, no robber of the independence of women in legally denying them employment by which to earn their own living, independent of the frequent coarse tyranny of their male relatives. Working for the public as a public instructor, and thereby neglecting private pecuniary advantage, it is to us a matter of surprise that no Government has yet adverted to an easy method of attaining popular approval, by appointing him to a Professor's chair. Praise Lord Ashley at your pleasure, Mr Horne, but we beg of you in charity and fairness to let Dr Southwood Smith alone. A sad jumble have you made of his life and history. Mr Grant, of the 'Great Metropolis,' must surely have been one of the "hands" engaged on this.

Passing by "William Howitt, his grandfather and ancestors up to the time of Queen Elizabeth," and various other spirits of all ranks and sizes, we come to a veritable spirit of the age, Alfred Tennyson. A man of genius, who it appears, according to Mr Horne, has escaped the persecution of the "Reader," and is

recognised by the public. Having stated this, off he flies at a tangent and begins a criticism on John Keats, the chief purport of which, we incline to think, is to hint that "a kindred spirit has had (its) own inherent pulses quickened to look into (its) own heart and abroad upon nature and mankind, and to work out the purposes of (its) soul," in the production of 'Orion.' Mr Horne speaks with great approbation of Tennyson, and so he does of Landor. But of Landor he says—

"His complete dramas are not often read through twice, even by readers who applaud them, but for the sake of a particular act or scene."—Vol. i, p. 165.

And of Tennyson he says—

"He does not appear to possess much inventive construction. He has burnt his epic or this would have settled the question. We would almost venture to predict that he will never write another, nor a five-act tragedy, nor a long heroic poem. Why should he?"

Why indeed? Has not Mr Horne done all this, and does he not claim to be the equal of the Greek and Elizabethan dramatists? Tennyson would be superfluous, and Mr Horne says, "certainly Tennyson is not at all dramatic."

Mr Horne's paper on Tennyson is, however, the best in the book He does partly appreciate him, but the magnificent portrait does much more than Mr Horne's writing. It is emphatically the head of the wisdom-poet, the master mind, above the littlenesses of humanity, and looking through every varied phase of nature and of art, ancient and modern—and yet more:

"I dipt into the Future far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be."

And withal a patriot loving his native land.

"It is the land that freemen till
That sober suited Freedom chose,
The land, where girt with friends or foes,
A man may speak the thing he will."

* * * *

Of old sate Freedom on the heights,
The thunders breaking at her feet
Above her shook the starry lights;
She heard the torrents meet."

A statesman too, and a hero:

"Make Knowledge circle with the winds,
But let her herald, Reverence, fly
Before her to whatever sky
Bear seed of men or growth of minds.

If New and Old, disastrous feud,
Must ever shock, like armed foes,
And this be true till Time shall close
That Principles are rained in blood;

Not yet the wise of heart would cease
To hold his hope through shame and guilt,
But with his hand against the hilt,
Would pace the troubled land, like Peace;

Not less, though dogs of Faction bay,
Would serve his kind in deed and word,
Certain, if knowledge bring the sword
That knowledge takes the sword away—

Would love the gleams of good that broke
From either side, nor veil his eyes;
And if some dreadful need should rise
Would strike, and firmly, and one stroke."

This is the impress of a MAN. A house of parliament of such men, were

"The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World."

A marvel, indeed, will this our England be, if ever such a parliament should assemble. It will be in the words of Longfellow,

"The holy, and the happy, and the gloriously free."

Under the head of "Sheridan Knowles and William Macready" is embodied the true spirit and gist of Mr Horne's paramount purpose in these two volumes.

"The Drama should be the concentrated Spirit of the Age."

That is to say, Mr Horne's drama. Speaking of Knowles, the writer says—

"The age is domestic, and so is he. Comfort, not passionate imaginings, is the aim of everybody, and he seeks to aid and gratify this love of comfort."

And so does Mr Horne, too, by his speculation on 300*l*. and 100*l*. for epics and tragedies, but there is a merit in his popularity which Mr Horne does not penetrate. Sheridan Knowles is a man with a heart in his bosom, and that heart speaks in sympathy to the hearts of his audience in true words of passion.

The merits of all the minor stage authors who do not write epics or tragedies are handsomely acknowledged by the writer, but he says that "managers only regard them as a degree above street minstrels," and

"Herein is shadowed the fate of their mighty predecessors, and in the red herring and Rhenish banquet that killed Nash—in the tavern-brawling death of Marlowe—in the penury of Dekker—of Webster, who was a parish clerk—of Beaumont and Fletcher, and

the distresses of nearly every one of the dramatists of their age, is to be found the symbol of the conduct which originality ever suffers."—Vol. ii, p. 92.

This seems to us very like bathos. What on earth have red herrings and tavern-brawlings to do with the matter? They were quite optional to Nash and Marlowe, and the latter Mr Horne has made a tragedy hero of, out of the very tavern brawl which he seeks to lay on the poor managers.

To Talfourd is given some faint praise as a classicist. Of Sir E. L. Bulwer it is said—

"He can hardly be considered as a dramatist, having pursued this class of writing not from any strong internal gift and predominating influence, but rather as a man of first-rate talent and ingenuity who could produce any kind of literary article that might be in request."—Vol. ii, p. 103.

In the 'False Medium,' Mr Horne expresses the direct contrary opinion to this. Now it is certain that Bulwer has been a successful dramatist in the 'Lady of Lyons,' and this seems to be the groundwork of the critic's anger. He cannot abide any one who may be a rival. Bulwer's plays, like those of Sheridan Knowles, are popular, because they have hearts in them; and they are, moreover, essentially the works of an artist. Compare 'Richelieu' with 'Cosmo,' and the difference will at once be perceived. The former is a thing of life; the latter is a piece of statuary.

The taste of the article on Macready is what might have been expected from an angry unacted dramatist of weak mind. No man of genius could have written it. Not a man "straitened in means," but straitened in soul, and working, not from high impulse, but for "remuneration," calculating on a "permanent 100*l*. per annum for life and due honours"—only such a man could have done this thing. We quote again:—

"But if the unacted drama be held in no regard by theatrical people, it is not much more esteemed by the majority of the public press. The slightest acted piece often has a long notice; whereas, of an unacted tragedy or comedy, anything or nothing may be said, and anything with impunity."—Vol. ii, p. 112.

To this is appended a foot-note, stating that a certain unacted dramatist was not noticed by a professional critic, who, in "a fit of frank cordiality," said it was because he did not like the dramatist's whiskers. The *taste* of betraying this "frank cordiality" is questionable; but the dramatist might as well have stated at the same time that the "offending hair" was cut off, lest it should be a bar to a promised public employment where "my Lordés" sat as critics on appearance.

The statement that Macready went to America on account of bad success in London, is untrue. As regarded the public, Macready did not fail. It was the plundering system of compelling him to make up theatrical "properties" from his gains, that drove him away. He publicly stated himself, that as regarded his receipts they were ample. He laboured only under the difficulty of "dead weight," paying interest on capital sunk and wasted under a monopoly. Could he have built a new theatre on the favourable terms of modern buildings, he would have grown rich beyond a doubt. The "wish" of the "unacted dramatist" is the "father to his thought." It is the petty feeling of a minor artist, seeking to gratify itself by mischief, in the spirit of "Swing," when burning down a haystack, or a disappointed dramatist, who "would burn down a theatre."

The cool, egotistical assumption of this writer, in supposing that a manager is bound to expend his property to produce the play of any dramatist who may present one, is very amusing. Much stress is laid on the superfluity of show—rich dresses, scenery, and decoration. If all these matters are indeed superfluous, why then the matter resolves itself into a very narrow compass. If the writing be the chief, and the acting merely an adjunct, let the unacted dramatists read their plays to the public at lecture rooms. Great interest is excited by lecturing on Shakspeare; and if the modern unacted dramatists be of the Elizabethan school, they will not fail to excite lecture audiences, testing the subject matter in a similar mode to that in which Molière tested his writings—by reading them to his cook. There is, to our apprehension, a great deal of quackery in the mystery preserved about new plays till they are produced on the stage. We should rather have all plays tested by publication and public reading previous to acting. We think this would be the best security against failure; far better than the *coterie* readings which take place at present, and which present the most remarkable instances of errors in judgment. At any rate, the extinction of the monopoly has now left the unacted dramatists without ground of complaint. The world is all before them where to choose; but we counsel them to bear in mind that actor-artists of genius may be stirred by as high a spirit as writer-artists. Insolent assumption of superiority is no mark of genius.

The services which Macready has rendered to the drama are not lightly to be passed by. He risked his own capital; he drove vice from his theatre. He established order in every department. A great actor and a poet-artist also, he was unsparing in expenditure. He produced new plays—the best that could be got; and if they failed, it was not his fault. The public knows of none better than he produced. He did not produce

'Cosmo' or 'Gregory,' neither have they been produced elsewhere, though all stages are now thrown open to all dramatic writing. And it is quite clear that he "has enemies, some for one thing, some for another, abstract or personal, public or private;" disappointed morbid vanity having no little to do with it. But gladly shall we behold his return to the management of a new theatre, wherein his perfect taste and thorough integrity to the texts of his dramatic authors may be developed in unison with kindred spirits, actors and authors, unshackled by monopoly and unworried by vanity. And we shall be glad if no future play be brought out, till it has stood the test of printing, publishing, and public reading.

Mr Browning and Mr Marston are both applauded as poets by Mr Horne; but as to their plays, though acted, he thinks they are utter failures. To make amends for this, we are introduced to the acquaintanceship of a new Lope de Vega, a dramatic genius of the highest order as to quantity, one Mr Powell, who writes "five-act tragedies at three sittings."

> "That he has *stuff* in him of a good kind, if fairly worked upon and with any justice done to its own nature, is evident; though it may be doubted from these specimens whether he will ever be a dramatist."

There is clearly but one "dramatist" in the openly-expressed opinion of Mr Horne.

The article on Bulwer is got up in the style which Carlyle calls "valethood."

We do not think this work will add to Mr Horne's repute. The *animus* is of the same kind as that of the 'False Medium;' and as a *false medium* Mr Horne will go forth to the public, not as a spirit of the age, not as a high spirit. We would it had been otherwise. We counsel him to abandon his craving for notoriety, and apply himself diligently to work, without regard to results. Shakspeare wrote thirty odd plays. Mr Horne has written but three. Let him go on writing more. Let him lecture on them at all manner of Syncretic associations, which will save printing: and, above all, we counsel him to ponder on these lines of Tennyson:—

> "Watch what main currents draw the years:
> Cut Prejudice against the grain:
> But gentle words are always gain:
> Regard the weakness of thy peers:
>
> Nor toil for title, place, or touch
> Of pension; neither count on praise;
> It grows to guerdon after days;
> Nor deal in watchwords over much."

N. U. S.

Art. III.—*History of Europe, from the Commencement of the French Revolution to the Restoration of the Bourbons.* In 10 vols. By Archibald Alison. Blackwood and Sons.

We have long wished to introduce this work to the knowledge of our readers, and ought, we confess, to have done so long ago. But the vast extent of the subject, the deep interest of the period, and the extraordinary magnitude of the matters treated of, have hitherto deterred us from making the attempt;—while at the same time the singular admixture of serious faults which call for severe criticism, with great merits which excite our warmest admiration, render our task one of unusual perplexity. These considerations must be our excuse, both with Mr Alison and with our readers, for having suffered so long a period to elapse before noticing a work which, with all its defects, is one of the ablest and most fascinating that, for many years, has fallen into our hands.

Mr Alison seems to have been fully impressed with the importance of the task which he has undertaken, and with the responsibility attached to its performance in a diligent, honest, and impartial spirit. He first conceived the idea of such a work, on witnessing the meeting of the Allied Sovereigns in Paris in 1814, after the fall of their great rival; and he has devoted nearly the whole of his leisure since that period to the collection of materials for his history, to the collation of conflicting authorities, and to a personal inspection of most of the scenes illustrated by the great events of the twenty-five years whose annalist he had resolved to become. The result of this patient and conscientious diligence is seen in the production of a work distinguished for fulness, general accuracy, and graphic power, and an impartiality the more remarkable as the author is a man of outrageous political prejudices, which, though they disfigure almost every chapter of his book, have never been allowed to cast a shade over the honourable fairness of the narrative. In all his descriptions, both of civil and military proceedings, Mr Alison is particularly successful; and we could instance his account of the campaign of Aspern and Wagram, and his masterly view of the measures adopted by Napoleon for the reorganization of France from 1799 to 1804, as admirable specimens of his excellence in this line of historical writing.

These eminent merits are, however, materially dashed by qualities of a very opposite character, which greatly diminish both the pleasure and the instruction Mr Alison's history would otherwise have been calculated to afford. The first and slightest

of these is a wonderful verbosity, which, together with his incessant repetitions, has greatly contributed to swell out his book to its present unwieldy bulk; and to this we may add a carelessness of style often amounting to absolute obscurity. But we have been chiefly disappointed to perceive a deficiency of that comprehensive grasp of mind, those powers of close reasoning, and that penetrating search into the hidden causes of great events, without which no historian can hope to live, and which no period of history more imperatively requires than the one which Mr Alison has selected. His reflections, which are very lengthy and somewhat obtrusive, are not unfrequently trite, shallow, and declamatory, often marked by the blindest party prejudice, and delivered at the same time in a tone of dogmatism, which only the profoundest wisdom can render tolerable, but which profound wisdom never assumes.

The work embraces a period of twenty-five years, from the first outbreak of the French Revolution to the final termination of the wars arising out of it in 1815. It is comprised in ten volumes of excessive thickness, which, by a greater condensation of style, and the omission of all idle declamation and needless repetitions, will one day, we trust, be reduced to eight. We do not, however, find fault with the minute detail in which Mr Alison has thought it wise to write the history of this period. Historical summaries and abridgments are, of all works, the most useless and the most dull. If the past is to be of any service, either to guide us in the present or to prognosticate the future—if it is to give us any insight into the causes which bring about national prosperity or suffering—if it is to throw any light on the motives of human action, or the deep intricacies of human character—it must be written in the fullest and minutest particularity. Otherwise it is of little more value than a column of names and dates.

There are, however, but few periods of history that merit to be thus studied in detail. In modern times, probably the only passages that would repay such minute investigation are—the era of maritime discovery, at the close of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth century; the Reformation; the rise and fall of the Italian Republics; the struggle for constitutional liberty in England in the seventeenth century; and finally, the great rebellion against feudal and mental oppression in France, which broke forth publicly in 1789. Of all these, the last is to us far the most interesting, as nearest to our own days, as most remarkable in its character, and most far spreading in its consequences.

We know of no period of history so fertile in attractions, both

to writer and to reader; none which presents so many scenes of fearful and thrilling interest to be described; so many profound and subtle problems of character to be solved; so many intricate intrigues to be unravelled; so many prolific truths of political philosophy to be deduced; so many lessons of deep and melancholy wisdom to be learned. We know of no period so rich in materials, alike for the statesman, the moralist, and the poet, nor one which, to treat aright, would require so rare a combination of the intellectual gifts of all three. At the same time we know of no period, for an accurate and philosophical history of which such ample materials exist. Yet such a work is still a desideratum—a desideratum which Mignet, Thiers, Carlyle, and Alison, have been alike unable to supply.

The period over which Mr Alison's work extends naturally divides itself into two sections—the history of the Revolution and the history of Napoleon—the respective treatment of which required very different qualifications. In the latter Mr Alison has been so eminently successful, we think, as not only to supersede the necessity for any future history, but to earn a very distinguished place in the first rank of modern historians. In the former division we are disposed to think that he has failed, and failed from the want of that patient thought and philosophic grasp of mind which this portion of history pre-eminently demands.

The progress of the human mind and of human society is seldom marked by regular and successive steps. At some periods civilization appears to be stationary; at others, even to retrograde; at others, again, to spring forward with rapid, gigantic, and almost convulsive strides. This irregularity of advance is, doubtless, more apparent than actual. Preparations are gradually made, ideas professedly matured, and the foundations of the future superstructure laid with secret and patient industry. But these subterranean workings are for the most part unnoticed, till in the fulness of time a rich harvest of consequences is developed, with apparent suddenness, from causes which have been accumulating in silence for many generations.

The French Revolution was one of the most remarkable of these *harvest-times* of society. The stride forward was sudden, immense, and spasmodic; but the seeds of this vast event had long been germinating in the secret places of the earth. It is impossible, within our brief limits, to enter into any philosophical analysis of the nature, the causes, and the ultimate results, of this great political convulsion, or even to pass the strictures we should wish to do on the singularly imperfect and unsatisfactory manner in which Mr Alison has executed this part of his task. A few general remarks are all that we can venture to offer.

A philosophical view of this period would comprise *four* distinct considerations:—the causes which led to the revolution; the causes which gave to it its peculiar character; the causes which led to its immediate and complete failure; and the permanent results of good and evil which have survived it.

The *proximate* causes of the revolution—the disputes with the parliament—the profusion of the court—the dilapidation of the finances, which made the summoning of the States-general a necessary, though a desperate expedient—Mr Alison has narrated with sufficient clearness. Nay, he has enumerated, in all their enormity, a host of oppressions enough to have driven even wise men mad, yet in his view evidently quite inadequate either to explain the popular excitement or to justify the subsequent retaliation; for he throughout speaks of the French people as acting under the influence of some mysterious and wholly inexplicable phrensy. His description of the tyranny of the old *regime* is such as to impress us with the feeling that while it would have been infamy to submit to it, scarcely any punishment would be too heavy for its crimes, and scarcely any price too great to pay for emancipation from its grasp; yet he everywhere describes the national rising against so insupportable a yoke, as almost an unprovoked, and quite an unpardonable iniquity. In fact, notwithstanding all his researches, he has failed sufficiently to recognise the great feature of the revolution, viz.: that it was *a rebellion against class-legislation;* * that the privileges of the aristocracy had become too grievous to be borne; while the profligacy of the court, and the vicious lives and supine negligence of the clergy, had dissipated that loyal and pious spirit which alone could oppose a barrier to the passionate excesses of a triumphant and exasperated populace. In one word, the revolution was a struggle between MAN and NOBLEMAN.

The distinction between noble and plebeian was carried in France to a degree of which it is difficult in a free country to form an adequate conception; and the privileges of high birth descended to all the children, instead of being confined, as in England, to the eldest son. The consequence was the esta-

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* His forgetfulness of this fact is the more remarkable, as he himself admits it fully and states it broadly in his introductory chapters (i, 109):—

"The extraordinary character of the French Revolution arose, not from any peculiarities in the disposition of the people, or any faults exclusively owing to the government, but from the weight of the despotism which had preceded, and the magnitude of the changes which were to follow it. . . . France would have done less at the Revolution, if she had done more before it; she would not so unmercifully have unsheathed the sword to govern, if she had not so long been governed by the sword; she would not have fallen for years under the guillotine of the populace, if she had not groaned for centuries under the fetters of the nobility."

blishment of a line of demarcation, which neither talent, enterprise, nor success was able to pass.

"On the one side," says Mr Alison, "were 150,000 privileged individuals; on the other the whole body of the French people. All situations of importance in the church, the army, the court, the bench, or diplomacy, were exclusively enjoyed by the former of these classes."

Surely a system of such transcendent egotism as to admit of this description—a system which excluded from all offices of power, honour, or emolument, the talent, the energy, the industry of the nation; and which, in a population of thirty millions, reserved all the loaves and fishes of the state for 150,000 favourites of fortune, called imperatively for total reconstruction, and might well explain, and excuse any amount of exasperation in the disfranchised and oppressed majority. It was this system which enlisted the wealthy, the able, and the educated portion of the *middle* classes on the revolutionary side.

The great mass of the people, including the peasantry in the country and the labouring classes in the towns, had their own intolerable grievances to secure their sympathy and co-operation in the same direction. These grievances Mr Alison has described without any attempt to conceal or palliate their enormity. The privileged orders possessed two-thirds of the land, and yet were exempted from a large proportion of the taxes. The *vingtième* and the *taille* (the latter of which was levied solely on the *tiers état*) were burdens on the produce of the soil, of so oppressive a character, that Arthur Young calculates that they, together with the rent, amounted to *eleven-twelfths* of the whole produce, or as he states it, that supposing the yield of an acre to be worth 3*l.* 2s. 7d., 1*l.* 18s. 4d. of this went to the king, and 18s. to the landlord, leaving only 6s. 3d. for the cultivator. Mr Alison quotes this, and proceeds:—

"The great proprietors all resorted to Paris in quest of amusement, dissipation, or advancement; and with the exception of La Vendée, where a totally different system of manners prevailed, the country was hardly ever visited by its landlords. The natural consequence of this was, that no kindly feelings, no common interest, united the landlord and his tenantry. The former regarded the cultivators in no other light than as beasts of burden, from whose labour the greatest possible profit was to be extracted; the latter considered their lords as tyrants, known only by the vexatious visits and endless demands of their bailiffs."

Nor was this all.

"The local burdens and legal services due by the tenantry to their feudal superiors were to the last degree vexatious and oppressive...."

Game of the most destructive kind, such as wild boars and herds of deer, were permitted to go at large through extensive districts, without any enclosures to protect the crops. The damage they did to the farmers in four parishes only was estimated at 8,000*l.* a year. Numerous edicts existed which prohibited hoeing and weeding, lest the young partridges should be disturbed; taking away the stubble, lest the birds should be deprived of shelter; mowing hay lest their eggs should be destroyed; manuring with night-soil, lest their flavour should be injured. Complaints for the infraction of these edicts were all carried before the manorial courts, where every species of oppression, chicanery, and fraud, were prevalent.
The people were bound to grind their corn at their landlord's mill, to press their grapes at his press, to bake their bread at his oven. Corvées, or obligations to repair the roads, founded on custom, decrees, and servitude, were enforced with the utmost severity."—Vol. i, p. 137.

Will it be credited that, after enumerating all these unbearable oppressions, Mr Alison still seems to think them insufficient to account for the outbreak which took place? and adds (p. 148)—

"The circumstances which have now been mentioned, without doubt contributed to the formation of that discontent which formed the predisposing cause of the revolution. But the existing cause, as physicians would say, the immediate source of the convulsion, was the *spirit of innovation* which, like a malady, overspread France at that crisis."

We should like to know what nation possessing the smallest spark of intelligence and courage, and suffering under such enormous wrongs, would not be overspread with a "spirit of innovation."

But the picture would be incomplete without a reference to the general corruption of manners which prevailed among the higher classes, and especially at court. The instinctive loyalty, the blind and discreditable devotion to the sovereign as such, which had distinguished the French up to the time of Louis XIV, and which had been carried to its height by the splendid undertakings and dignified manners of that consummate actor—"little in everything but the art of simulating greatness"—received a considerable shock from the reverses which darkened his later years, and still more, perhaps, from the childish and cruel fanaticism by which he sought to make tardy atonement for the profligacy of his youth and the desolating ambition of his manhood. The sanctimonious observances which he exacted from his nobles and courtiers caused them at his death to rush into the opposite extreme; and the low debauchery and the contemptible

baseness of the two succeeding reigns entirely obliterated what remained of the *prestige* of respect and attachment by which royalty had been formerly surrounded.

The clergy, too, shared in the general corruption and in the general contempt. Their wealth was enormous;* their luxury excessive and ostentatious; and all pretension to superior sanctity or correctness of manners had long since been abandoned. Indeed, many of the highest rank among them were pre-eminent for their licentiousness. The unbounded power they obtained towards the latter end of the reign of Louis XIV, by the entire suppression of dissent, served to complete their worthlessness and to seal their doom.

"The Gallican Church, no doubt," says Mr Hall, "looked upon it as a signal triumph when she prevailed on Louis XIV to repeal the edict of Nantes, and to suppress the Protestant religion. But what was the consequence? Where, after this period, are we to look for her Fenelons and her Pascals? where for the bright monuments of piety and learning which were the glory of her better days? As for piety, she perceived that she had no occasion for it, when there was no lustre of Christian holiness surrounding her; nor for learning, when she had no longer any opponents to confute or any controversies to maintain. She felt herself at liberty to become as ignorant, as secular, as irreligious as she pleased; and amidst the silence and darkness she had created around her, she drew the curtains, and retired to rest."

Mr Alison frequently laments, in language of bitter severity, the general infidelity which pervaded all classes in France at the period of the revolutionary outbreak. But he does not state, as in common fairness he ought to have done, how much of the guilt of this lies at the door of the "accredited teachers" of religion, who had banished or put to death all who preached the pure faith of Christ; he does not sufficiently inform us that, not only were the clergy among the very first to set the example of unbelief, but that, in truth, Christianity was ever presented to the people *from their hands* so disguised, disfigured, and degraded, that it became almost a virtue to reject it. No stronger proof can be given of the shameful extent to which clerical duties had been neglected throughout France, than the description which Mr Alison gives of the army which invaded Egypt and Syria in 1789 (vol. iii, p. 397):—

"They not only considered the Christian faith as an entire fabri-

* The total revenues of the church derived from tithes reached 130,000,000 francs, of which only 42,000,000 were in the hands of the working clergy: the number of ecclesiastics was 80,000. But, in addition to this revenue, the ecclesiastical body owned nearly *half* the soil of France!—*Alison*, i, 128.

cation, but were for the most part ignorant of its very elements. Lavalette has recorded, that hardly one of them had ever been in a church; and in Palestine they were unacquainted even with the names of the holiest places in sacred history."

Such, then, were the full and ample causes which led to the great catastrophe of France—the intolerable privileges of the few, the severe and hopeless sufferings of the many, and the scandalous and public profligacy of the court and the clergy—not that blind phrensy which Mr Alison has so needlessly conjured up as its originating source.

The more peculiar features of the revolution, the low and sanguinary character which it so early assumed, and which ultimately led to its entire failure as a measure of regeneration, are eminently deserving of the study of the historian and the statesman; and the causes to which these are to be traced are not difficult to discover; but we can here do little more than allude to them in the most cursory manner. Among the principal of them was unquestionably the severity of the oppression to which all classes had been previously subjected; for the violence of the convulsion will always be proportioned to the magnitude of the burden to be thrown off; and the atrocity of the revenge will generally take its measure and its character from the atrocity of the injury to be atoned for. But, perhaps, the circumstance which more than any other modified the course of events in the revolution was the *famine* which prevailed at its commencement. Mr Carlyle is, we believe, the only writer on this period who has assigned to this fact its due weight. The harvest of 1788 was a very defective one, and the consequent scarcity spread itself over the three following years; for though the ensuing crop was plentiful, the usual channels of industry and commerce had by that time become so completely disorganized, that bread was nowhere to be obtained in sufficient quantity, and the scarcity soon amounted to a famine. In the market place, the corn-sacks had to be guarded by dragoons, "often more than one dragoon to each sack." The bakers' shops were beset by a famishing populace, who were obliged to stand in a long string, often reaching above a hundred yards, that each might be served in turn. Even when obtained, they complained, probably with truth, that the bread was adulterated with plaster of Paris. Many were reduced to "meal-husks and boiled grass." Finally, an ounce and a half of bread daily was the utmost that could be afforded to each individual, and onions and pulse must fill up the deficiency; nay, during the insurrection at Versailles, a horse, which had

been slain in the riot, was eagerly seized upon for food. The effect of all this upon a people of singular excitability, and with whom bread is a staple article of food, may be easily conceived. "Rien (says Mad. de Staël) ne dispose le peuple au mécontentement comme les craintes sur le subsistence;" and perhaps we may briefly express the peculiar effect of the scarcity on the march of revolutionary events, by saying that it caused the *populace* to intermingle in a struggle which would otherwise have been fought out (with a widely-different result in all likelihood) between the aristocracy and the middle classes—the *tiers état.** "Parties (says Mr Carlyle) might have suppressed and smothered one another in the ordinary bloodless parliamentary way, on one condition—that France had at least been able to exist all the while. But the sovereign people has a digestive faculty, and cannot do without bread." When the great mass of the people are comfortable and contented, despotism may exist with little difficulty; or the government and the middle ranks may fight out their differences in a safe and regulated manner; but when the middle ranks are clamorous for political rights, at the same time that the lowest classes are clamorous for food, the most firmly constituted authorities will rarely be able to resist the united pressure. If kings and privileged orders were wise in their generation, and cunning in their craft, they would feed the people *at any price.*

Another cause of the peculiar character of the French Revolution is to be found in the entire inexperience of the people and their leaders, both in the legislative and the administrative department of government. The old bureaucracy were speedily displaced, as unworthy of the confidence of reformers, and no one else possessed adequate knowledge to perform their functions. The great majority of the French popular leaders—even the ablest and the best among them—derived their ideas of government from Rousseau and Condorcet, and their notions of public virtue from the extravagant and unreal heroes of Plutarch. With this prevailing ignorance, the consequences could scarcely have been other than they were. The moment a representative system was given to a people exasperated by past wrongs, and unskilled in the exercise of power, the excesses which ensued might have been considered almost unavoidable.

* The effect of famine, in throwing the control of events into the hands of the lowest class, was well understood by their leaders, one of whom wrote epigrammatically to a friend—"Tout va bien ici; *le pain manque.*"—*Carlyle*, ii, 335.

But with every allowance for the operation of these unfortunate conditions, much, no doubt, must be attributed to the singular features of the French character, to that *mobile* and hasty temperament, that warlike spirit nd disreputable passion for military glory, and that deplorable want of moral courage, which have always distinguished it, but which were never so marked or attended with such fatal consequences as during the revolutionary struggle. There is much that is amiable, and much that is admirable, in our French neighbours; for general cleverness, active enterprise, daring heroism, and patience under the hardships and privations of war, they are, perhaps, unrivalled; but the quiet enthusiasm which pursues its object, steadily and silently, through neglect and through reproach—the courage to withstand popular clamour—the firmness to resist the contagion of popular emotion—the fortitude to suffer in obscurity and in secret—the devotion to adhere unflinchingly to an obnoxious principle or to a sinking cause—these, unhappily, have at no time formed a portion of the Gallic character.

In this enumeration of the causes which stamped upon the French Revolution those peculiar features which distinguish it from all similar convulsions, we must not forget one of the most powerful of them all—the predominance of Paris over the rest of France. The invariable residence of the monarch in or near the metropolis—and that unworthy passion for court distinctions which pervaded all classes—had for many generations been operating to concentrate all the wealth and talent of the kingdom into one single focus. Provincial usefulness and provincial fame were disregarded and despised. The nobility deserted their chateaux in the country, and left their wretched vassals to the superintendence of a rapacious agent, that they might bask in the sunshine of royal favour. The soldier, whenever it was possible, forsook his duties in the province, to hasten to the head-quarters of patronage and promotion; and whatever of genius or capacity chanced to arise in any part of France hurried at once to the capital, as the only fitting arena for display. Hence Paris became, not only the epitome of France, but its heart—the centre of its vitality; any movement *there* was instantaneously transmitted to the remotest departments, and passively acquiesced in by them; and whoever could obtain the mastery of that volatile and excitable metropolis, found himself at once the despotic governor of France. Hence the quick succession of rulers and constitutions, and the marvellous facility with which each one overthrew its predecessor.

The vices and cruelties of the several governments which

successively seized the direction of affairs,—and the consequent disappointment, disgust, and exhaustion of the people,—paved an easy way for the daring usurpation of Napoleon; and amid the comparative repose which ensued under his iron despotism, the nation, wearied of its fruitless struggles after freedom, sank quietly to sleep.

What now remains of permanent result from that great social movement which agitated all Europe towards the close of the last century, and of which the French Revolution may be considered as at once the most violent symptom and the most vivid embodiment? Now that the convulsion has subsided, what are the abiding traces it has left behind? Interesting and momentous questions, to which we can only glance at the reply. France has unquestionably gained much; legal, though imperfect, freedom of the press,—equality of civil rights,—and a representative system, extremely defective beyond dispute, but capable of easy and progressive enlargement. In a word, she has now the means of steadily ameliorating all her institutions, without having recourse to violent or illegal enterprises; and *in this condition is comprised real political liberty.* And no one who compares the second revolution with the first, can doubt that France has profited immensely by the severe ordeal she has passed.

The gain to the civilized world at large, though less marked, has, we think, been no less real. The essentials of genuine freedom are everywhere better understood; the great principle is everywhere acknowledged as a fundamental and unquestioned truth—that the object of all government is the happiness of the subject many, not the advantage of the ruling few. And if no other lesson had been taught us in the school of affliction and adversity, through which the revolutionary mania made us pass, at least this will have survived: nations will have learned to rebel with less vehement excesses, and rulers to be more measured and moderate in their oppression.

The second portion of Mr Alison's task, the 'History of Napoleon,' he has executed in a manner worthy of all praise. The picture he has given us of the character and achievements of this wonderful warrior is complete, vivid, and distinct,—and, as a whole, far superior both in fulness and vigour to any other we have read. The various steps by which Napoleon achieved supreme power—the singular manner in which fortune played into his hands—his hairbreadth escapes from utter ruin at several of the most critical periods of his life—his march from victory to victory,

and the peculiar and masterly tactics by which he obtained them all—his admirable measures for the regeneration of a country so thoroughly disorganised as France was when he became its ruler—the gradual turning of the scale against him by the improvement of his enemies' conduct, and the exhaustion of his own resources—his last gallant struggle against overwhelming numbers—his temporary abdication and subsequent miraculous revival—together with the final catastrophe, and the melancholy close of his chequered and turbulent career—are all depicted with a truth of outline and a richness of colouring, which fix the attention of the reader without an effort, and leave an indelible impression on his memory. Certainly no historian ever had so magnificent a subject, and few have ever done fuller justice to their task.

Napoleon was perhaps the most consummate master of military science the world ever saw. In the original conception of his plan, in his accurate and comprehensive combinations, as well as in his manœuvres in the field,—he carried skill to that point at which it merges into genius. Some, we know, have sought to deny him this praise, and have laboured to prove that his talents as a general were of a very mean order; elaborate arguments by ensigns and cornets have been published with this view; and we well remember many years ago to have heard an officer who had served under him on many occasions declare that, except in his Italian campaigns, he never showed any remarkable capacity, but accomplished all his subsequent conquests solely by dint of numbers, and by a reckless sacrifice of his troops, from which more considerate or humane generals would have shrunk. But it is impossible to read the details of his campaigns, and the most remarkable of his battles, which Mr Alison has described, without feeling convinced that all such disparaging arguments as those we refer to, must be regarded much in the same light as the old scholastic disputations, the sophistical paradoxes of Rousseau, or the 'Historic Doubts' of Archbishop Whately; namely, as amusing feats of intellectual jugglery, or exercises of aimless ingenuity.

It is perfectly true that Napoleon committed more than one serious mistake in his warlike enterprises; but this rarely occurred except when long experience of his adversaries had taught him a contempt for their capacity, which they were just ceasing to deserve; or when political considerations mixed themselves with those of strategy, and the conflicting interest of his double position as an emperor and a general, rendered that advisable as a matter of policy, which was in opposition to the acknowledged principles of the military art, as was frequently the case in the

later part of his career. Moreover, the general who, for fifteen years, has found a particular line of tactics invariably successful, cannot be accused of blundering because, from some unforeseen change of character on the part of his antagonist, it for once fails of its effect.

It is equally indisputable that, on several occasions, both in his civil and military career, Napoleon narrowly escaped destruction; and that some of his most signal and important triumphs were, if we may so express it, little more than defeats changed into victories by some remarkable stroke of fortune, or by the incapacity or folly of his adversaries. When he seized the supreme power on the 18th Brumaire, it was for many minutes doubtful whether his bold attempt would not terminate in utter failure, and be promptly expiated on the scaffold. The crisis was so fearful, and the danger so imminent, that, for the first and only time in his life, he entirely lost his presence of mind, and was only saved by the timely bombast of his brother Lucien. Again, at the battle of Marengo, the second crisis of his life, he was entirely defeated, when the defeat was changed into a splendid victory by the memorable charge of Kellerman. If the Allies had remained firm, and refused to treat, after the battle of Austerlitz, it seems clear that Napoleon would have been compelled to exchange a brilliant victory for a disastrous retreat. If the Archduke John had obeyed orders in the campaign of Aspern, Napoleon would have been irretrievably cut off. As it was he suffered a severe defeat, and narrowly escaped destruction. If the Russians had been fully aware of their success at Eylau, and had advanced after the battle, Napoleon never would have had the opportunity of restoring his affairs by the victory of Friedland. And had Kutusoff been aware that Napoleon had fought the battle of Borodino with only ammunition sufficient for a single day, he never would have suffered him to enter Moscow. In all these cases he owed much to fortune—much to the errors of his antagonists—but much also to his own skill and daring.

It is also true that he owed much of his early and signal success to having had the Austrians for his first and principal opponents. Though brave in the field, they were languid, tardy, and easily thrown into confusion by a flank attack. Their radically defective system—which no experience taught them to abandon—of tying up their ablest generals to a plan of the campaign, all the details of which were arranged by the Aulic Council at Vienna; while Napoleon, even in his earliest commands, acted entirely on his own judgment as the varying exigencies of the war demanded, and disdained to be fettered by any superior

authority, gave him a decisive advantage over his methodical antagonists. While at the same time their extraordinary and incurable slowness of proceeding, which continued unamended to the last year of the war, and the certainty with which they retreated or laid down their arms the moment their flank was turned or their communications threatened, were exactly fitted to play into the hands of a general unrivalled for the celerity of his movements and the boldness with which he threw himself upon his enemy's rear. The Austrian officers had been trained in the old school of military tactics, when, after a few marches and countermarches, a siege, and a couple of pitched battles, the campaign was considered to be at an end, and both parties were accustomed, as a matter of course, to retire into winter quarters; and when they regarded themselves as defeated as soon as they were decidedly outnumbered or outmanœuvred; and they had no idea either of the rapidity of movement or the obstinacy of resolve, which were requisite to encounter with effect an adversary like Napoleon. To the very last they always allowed him to surprise them, and conceived him to be at the distance of some days' march, when he was actually close upon them. It became manifest how much he had owed to this peculiar character of his opponents, as soon as he came into collision with the Russian troops in the campaign of Austerlitz, or with the English at Waterloo and in the Peninsula. These soldiers never retreated till their defeat was entire and overwhelming; and when they did retire, it was almost invariably in good order, and without loss of baggage or standards. The battle of Friedland was the only one fought by Napoleon against Russian troops in which he gained many o fthe proofs and trophies of victory. The campaign of Austerlitz is particularly worth studying with a view to this consideration. Indeed all the wars from 1796 to 1814 show that, had the Austrians been his only antagonists, he would have found no barrier between him and the sceptre of universal dominion.

Nevertheless, after allowing their full weight to all those considerations, ample proof will still remain of the splendid military genius of the French Emperor—a genius which never shone forth more brilliantly than in the fatal campaign of 1814, when, with an army composed almost entirely of newly levied conscripts—many of them mere boys—he contended single-handed against the combined forces of all Europe, and gained such a series of astonishing, though ineffective, victories. And whoever may be found, from motives of ungenerous envy, or unworthy love of paradox, to deny the claims of Napoleon to the praise of a consummate general, the testimony of the Duke of Wellington

and the Archduke Charles—the only captains who ever conquered him—will not be wanting to confute them.*

The capacities of Napoleon as a civil ruler were scarcely inferior to his talents as a general. We find ample evidence of the success with which he applied the native vigour of his understanding to the science of government, in his dispatches to the ministers of state, in his recorded conversations with his friends, in his speeches and observations to his council, as collected and published by Thibaudeau, and in the admirable measures he adopted or suggested for the reorganization of France from 1800 to 1804. It is impossible to read the account of these matters which Mr Alison has left us,† without doing involuntary homage to the strong clear sense, the instinctive wisdom, which, amid all the fatal errors which ambition led him to commit, marked every observation which fell from this wonderful man. In one point only was he thoroughly ignorant—commercial policy—but so are nine-tenths of statesmen even now. Nor does history alone contain the proofs of Napoleon's extraordinary administrative capacity. All France and Italy abound with the undertakings of public utility which he set on foot and carried through. It appears that during the twelve years of his government he expended no less than 40,000,000*l.* sterling on public works in the various countries under his rule (twenty-eight millions in France alone); and of these, twenty-two were for roads, bridges, harbours, and canals, which will remain eternal monuments of his genius and power, and perpetual blessings and sources of civilization to all Europe, long after the hand of time and industry shall have obliterated the last lingering traces of his desolating wars, and when the memory of his crimes and his glory shall have faded into the dim remoteness of the past. It is not often the case that the good men do lives after them, and the evil is interred with their bones; but it was so to a great extent with Napoleon. The vestiges of the mischiefs which he caused, and the sufferings which he inflicted, are fast dying out, and the lifetime of the present generation will probably see the last of them effaced; but the Antwerp harbour, the Alpine roads, and the Code Napoleon, would, in all likelihood, survive his memory, if they were not themselves its noble and undying record.

* The Duke, on being asked by Canning at what period of his career he considered that Napoleon was most conspicuously great as a military chief, replied, "Oh! beyond all question, after the battle of Leipsic."

† We especially recommend to the careful study of our readers the thirty-fifth chapter of Mr Alison's work.

The physical energies of Napoleon seem to have been almost superhuman. Fatigue was nearly unknown to him. With most men such an unsleeping spirit as his would have "o'er informed its tenement of clay." The fiery activity of his soul, however, appeared to endow his corporeal frame with powers of endurance and exertion with which none of his followers could keep pace. Mr Alison, in his 70th chapter, has given us a vivid picture of the incessant toil with which he wore out both his aids-de-camps and his secretaries. He was invariably temperate, often almost to asceticism; seldom took above four hours' sleep, and, when necessary, seemed able to dispense with it altogether.

> "But while he shunned the grosser joys of sense,
> His mind seemed nourished by that abstinence."

In one point his character presents a singular contrast with itself. His genius was essentially mathematical; yet few men ever existed in whom the poetic element was so powerfully developed. His fancy was quite of the oriental cast. To the very end of his career his mind was full of the most romantic visions of Eastern grandeur; and his magnificent and wild imagination presents a vivid contrast to the vigorous grasp of his intellect, the coolness of his judgment, and the crystal clearness of his understanding. The throne of Constantinople or Hindostan was one of the dreams of his earliest youth; and even in the midst of his most splendid European conquests, gorgeous visions of palms and pagodas were seldom long absent from his fancy.

The reverse of this interesting picture is presented when we turn from his intellectual endowments to contemplate his moral qualities. Yet even here there was much that was attractive. He was a man of fascinating manners, of occasional impulses of generous emotion, and of warm and kind, though limited affections. He appears to have been sincerely attached to his wife and child, and to a few among his early companions in arms, especially to Lannes, Duroc, and Junot. But the prominent feature of his character was a hard, cold, unrelenting selfishness. Whatever interfered, or seemed likely to interfere, with his own fame, his own aggrandisement, his own ambition, was trampled under foot with the most ruthless resolution. His total and contemptible disregard of truth; his ungenerous enmity to all whose exploits threatened to rival or eclipse his own, or whose services to himself had been too conspicuously brilliant; his entire disregard of the lives of his soldiers, or the exhaustion of his country, or the rights of other sovereigns, or his own deliberate promises and solemn treaties, or, in short, of any consideration

whatever, when in pursuit of the objects he had determined to obtain; his insolent and cruel violations of the first principles of international law; and the sufferings he inflicted on the whole of Europe by his Berlin and Milan anti-commercial decrees, while at the same time he did not scruple to sacrifice the very object for which they were enacted, by the sale of licences to enrich his private treasury; all these things, which are fully and vividly detailed in the history before us, not only make us rejoice in the fall of this barbarian enemy of peace and freedom, but enable us to look upon the retributive fate which subsequently overtook him—bitter as it was—without a single emotion of pity or regret.

The insatiable and unresting ambition of Napoleon admits of no excuse. His encroachments were even more daring and intolerable in time of peace than during war. He pursued them from passion, and justified them on principle. He was in the habit of defending his unceasing wars, by urging the necessity, which the precarious tenure of his dynasty laid him under, of constantly dazzling the imaginations of the French by new and more magnificent achievements; and repeatedly affirmed that any repose under his laurels, any pause in his career of conquest, would have compromised his authority with so fickle and requiring a people. Mr Alison, much to our surprise, adopts the same line of defence.

"Napoleon constantly affirmed that he was not to be accused for the wars which he undertook; that they were imposed upon him by an invincible necessity; that glory and success—in other words, perpetual conquest—were the conditions of his tenure of power; that he was the head of a military republic, which would admit of no pause in its career; that conquest with him was essential to existence, and that the first pause in the march of victory would prove the commencement of ruin. This history has, indeed, been written to little purpose, if it is not manifest, even to the most inconsiderate, that he was right in these ideas, and that it was not himself, but the spirit of his age, which is chargeable with his fall."—Vol. x, p. 539.

But the defence is an untenable one; or if admissible at all, is applicable only to his earlier wars. It is unquestionably true, as Napoleon declared, that his power being founded mainly on opinion, any serious *check*, or *reverse*, might have shaken—and when it came *did* shake—the stability of his throne. But this stability was so far from depending on his continental aggression wars, that it was materially weakened and undermined by them; and the grinding conscription—which in the late years of the war was always levied by anticipation—had wearied out the loyalty of the great body of the nation, and the fatigues and pri-

vations of ceaseless campaigning had completely exhausted the zeal and attachment of his generals, before the disasters in Spain or Russia had begun to cast a doubt on the invincibility of his arms.* "Where is the use (asked the discontented Marshals) of our wealth and our splendid palaces in Paris, if we are never to have leisure to enjoy them, but must live on horseflesh, and lie upon the ground?" We feel perfectly satisfied, after a careful perusal of all that Mr Alison has written on this subject, that if, after the decisive battle of Friedland, Napoleon had sheathed the sword, and devoted his genius and activity to internal improvement, and to the reparation of the ravages which his wars had made in the wealth, the finances, the commerce, the population, and the agriculture of France, he might still have been reigning in the Tuileries, and have maintained the boundary of the Rhine.

To us—who live after the panic has subsided, and when the cause of terror is removed, and who can read past events by the light which subsequent disclosures had thrown over them—few things appear more remarkable than the excessive alarm and despondency which Napoleon's march towards universal dominion excited in the minds even of the most strong and clear-sighted statesmen of the day. They saw him advance from victory to victory,—lay prostrate often by a single blow the most renowned monarchies of Europe, attach one nation after another to his standards, and aggrandise his territories even more rapidly by diplomacy than by the sword. But they did *not* see, behind this brilliant exterior of events, the causes at work, which sooner or later must inevitably arrest the tide of conquest, and roll it back with resistless violence upon the shores of France. They did not see that the utter exhaustion, both of population, commerce, and cultivation which Napoleon's conquests involved, must soon bring those conquests to an end, by leaving him destitute of those natural resources which had hitherto enabled him to achieve them. They did not perceive that the enormous armies which were requisite to crush his more powerful antagonists must, in a hostile land, fall to pieces from their own unwieldiness; and still more that the cruel exactions and more cruel humiliations which he heaped upon the vanquished nations, were silently but rapidly arousing a desperate spirit of resistance and revenge, which, when matured, would prove too mighty even for the spirit of conquest, or the miracles of military science. In modern times, we are satisfied, universal dominion is as hopeless a chimera as perpetual motion. The very mechanism requisite to realize

* Alison, vol. viii, pp. 614, 674.

either problem involves its own discomfiture. Yet the correspondence of Sir James Mackintosh (who assuredly was one of the most sagacious and profound observers of political events which our age has produced), abounds in desponding passages as to the universal despotism which the French Emperor was establishing, and the night of barbarism which was falling upon Europe. In 1808 he writes thus to a friend:—

"Who can tell how long the fearful night may be, before the dawn of a brighter to-morrow? Experience may, and I hope does, justify us in expecting that the whole course of human affairs is towards a better state; but it does not justify us in supposing that many steps of the progress may not immediately be towards a worse. The race of man may reach the promised land, but there is no assurance that the present generation will not perish in the wilderness. The prospect of the nearest part of futurity, of all that we can discover, except with the eyes of speculation, seems very dismal. The mere establishment of absolute power in France is the smallest part of the evil. . . . . Europe is now covered with a multitude of dependent despots, whose existence depends on their maintaining the paramount tyranny in France.* The mischief has become too intricate to be unravelled in our day. An evil greater than despotism, or rather the worst and most hideous form of despotism approaches—a monarchy, literally universal, seems about to be established. Then all the spirit, variety, and emulation of separate nations, which the worst forms of internal government have not utterly extinguished, will vanish. And in that state of things, if we may judge from past examples, the whole energy of human intellect and virtue will languish, and can scarcely be revived otherwise than by a spirit of barbarism."*

Yet within five years of the date of these remarks, the empire of Napoleon was at an end.

But it is time to bring our observations to a close. We lay down Mr Alison's masterly picture of Napoleon's career and character, with a feeling of sincere regret. To attempt any succinct portraiture of such a man would be presumptuous and idle. It would appear as if Providence had sent him upon earth, to show to the worshippers of grandeur and of talent, how completely all that is most magnificent in intellectual endowment may be divorced from moral excellence and the generous affections; and when so divorced, how incalculably sad and terrible are its consequences to mankind. Yet every page of Napoleon's history, while it adds to the detestation which we cannot but feel for his selfishness and his crimes, serves also to augment the thrilling

* Memoirs of Sir James Mackintosh, vol. i, p. 383. See also pp. 296, 307, 375, for a repetition of the same gloomy forebodings.

admiration which the coldest heart cannot refuse to his superb and splendid genius.

It appears from authentic documents which Mr Alison has collected, that from the commencement to the close of the revolutionary wars, the levies of soldiers in France exceeded *four millions*,* and that not less than *three millions* of these, on the lowest calculation, perished in the field, the hospital, or the bivouac.† If to these we add, as we unquestionably must, at least an equal number out of the ranks of their antagonists, it is clear that not less than *six millions* of human beings perished in warfare in the course of twenty years, in the very heart of civilized Europe, at the commencement of the nineteenth century of the Christian era. But even these stupendous numbers give us no adequate conception of the destruction of human life directly consequent on the wars of the revolution and the empire. We must add the thousands who perished from want, outrage, and exposure, and the hundreds of thousands who were subsequently swept away by the ravages of that pestilence‡ which took its rise amid the retreat from Russia, and the crowded garrisons of the campaign of 1813, and for several years afterwards desolated in succession every country of Europe. And even when we have summed up and laid before us, in all the magnitude of figures, the appalling destruction of life here exhibited, we can still gather only a faint and remote conception of the sufferings and the evils inflicted by this awful scourge. Death in the field is among the smallest of the miseries of war; the burned villages—the devastated harvests—the ruined commerce—the towns carried by assault—the feeble and the lovely massacred and outraged—grief, despair, and desolation, carried into innumerable families,—these are among the more terrific visitations of military conflicts, and the blackest of the crimes for which a fearful retribution will one day be exacted at the hands of those who have provoked, originated, or compelled them. If anything could awaken the statesmen of our age to a just estimate of war and the warrior, surely their deeds and the consequences of these deeds should do so, when exhibited on a scale of such tremendous magnitude. Yet so far the impression made seems to have been both feeble and imperfect. Our views with regard to war are still in singular discordance both with our reason and our religion. They appear to be rather the result of a brute instinct, than of obedience to the dictates either of a sound sense, or of a pure faith. On all other points, Christianity is the acknowledged foundation of our theory

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* Alison, x, p. 540. † Alison, vi, p. 411.
‡ Alison, ix, p. 650, x, p. 9.

of morals, however widely we may swerve from it in practice; but in the case of war we do not pretend to keep up even the shadow of allegiance to the authority of our nominal lawgiver. "A state of war (says Robert Hall), is nothing less than a temporary repeal of all the principles of virtue." It is the primary object of war, and is considered to be the primary duty of the warrior to inflict the maximum of injury upon the enemy; and so distinctly is this principle laid down, that we have seen courts-martial held upon deserving officers, in which the only charge against them was that they had not done as much mischief to their antagonists as, under the circumstances, it was considered they might have done,—that they had spared some property which might have been destroyed, and suffered some fellow creatures to escape with life who, with greater exertion, might have been slain; and in which the accusation was preferred in these broad and naked terms.*

How happens it that our notions on the subject of war are so widely different from what we have a right to suppose they would be among a Christian people? from what they would be, if Christianity had had any share in their formation? We think the singular discrepancy may be traced to two sources. In the first place, the whole tone of feeling among educated minds—and through them among other classes—has become thoroughly perverted and demoralized by the turn which is given to their early studies. The first books to which the attention of our youth is sedulously and exclusively directed are those of the ancient authors; the first poet they are taught to relish and admire is Homer; the first histories put into their hands (and with which through life they are commonly more conversant than with any other) are those of Greece and Rome; the first biographies with which they become familiar are those of the heroes and warriors of the wild times of old. Now, in those days the staple occupation of life—at once its business and its pastime—was war. War was almost the sole profession of the rich and great, and became in consequence almost the sole theme of poets and historians. It is, therefore, the subject most constantly presented, and presented in the most glowing colours, to the mind of the young student, at the precise period when his mind is most susceptible and most tenacious of new impressions; the

* "The morality of peaceful times is directly opposite to the maxims of war. The fundamental rule of the first is to do good; of the latter to inflict injuries. The former commands us to succour the oppressed; the latter to overwhelm the defenceless. The rules of morality will not suffer us to promote the dearest interests by falsehood; the maxims of war applaud it when employed for the destruction of others."—*Robert Hall*, p. 20.

exciting scenes of warfare fill him with deeper interest than any other, and the intellectual and moral qualities of the warrior—quick foresight, rapid combination, iron resolve, stern severity, impetuous courage—become the objects of his warmest admiration; he forgets the peaceful virtues of charity and forbearance, or learns to despise them; he sees not the obscurer but the loftier merits of the philanthropist and the man of science; he comes to look upon war as the noblest of professions, and upon the warrior as the proudest of human characters; and the impression thus early made withstands all the subsequent efforts of reflection and religion to dislodge it. It is difficult to over-estimate the mischief wrought by this early misdirection of our studies; and that the impression produced is such as we have represented it, every one will acknowledge on a consideration of his own feelings.*

The other source of our erroneous sentiments with regard to war may be found in the faulty and mischievous mode in which history has been generally written. In the first place, little except war has been touched upon; and the notion has been thus left upon the mind, either that nations were occupied in war alone, or that nothing else was worth recording. Those silent but steady labours which have gradually advanced the wealth of a country, and laid the foundation of its prosperity and power; those toilsome investigations which have pushed forward the boundaries of human knowledge, and illustrated through all time the age and the land which gave them birth; that persevering ingenuity and unbaffled skill which have made Science the handmaid of Art, and wrought out of her discoveries the materials of civilization and national pre-eminence; and, greater than all, that profound and patient thought which has eliminated the great principles of social and political well-being;—concerning all these, history has been silent; and the whole attention, both of the teacher and the student, has been concentrated upon "the loud transactions of the outlying world," while the real progress of nations, and the great and good men who have contributed thereto, have alike been consigned to oblivion.

Again,—historians have never given a full and fair analysis of *what war is.* They have described the marches, the sieges, the able manœuvres, the ingenious stratagems, the gallant enterprises, the desperate conflicts, the masterly combinations, the acts of heroic daring, with which war abounds;—and they have summed up those descriptions of battles which we read with breathless interest, by informing us that the victory was gained with a loss of so many thousands killed and wounded—so many thousands made

* See Foster's Essays, p. 341.

prisoners—and so many standards and pieces of artillery taken from the enemy.* But all this is only the outside colouring of war, and goes little way towards making us acquainted with its real character. Historians rarely tell us of the privations suffered —the diseases engendered—the tortures undergone during a campaign;—still less of the vices ripened, the selfishness confirmed, the hearts hardened, by this "temporary repeal of all the principles of virtue." They do not speak of the ties broken—of the peasants ruined—of the hearths made desolate—of grief never to be comforted—of shame never to be wiped away—of the burden of abiding affliction brought upon many a happy household—of all the nameless atrocities, *one* of which in peaceful times would make our blood run cold, but which in war are committed daily, by thousands, with impunity. Historians rarely ever present us with such pictures as the following; and yet these are the inevitable accompaniments of war:—

"Such was the terrible battle of Eylau, fought in the depth of winter, amidst ice and snow, under circumstances of unexampled horror. The loss on both sides was immense; and never in modern times had a field of battle been strewn with such a multitude of slain. On the side of the Russians, 25,000 had fallen, of whom above 7,000 were already no more; on that of the French upwards of 30,000 were killed or wounded, and nearly 10,000 had left their colours under pretence of attending to the wounded. Never was spectacle so dreadful as the field presented on the following morning. Above 50,000 men lay in the space of two leagues, weltering in blood. The wounds were for the most part of the severest kind, from the extraordinary quantity of cannon balls which had been discharged during the action, and the close proximity of the contending masses to the deadly batteries which spread their grape at half-musket shot through their ranks. Though stretched on the cold snow, and exposed to the severity of an arctic winter, they were burning with thirst, and piteous cries were heard on all sides for water, or assistance to extricate the wounded men from the heaps of slain, or the load of horses by which they were crushed. Six thousand of these noble animals encumbered the field, or maddened with pain, were shrieking aloud amid the stifled groans of the wounded."—*Alison*, vi, p. 85.†

* "A history that should present a perfect display of human miseries and slaughter, would incite no one that had not attained the last possibility of depravation, to imitate the principal actors. It would give the same feeling as the *sight* of a field of dead and dying men after a battle is over, a sight at which the soul would shudder; yet the tendency of the Homeric poetry, and of epic poetry in general, is to insinuate the glory of repeating such a tragedy."—*Foster*, p. 343.

† "On Sunday forenoon I found a crowd collected round a car in which some wounded soldiers had just returned from Russia. No grenade, or

We might multiply pictures yet more fearful, and we give one or two in a note. But we cannot refrain from quoting a few passages from a letter of Sir Charles Bell to Francis Horner, written after the battle of Waterloo, whither he had gone to assist in giving the necessary surgical attendance to the wounded.

"After I had been *five days* engaged in the prosecution of my object, I found that the best cases, that is the most horrid wounds, left totally without assistance, were to be found in the French hospital; this hospital was only forming; they were *even then* bringing these poor creatures in from the woods. It is impossible to convey to you the picture of human misery continually before my eyes. What was heart-rending in the day was intolerable at night. . . . . At six o'clock I took the knife in my hand, and continued incessantly at work till seven in the evening; and so the second day, and again the third. All the decencies of performing surgical operations were soon neglected; while I amputated one man's thigh, there lay at one time *thirteen*, all beseeching to be taken next. It was a strange thing to feel my clothes stiff with blood, and my arms powerless with using the knife; and more extraordinary still to find my mind calm amidst such a variety of suffering. . .

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grape could have so disfigured these victims of the cold. One of them had lost the upper joints of all his ten fingers, and he showed us the stumps. Another wanted both ears and nose. More horrible still was the look of a third, whose eyes had been frozen; the eyelids hung down rotting, the globes of the eyes were burst, and protruded from their sockets. It was awfully hideous; but a spectacle yet more dreadful was to present itself. Out of the straw in the bottom of a car, I now beheld a figure creep painfully which one could scarcely believe to be a human being, so wild and distorted were the features; the lips were rotted away, the teeth stood exposed: he pulled the cloth from before his mouth, and grinned on us like a death's head. . . . ."—*Alison*, ix, 112.

The following is a description of the state of the town and garrison of Dresden in 1813:—"The ravages which a contagious fever (the consequence of their privations) made on the inhabitants, added to the public distress. Not less than three hundred were carried off by it a week, among the citizens alone. Two hundred dead bodies were every day brought out of the military hospitals. Such was the accumulation in the churchyards, that the gravediggers could not inter them, and they were laid naked, in ghastly rows, along the place of sepulture. The bodies were heaped in such numbers on the dead carts, that they frequently fell from them, and the wheels gave a frightful sound in cracking the bones of the bodies which thus lay upon the streets. The hospital attendants and carters trampled down the corpses in the carts, like baggage or straw, to make room for more; and not unfrequently some of the bodies gave signs of life, and even uttered shrieks under this harsh usage. Several bodies thrown into the Elbe for dead, were revived by the sudden immersion in cold water, and the wretches were seen struggling in vain in the waves, by which they were soon swallowed up. Medicine and hospital stores there were none; and almost all the surgeons and apothecaries were dead."—*Alison*, ix, 643.

These are ghastly pictures, but we must not shrink from them if we would conceive aright what military glory really is, and how alone it can be purchased.

. . . After being eight days among the wounded (operating, it must be remembered all the time) I visited the field of battle. The view of the field, the gallant stories, the individual instances of enterprise and valour, recalled me to the sense which the world has of victory and Waterloo. But this was transient; a gloomy, uncomfortable view of human nature is the inevitable consequence of looking upon the whole as I did—as I was forced to do. There must ever be associated with the honours of Waterloo, to my eyes the most shocking sights of woe; to my ears accents of entreaty, outcry from the manly breast, interrupted forcible expressions of the dying, and *noisome smells*."*

When a statesman declares war in consequence of any of the ordinary motives thereto; for the sake of a rich colony which he is desirous to obtain; to prevent an ambitious neighbour from acquiring what might render him a formidable rival; to restore a monarch dethroned by a people wearied of his manifold oppressions; to resent a private wrong, or avenge a diplomatic insult—his thoughts on the matter seldom travel beyond the issuing of a manifesto, the appointment of a general, the levying of troops, and the imposition of taxes for the maintenance of the contest. He is therefore wholly unconscious *what in reality he is doing*;—and if a sage were to go to him, as Nathan went to David, and say—"Sir, you have given orders for the commission of murder on a monstrous scale; you have directed that 50,000 of your subjects shall send as many of their fellow men, wholly unprepared for so awful a change, into a presence where they must answer for their manifold misdeeds; you have commanded that 30,000 more shall pass the best years of their life in hopeless imprisonment,—shall in fact be punished as the worst of criminals, when they have committed no crime but by your orders;—you have arranged so that 20,000 more shall lie for days on the bare ground, horribly mutilated, and slowly bleeding to death, and at length only be succoured in order to undergo the most painful operations, and then perish miserably in a hospital; you have given orders that numbers of innocent and lovely women—as beautiful and delicate as your own daughters—shall undergo the last indignities from the licence of a brutal soldiery; you have issued a fiat which, if not recalled, will carry mourning into many families, will cut off at a stroke the delight of many eyes, will inflict upon thousands, now virtuous and contented, misery which can know no cure, and desolation which in this world can find no alleviation;"—if such a message as this were conveyed to him—*every word of which would be strictly true*—would he not disown the ghastly image thus held up to him, and exclaim, "Is

* "Memoirs of Francis Horner," ii, 267.

thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?" And if statesmen could realize all this before they put their hand to the declaration of hostilities, would they not rather thrust it into the flames?

We are aware that to many all this will appear idle and declamatory—wholly unworthy of men who pretend to an acquaintance with political and social science, yet nothing can be more unquestionable than that we have added no unreal touches, no undue colouring to the picture; and our remarks should be thought worthy of the more attention, because we do not belong to those who consider that under *no* circumstances can war be righteously undertaken. On the contrary, few can read its details with more thrilling interest, few would share in its hardships and its perils with heartier zeal, in a cause clear enough and grand enough to justify and hallow the adoption of so terrible an agency; but we know that such causes are infinitely rare—that, judging from the past history of our race, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, war is a folly and a crime; and that where it is so it is the saddest and the wildest of all follies, and the most heinous of all crimes.*

Has it ever occurred to any of our readers to *analyse* the profession of a soldier?—a profession so much honoured in our country, as in most others. A soldier is a man whose profession

* "We should do well to translate this word *war* into language more intelligible to us. When we pay our army and navy estimates, let us set down—so much for killing—so much for maiming—so much for making widows and orphans—so much for bringing famine upon a district—so much for corrupting citizens and subjects into spies and traitors—so much for letting loose the demons of fury, rapine, and lust within the fold of civilised society. We shall know by this means what we have paid our money for; whether we have made a good bargain; and whether the account is likely to pass—elsewhere. We must take in, too, all those concomitant circumstances which make war, considered as battle, the least part of itself—*pars minima sui.* We must fix our eyes, not on the hero returning with conquest, nor yet on the gallant officer dying in the bed of honour—the subject of picture and of song,—but on the private soldier, forced into the service, exhausted by camp sickness and fatigue; pale, emaciated, crawling to a hospital, with the prospect of life—perhaps a long life—blasted, useless, and suffering. We must think of the uncounted tears of her who weeps alone, because the only being who shared her sentiments is taken from her;—no martial music sounds in unison with her feelings;—the long day passes, and he returns not. She does not shed her sorrows over his grave, for she has never learned whether he even had one. If he had returned, his exertions would not have been remembered individually, for he only made a small imperceptible part of a human machine called a regiment. These are not fancy pictures; if you please to heighten them, you can every one of you do it for yourselves."—*Sins of Government the Sins of the Nation*, p. 400.

it is to make war—to fight with his fellow-men, and (disguise it how we will, in the smooth, conventional hypocrisies of language) to slay them. Like every one else, he takes a pride and a pleasure in the exercise of his profession. To rust away in idleness is irksome and inglorious; in peace he has little chance of employment, promotion, or distinction; peace, therefore, is burdensome and unwelcome. From the very nature of things, he longs for war; he watches with a natural, but certainly not a Christian, delight the first bickerings which give promise of ripening into actual hostility, and he desires to "fan the smoking flax into a flame." This is natural and inevitable; it cannot be otherwise. In most of the nations of modern Europe we have created and maintain an esteemed and influential profession, numbering hundreds of thousands of members, whose interest and inclination both point towards war, and who thus constitute an always acting force, urging their countrymen (however unconsciously) to that which, when fairly stated, no one can defend—to be active in aggression, tenacious in dispute, prompt in reprisals, and sensitive to insult. A soldier is a man who, by the inevitable instinct of his profession, incessantly desires and seeks for a state of things which Christianity denounces as sinful, and which reason condemns as noxious and absurd.

Again, that the destruction of the life and property of our fellow-men is a sin, and a grievous sin, *per se*, there can be no question. The position of a soldier imposes upon him the obligation of committing this enormous iniquity to any extent, and upon any parties, at the command of the minister of the day. History tells him—and his own experience will confirm the teaching—that this minister is often wicked, incapable, and passionate; that he has frequently obtained his power by the vilest means (by mistresses in France, by corrupt parliamentary majorities in England); that, in the views which he takes, and the orders which he issues, he is often governed by the basest motives, and the silliest and wickedest counsellors. He may be a shallow and sensual intriguer, like Godoy; he may have objects of personal ambition, like Napoleon; he may be an empty chatterer, like Newcastle; but however unjust the war which he commands, however wild the scheme, however barefaced the aggression, however innocent the victim, however harsh and barbarous the mode in which the enterprise is to be carried through—the soldier has no choice, no power of refusal or evasion; he has bound himself to do the bidding of his superior, however palpably and monstrously iniquitous that bidding may

be. He cannot resign; that would be attended with dishonour. He cannot remonstrate; that would be punished as insubordination. In some of the most important actions of life he has ceased to be a free agent, *though he cannot cease to be a responsible agent*; he has parted with his birthright for a mess of pottage: he has, in fact, sold himself into a species of slavery, which often leaves him only the humiliating and torturing alternative of remaining at his post to perpetrate sin and cruelty, or leaving it with dishonour and ruin. And to us it is marvellously strange, and a signal proof of the difficulty and the rarity with which men rise to the contemplation of first principles, that any one of sound judgment and good feelings, who can dig, or plough, or weave, or push his fortune in any of the thousand paths which lie open to the foot of enterprise, should be willing thus to barter away, for so paltry an equivalent, *his right of refusing to do wrong*.

With this digression—if remarks can be so called which so inevitably grow out of the subject we have been considering—we close our imperfect notice of Mr Alison's interesting work. The period over which it extends is, beyond all others, the most thronged with great events—great in themselves, marvellous in the rapidity with which they succeeded each other, momentous and far reaching in their consequences. No other period could be named so fertile in brilliant pictures for the poet, in suggestions for the speculative philosopher, in lessons of practical wisdom for the statesman. We see the most glorious prospects that ever dawned upon civilized humanity, quenched in the darkest cloud that ever closed over its destinies. We see the overthrow of an ancient tyranny, intolerable from its intense selfishness, more intolerable still from its very dotage and decrepitude—and the birth, out of its ashes, of a wild and shapeless liberty, at once violent and feeble—stained with the ineradicable vice and weakness of its origin, mischievous and transient, because the virtues of freedom can have no firm root among a people vitiated by long centuries of endured oppression. We see the most prolonged and devastating wars ever waged upon the earth ended by a fearful and a fitting retribution; and the most magnificent genius of modern times, within the short space of twenty-five years, a famished ensign in an unpaid army, monarch of the most powerful empire which has existed since the days of Trajan—and, finally, a chained and solitary captive on a barren rock in the remotest pathways of the ocean. In a period thickly strewn with such vicissitudes, there is much food for wholesome contemplation; and if the nations and the

rulers of our times would study its lessons with the solicitous humility which their magnitude and their solemnity demand, we should become rich in that wisdom which grows out of the grave of folly—strong in that virtue which springs out of the recoil from sin. W. R. G.

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ART. IV.—1. *The Act 6 and 7 Vict., cap. 36, entitled "An Act to Exempt from County, Borough, Parochial, and other Local Rates, Land and Buildings occupied by Scientific and Literary Societies."* (28 *July*, 1843.)

2. *A Manual for Mechanics Institutions. Published under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.* 8vo. Pp. 322. Knight. London, 1839.

3. *Report on the State of Literary, Scientific, and Mechanics Institutions in England; with a List of such Institutions, and a List of Lecturers. Published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.* 8vo. London, 1841. Pp. 117.

4. *First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Annual Reports of the Yorkshire (late "West Riding") Union of Mechanics Institutions:* 1838. 1843. Baines and Son, Leeds.

TO Mr George William Wood (now, alas! no more), Lord Sandon, and Mr Wyse, the public are indebted for the contribution of another mite towards a national provision for education. These gentlemen prepared and brought in the Act of last session in favour of Mechanics and Literary Institutions, cited above; and considering that it is almost as easy for any measure intended to promote popular instruction to pass through parliament as it is for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, our obligations are undoubtedly great to these three gentlemen for having obtained the enactment of this law. We do not pretend to think that the assistance it will render to institutions for popular education will be important; far from it. Whatever assistance, however, it does give will be direct and very acceptable. It is the principle more than the details of the measure over which we rejoice. We regard it as the repeal of another tax upon knowledge—as another recognition by the legislature of the desirableness of disseminating knowledge to all

the people—in short, as a most excellent example and precedent whereby to strengthen the hands of the enemies of popular ignorance in the next generation.

That the bill was suffered to pass we owe to Sir Robert Peel, and it is proper that we should here thank him for his patronage of mechanics institutions. He began exceedingly well by his address at the opening of the Tamworth Institution; he then spoke in favour of the motion made by Mr Gillon in March, 1841; and now he has given the support of his government to a measure exempting them from local taxes. A few more indications like these of his superiority to the vulgar and bigoted notions of his party would obtain for him the respect of the reflecting portion of the public, and increase his strength both in the House of Commons and the Cabinet.

Our design in this paper is not to write a formal essay on the desirableness and necessity of popular education, and on the adaptation of societies formed on the principle of mechanics institutions materially to promote it. Into such general arguments it is not our intention at present to enter. Our object is altogether *practical*. We desire to assist mechanics institutions by bringing together such facts, and offering such suggestions, as are likely to be of service in the ordinary course of their management. We also desire to present a clear and correct outline of their progress to the present time, and of their actual condition, for the information of those persons who have paid little or no attention to the subject. We are the more inclined to this plain course, because we fear that there is too great a disposition in public writers to discharge their duty to the great question of the education of the people by the repetition of trite and commonplace reasons in its favour, to the neglect of more substantial and immediate kinds of assistance; and because we feel that not the least impediment to the advancement of the excellent institutions in question has been the neglect they have experienced from the more influential public journals.

We shall first define what is meant by a "Mechanics Institution," and then divide what we have to say into three divisions: namely,—

I. The origin and history of Mechanics Institutions.

II. Their condition at the present time. And,

III. Practical suggestions for their improvement and assistance.

A "Mechanics Institution," then, is a voluntary association of a portion of the humbler classes of a town or locality, assisted by

a few of the leading and wealthy inhabitants, to raise, by means of small periodical contributions, a fund to be expended in the instruction of the members in science, literature, and the arts, to the exclusion of controversial divinity, party politics, and subjects of local dispute, by means of a library of circulation, lectures, evening or day classes, and a reading room. The government of the society is commonly vested in a committee, chosen annually by the adult members, and composed of persons selected from the ordinary, and patron classes of subscribers, in the proportion sometimes of one-half, sometimes one-third, of the latter. Mechanics Institutions are not under the protection and regulation of any particular act, as are Friendly Societies, but stand in the same relation to the law as any other voluntary and unchartered associations of individuals.

I. *Origin and History of Mechanics Institutions.*—Although the late excellent Dr Birkbeck was not perhaps the original inventor, he was, without dispute, the original founder of mechanics institutions. The primitive "mechanics institution" was a class of journeymen mechanics, formed by Dr Birkbeck at Glasgow, about February 1800, during the time that he was the Andersonian Lecturer in that city. The object of this class was the instruction of its members (who were expected to be labouring mechanics) in the "scientific principles of their respective trades," to the neglect, if not the exclusion, of other kinds of knowledge; and it is important to observe that, until the last few years, this limitation of instruction was considered to be the only legitimate basis on which to found the operations of these institutions. We shall see, before we conclude, how experience and circumstances have gradually extended this original idea.

We believe that the class formed by Dr Birkbeck at Glasgow continued to flourish for several years, under the care of the Professors who succeeded him in the Andersonian Institution.

In 1821, the "School of Arts," an institution analogous in plan and object to the Glasgow Society, was formed at Edinburgh, principally by the exertions of Mr Leonard Horner. The real era of mechanics' institutions, however, was not until two or three years later. We believe the subject was first brought prominently before the public by Lord Brougham, in an article on the "Scientific Education of the People" inserted in the 'Edinburgh Review' for October, 1824, and afterwards published as a pamphlet.

In the course of 1825, mechanics institutions were formed in London and in several of the principal towns. Other institutions

continued to be formed during the three or four succeeding years; and the period from 1825 to 1830 (both inclusive) may be considered, perhaps, as the first term in their history; that is, as the portion of time during which the ideas and principles which prompted and governed their formation in the first instance were most vigorous and active.

About 1831, we have reason to believe that both the establishment of new institutions began to slacken, and that the prosperity of those already in existence was, in general, materially on the decline. This state of things continued to about the end of 1835: the political excitement of these years was, probably, one chief cause of this declension; but the insufficiency of the means and scope of the institutions themselves, as we shall subsequently have to explain, was, no doubt, the principal reason.

Subsequent to 1835—in the course, perhaps, of 1836*—a revival took place in the condition of several institutions. This arose chiefly, from the lessons taught by past experience and failures, beginning to have their due influence in minor points of management, as well as in the greater matter of discovering the unsound parts of the original plan. The most important circumstances which have arisen out of this revival are, perhaps: (1) The virtual abandonment of the original idea that the operations of mechanics institutes should be confined to the instruction of "working mechanics in the scientific principles of their respective trades," as their *sole*, or at least their *greatly predominating* object; and the adoption of the more comprehensive purpose (still, however, not omitting or undervaluing the former) of providing for the humbler classes generally "the largest amount of sound instruction combined with the largest amount of cheap and innocent amusement." This change may be described in other words as the elevation of mechanics institutions from mere technical schools of arts for the use of operative artisans, into societies designed to meet, as far as their means will permit, all the intellectual wants of the poorer part of the population. This change is undoubtedly the most important event in their history. (2) The formation of LYCEUMS, a species of institutions which the deficiencies of the mechanics institutions appear to have called forth. (3) The successful adoption of the plan of "Public Exhibitions of works of Nature and Art;" and (4) the establishment of "Unions" among the institutions of particular districts with a view to the interchange

* We do not like to adopt a more *positive* manner of statement, because there is yet no collection of data on the subject (that we know of) sufficiently extensive and accurate to justify any one in treating the matter as settled and placed beyond dispute.

of assistance and advice. On these three last particulars it will be needful to enter into some explanation.

First, as to LYCEUMS. We believe that, hitherto, these institutions have not extended beyond Manchester and its neighbourhood, where three of them were formed in 1838. The *principle* of their objects, government, and machinery appears to be identical with that of mechanics institutions. The differences between the two classes of institutions are, that the Lyceums are (1) cheaper in point of expense; (2) that they make more provision for the amusement of their members by means of concerts, tea parties, and *soirées;* (3) that they admit, with less restraint, works of light literature into their libraries of circulation, and newspapers into their reading rooms; (4) that their lectures are more frequent, treat of more popular and attractive subjects, and are delivered in a style more generally intelligible; and (5) that they provide for the instruction of females as well as males.

In 1841, the three Lyceums of Ancoats, Salford, and Chorlton-on-Medlock contained 3,000 members, very nearly the whole of whom belonged to the working classes. The subscription to each, was *eight* shillings per annum for *males*, and *six* shillings for *females;* each of the three libraries contained about 1,500 volumes; and to each of the Lyceums of Salford and Charlton there was attached an extensive and well-appointed gymnasium. The institutions were described as being in a prosperous state, and their meetings and proceedings were said to be remarkable for good order and attentive behaviour. We gather these details from the report of the 'Manchester District Association of Literary and Scientific Institutions' for 1841, a document drawn up by Mr Herford, of Manchester, a gentleman who has been one of the most active promoters of the Lyceum system.

(2) *Public Exhibitions.*—A "Public Exhibition," as held in connexion with a mechanics institution, is a suite of rooms filled, according to a correct and tasteful classification, with specimens of natural history, works of art, models of machinery at rest and in motion, philosophical instruments, and curious mechanical manufacturing and scientific processes in actual operation. These different objects of interest are hired by the Committee of Management, or, as more generally happens, are lent to them under proper guarantees by the owners, who are in most instances the gentry and master-manufacturers of the neighbourhood. In addition to these stationary attractions, there are usually concerts and other musical performances at frequent intervals. Lectures, also, on various branches of science, illustrated by objects in the exhibition, are delivered by competent persons once or twice a day. The expenses of attendance, gas, insurance,

rent, &c., are defrayed out of the sums received for admission, and any surplus that may remain when all liabilities are discharged goes to increase the funds of the institution. The rate of admission is fixed at the lowest possible sum (generally sixpence), with the twofold view of enabling the poor as well as the rich to participate in the pleasures of the exhibition, and of securing the largest possible amount of receipts, upon Mr Rowland Hill's plan of offering an excellent pennyworth for a penny. A Public Exhibition is, in fact, the Polytechnic Gallery, with many of its departments extended and enriched, and its charges lowered one half, removed for the space of eight or ten weeks into a provincial town.

The idea of preparing an exhibition of this nature first occurred to the directors of the Manchester Mechanics Institution, and the original "Public Exhibition" was opened at their institution in Cooper street, on the 27th of December, 1837, and remained open until the 3rd of February following. Its success was in every respect complete. It was visited by upwards of 50,000 persons, a very large portion of whom were of the poorer classes, and it is most gratifying to know that not one single instance of wilful damage or depredation occurred, notwithstanding that many of the most attractive objects were necessarily completely exposed. The example thus set at Manchester was quickly followed by Sheffield, Leeds, and several other towns in the West Riding, and elsewhere; and this imitation was by no means confined to the large and more populous towns. Several of the third and fourth-rate towns of the Riding "got up" public exhibitions, with considerable success. Thus, at Ripon, a place of only 5,000 or 6,000 inhabitants, the exhibition, which was opened on the 13th of August, and closed on the 3rd of October, 1840, was visited by more than 18,000 persons, and left a balance in hand after defraying all expenses. In several instances, the funds obtained in this way have been very large. The Leeds exhibition of July, 1839, left a surplus of near 2,000*l.*, which has been expended in the purchase of a handsome and spacious hall, for the purposes of the institution. As might be expected, however, when Exhibitions have been repeated, after a short interval, they have been by no means so profitable, although we are not aware of any instance where the deficiency of receipts has been very great. But the benefit of Exhibitions of this class is not a mere matter of account; it is their excellent influence on the tastes and habits of the humbler classes, which must always obtain for them the approval and assistance of the friends of education.

(3) *Unions.*—With a view to remedy the evils of individual

isolation, which was at that time, and is yet, one of the greatest impediments to the prosperity of mechanics' institutions, Mr Edward Baines, junior, the active and intelligent editor of the 'Leeds Mercury' newspaper, in an article inserted in that journal of the 26th of September, 1837, proposed that the Mechanics Institutions of the West Riding of Yorkshire should form themselves into an union for the purpose of mutual assistance, more especially in the engagement of lecturers, and the interchange of advice. This suggestion was favourably received, and on the 11th of December in that year, the "West Riding Union of Mechanics Institutions" was formed at Leeds, at a meeting of delegates duly authorized to act on behalf of thirteen societies.* In a subsequent part of this article we shall notice this association (of which we have some personal knowledge) further. We may say at present that in its main object—the engagement of lecturers—it has entirely failed; but that in many other important respects, under the guidance of its late zealous and excellent secretary, Mr Thomas Plint, of Leeds, it has rendered no small service to the cause of mechanics institutions. We may also say that perhaps the greatest service it has rendered has been the promotion of *practical discussion* by means of its periodical reports, and periodical meetings of delegates. Its effect on the mechanics institutes of Yorkshire has been precisely similar to the effect of the practical proceedings of an enlightened agricultural association on the husbandry of its members. The service rendered by the West Riding Union in this way, appears to us to give great support to the opinion, that mechanics institutions have now arrived at that degree of development, when prosperity or failure must depend mainly, on whether they do, or do not receive, the benefit of a practical and searching inquiry into the causes and moral of the vicissitudes they have met with in different places; in other words, on the extent and character of the practical discussion which may take place respecting them.

The example set by the Yorkshire Institutions in the formation of an union has been followed in five other districts, containing together fifty-two societies. There is also a similar association among several of the London Institutions for the promotion of popular education.

We may observe here that the progress of mechanics institutions has been much aided by the intervention of the Society for

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* The title of the association was changed in April, 1841, to "The Yorkshire Union of Mechanics Institutes," on the occasion of several of the societies of the other two Ridings being admitted into it.

the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. At all times, we believe that society has been most anxious to give their best assistance and advice to those persons and societies who have applied to them. In August, 1839, they published the 'Manual for Mechanics Institutions,' a work by no means so complete as might be wished or even expected, but still containing much useful information. This was followed, in 1841, by the 'Report on the State of Literary, Scientific, and Mechanics Institutions in England,' drawn up by the secretary of the society, Mr Coates. It is an important addition to the sources of information on the subject, and contains many sound and practical observations.

*II. The Condition of Mechanics Institutions at the present time.*

It is by no means an easy matter to obtain full and impartial information as to the progress and condition of these institutions. There is, in fact, a very lamentable deficiency of systematic data respecting them. The only documents from which it is possible to become acquainted with their progress from time to time, are the Reports usually, but, we are sorry to say, not always, presented by out-going committees at the annual meetings of the various societies; and the value of these reports is, unfortunately, very much diminished, by that incompleteness and want of uniformity, which always disfigure a series of statistical returns, when drawn up by persons who have not the guidance of some general pattern, and whose qualifications for the task are perhaps in no two instances alike. The most prominent feature of irregularity in these reports, is the discrepancy between the periods of time to which they relate, arising out of the circumstance of the official year of hardly any two institutions terminating in the same month. The utter disregard of any common order of arrangement, and of any common rule as to what details shall be given and what withheld, even in the consecutive reports of the same institution, is another serious drawback on their utility. In some few instances we have noticed a tone of bombast and exaggeration which, for the sake of truth as well as for the interest of the cause of education, we hope is a fault confined within very narrow limits, and which will presently disappear altogether. Whatever else may be alleged against mechanics institutions, let them at all risks be free from the imputation of clap-trap and falsehood. We are quite at a loss to find any excuse for those committees, who pass over year after year, without preserving any review or analysis of their operations and experience. In the present experimental state of these institutions, it is so obviously of vital moment, to lose no proper opportunity of contributing to the facts and evidence

respecting them, that we certainly conceive it to be a strong presumption of the incapacity of a committee for their functions, if they take no pains to render an annual report. Such a neglect cannot fail to excite in the observant and reflecting part of the public, a suspicion that the affairs of the institution are administered in a very loose and unbusiness-like manner. In every instance a full and accurate abstract of proceedings should be punctually rendered, and we would express our decided opinion, that the estimation in which a society is held in its locality depends not a little on the ability of its periodical reports.

In the present state of these institutions, we know of no measure of mere detail, which would contribute more to their future welfare, than the preparation by the committee of each institution at present in existence, and by the secretary (or other competent person) of every institution which has ceased to exist, of a concise and impartial statement of its origin, history, and operations, either to the present time or to the date of its failure. Each memoir should contain a short description of the character and occupations of the town or district, and be accompanied by statistical tables, compiled from such trustworthy records as remain, of the number, ages, admissions, and resignations of, members, amount of contributions, and gross income; number of and attendance at lectures; number of and attendance at classes; number of and circulation of books, &c., in each year of the institution's existence. We have no doubt that the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge would be glad to take charge of any memoirs of this nature which might be forwarded to them. If a measure of this kind could be extensively carried out, a body of data would be obtained, of no mean value, as a help to the solution of many of the most perplexing questions connected with popular education.*

Next to a retrospective mass of evidence, such as we have suggested, it is most desirable that, in future, mechanics institutions should have some common season of the year for holding their annual meetings and rendering their annual reports, and that these reports should be on an uniform plan. As the session of each institution, for classes and lectures, terminates generally in March or April, we should think that the first day of April, or the first day of May, might, with general convenience, be elected as the new-year's day of mechanics institutions through-

* Such a memoir as is here suggested was drawn up in 1842 by Mr Newmarsh, the honorary secretary of the York Institution, and published as an appendix to the 'Fifth Annual Report of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics Institutes.'

out the kingdom. The active business of each institution would then close before the members separated for the summer, and while the interest in, and familiarity with, the affairs of the society, acquired duringthe recent session, were unimpaired by lapse of time and other occupations. With reference to uniformity in the reports, we give, in a note below, an outline or skeleton which has been followed for some time by a flourishing institution in the north of England.*

* The following is the outline referred to:—
1. *Members:* according to the following tabular statement:—

| Present number of Members. | | | | Admission, during the Year. | Resignations during the Year. | Number of Members, last Year. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| First Class. | Second Class. | Third Class. | Total. | | | |
| | | | | | | |

State, if possible, the number of members under twenty-one years of age, and the number who are *mechanics;* observations relative to increase or decrease of members. 2. *Lectures:* list of those delivered, with date, subject, and lecturer's name; number delivered gratuitously, and number paid for; attendance, average, at what kinds of lectures most numerous; what proportion of the audiences was composed of *females.* 3. *Classes:* according to tabular statement, thus:—

| WRITING. | | ARITHMETIC. | | GRAMMAR. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of Names on Register. | Average attendance. | Number of Names on Register. | Average attendance. | Number of Names on Register. | Average attendance. |
| | | | | | |

Ages of pupils in several classes; reports of teachers as to progress and conduct of pupils; observations. 4. *Library:* number of volumes added during the year; number of issues by librarian; number of volumes at present in library. Then follow paragraphs relative to any special matter in the history of the institution during the year, such as *soirées,* concerts, exhibitions, excursions, &c. The final section is headed '*General Observations,*' and in it, are noticed any subjects, which the committee may consider of sufficient importance to be mentioned or discussed in their Annual Report. The abstract of the treasurer's account, and lists of donations, officers, patrons, &c., should be annexed as an appendix.

We have compiled the following statistics from the returns made to the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and printed by Mr Coates in his General Report.

Mr Coates has given the titles of two hundred and twenty-one "mechanics and similar institutions" known to be in existence in 1841. Of these

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 179 | were in | England and Wales, *exclusive* of London. |
| 6 | „ | Scotland. |
| 185 | | |
| 36 | „ | the Metropolis. |
| 221 | | |

It is not pretended that this list is complete. It enables us, however, with some additions of our own, to form a general estimate of the total number of these institutions in Great Britain. Including London, and allowing for the continual fluctuations in the total number of institutions, by the failure of some, and the establishment of others, we should think that, at the present moment, there are about four hundred mechanics and similar institutions in Great Britain. This number may appear greatly in advance of Mr Coates's table, but we think is not overmuch so, when allowance is made for the large number of new institutions, which have sprung up in small towns during the last two years. In Yorkshire this has been especially the case. We are unable to give any estimate as to Ireland, but we fear that the number of these institutions in that country is not great.

Taking this estimate as a guide, we can ascertain very nearly what amount of funds the Act of last session will liberate for educational purposes. On the average, the local taxes of each institution will not be more than 3*l.* annually, if so much. Suppose them, however, to reach 3*l.*, and we have 1,200*l.* as the sum of money which will be diverted from the tax-gatherer to the schoolmaster by means of the late Act. Dropping the odd figures, we think there can be little doubt, that the authors of that Act, may safely congratulate themselves on having conferred on the poorer classes at least *one thousand pounds* a year towards their education and amusement.

Mr Coates's Report also contains a tabular classification of some of the most important particulars in the reports for 1840, obtained from one hundred and three *country* institutions. Owing to the want of uniformity in the documents, there is by no means the same amount of information relative to each institution. Some of the reports have enabled Mr Coates to fill all

the columns of his table, and others have compelled him to leave half of them empty. Taking the table, however, as it is, we have compiled from it the following results.

Of sixty-two institutions, of which the *date of establishment* is given, it appears that there were established between the years as under (both inclusive)—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1823 to 1830 | - - - - | 22 institutions. |
| 1831 to 1835 | - - - - | 13 „ |
| 1836 to 1840 | - - - - | 27 „ |
| | | 62 |

The total *number of members* is given in ninety-eight instances; but in forming the average we have omitted two of these, viz. the "Manchester Athenæum" and the "Liverpool Mechanics Institution," because they are rather associations of opulent persons than ordinary mechanics institutions. In ninety-six institutions, then, there is a total of 20,814 members, or an average of two hundred and nineteen in each; and here it is needful to be on our guard against concluding that the whole of these persons belong to the mechanics or working classes. From the very first establishment of mechanics institutions it has been notorious, that the class of persons who have mainly supported them as members, have not been operative mechanics, but persons belonging to spheres of life more or less above the condition of the ordinary workman, such as tradesmen, agents, merchants' and other clerks, overlookers, and so forth. We believe we are correct in saying that no expectation of this result was entertained by the original promoters of mechanics institutions. As the name they selected (*mechanics* institution) implies, their intention was to establish educational societies suited to the wants of the operative orders, without any reference to the more opulent portion, of what may be described as the lower sections of the English middle class. The non-fulfilment of this intention by the preponderating admission of persons *not* mechanics, has been one of the chief causes, both of the benefits and the partial failure of mechanics institutions. It has been a main cause of the benefits they have rendered, inasmuch as it has revealed the existence of a degree of ignorance in a quarter where no such deficiency was suspected, and it has in no small degree furnished the precise kind of remedy required to remove that deficiency. We are thus indebted to mechanics institutions for helping us to a better knowledge of the real educational wants of the country, and for having efficiently met the intellectual necessities of a most important section of our middle class, at a period when there was no other provision for these

necessities. It has been a main cause of the partial failure of mechanics institutions, inasmuch as it has placed them, to a great extent, in a false position, by leading them to aim at a kind of instruction which, although perfectly consistent with their theoretical design, was at variance with their actual circumstances; and to this conflict between theory and fact we are inclined to attribute, as a chief cause, the slow progress of these societies. It would be unwise, now, to discard the title under which they have become familiar to the public, but the time is gone by when any intelligent or observant person, duly acquainted with the history of the experiment, would regard a "mechanics institution" in any other light, than as a society intended to promote the enlightened instruction and amusement of the humbler classes, without distinction of calling, sect, or party.

By a table published by Mr Coates in another part (p. 20) of the Report, we are enabled to arrive at some idea of the proportion borne by *mechanics* to the total number of members in mechanics institutions. By collating the figures of this table, we find that in forty-three institutions where the occupations of the members had been ascertained with considerable accuracy, out of a total of 9,620 members, 4,396, or nearly forty-six per cent., were mechanics: the remaining fifty-four per cent. were persons in a superior station of life. There are, in the same table, returns of the number of members below the age of twenty-one years in twenty-five institutions. The total number of members is 5,247, and of these 1,350 are under twenty-one, or nearly twenty-six per cent.

Returning to the analysis of the reports for 1840, we find statements given of the total annual income of each of ninety-six institutions. The gross amount is 8,356*l*., and the average 87*l*.

In eighty-four institutions there were 1,156 lectures delivered, or an average of fourteen lectures to each institution. The average attendance at each lecture was one hundred and ninety persons.

In the libraries of eighty-six institutions the total number of volumes was 82,986, or an average of nine hundred and sixty-five each; and, by entering into a calculation which we need not here repeat, we find that the number of issues of books in the course of a year for the purpose of reading was, on the average, sixteen to each person; that is, each person, on the average, applied sixteen times in the course of a year for the loan of a book for his perusal at home.

In seventy-nine institutions the average *minimum* rate of contribution for a year was 4s. 6d., and the average *maximum* rate, 14s.

Mr Coates states that the proportion borne by members of

mechanics institutions to the entire population of the towns in which they exist is about 1 in 180.

With the help of these statistics we may form some judgment of the total means for education raised and possessed by the mechanics institutions of Great Britain.

Taking, as before, the whole number of such institutions at four hundred, it is probable, that at present, they contain somewhere about 80,000 members, and possess about 400,000 volumes of books; that in the course of a year they raise and expend a revenue of not less than 30,000*l.*; and that they procure the delivery of near 4,000 lectures on subjects so various as scarcely to omit any department of knowledge.

Every person must admit that with an aggregate of means so large, a machinery so well in motion, and a field of operation so well defined, it would be absurd not to attach considerable importance to the influence of mechanics institutions, and that it is most desirable that no effort should be spared to render them, in every possible way, worthy of their high purpose, and efficient for its accomplishment.

A pretty correct idea of several important details, not noticed in Mr Coates's table, may be obtained from the returns made to the "Yorkshire Union of Mechanics Institutions," for the year ended April 1843, and published in the sixth annual report of that association. We find, from these returns, that out of fifteen institutions in Yorkshire, four of them either owned or rented entire houses or buildings, altogether appropriated to the purposes of the institution, and that eleven of them had only hired rooms, that is, they were the tenants of a large apartment or chamber, used for meetings and the delivery of lectures. To these large rooms there are generally attached one or two smaller rooms, which are used as a library, committee room, and so on.

In thirteen institutions there were evening classes once or twice a week for reading, writing, and arithmetic. In addition to these three classes, eight of the thirteen institutions had similar evening classes for drawing, two of them had classes for music, six of them had classes for grammar, three had classes for geography, seven had classes for mathematics, four had classes for chemistry, three had classes for languages, and five had classes for discussion. There are no accurate statistics of the attendance on these classes, but we can state, as being near the truth, that the attendance on the classes for reading, writing, and arithmetic is generally about ten per cent. of the whole number of members in each institution. The pupils in these classes are generally youths under twenty-one, employed as apprentices or as helpers in some mechanical trade. The at-

tendance on the other classes will vary from three to seven per cent. of the whole number of members in the institution. This class of pupils are mostly young men and adults of the more opulent portion of the subscribers.

Twelve institutions had reading rooms, supplied with literary periodicals and works of reference; *four* of the reading rooms contained newspapers. These rooms are, in several cases, open all the day, every day in the week except Sundays, and in every instance they are open at least three or four evenings in the week.

In sixteen institutions in the Union the lowest and highest *minimum* rate of annual contribution was 3s. and 6s.; the lowest and highest *medium* rate, 5s. and 12s.; and the lowest and highest *maximum* rate, 8s. and 1*l.* 1s. The right of electing officers resides, generally, in the contributors of the medium and maximum rates; but in the actual facilities for receiving all the benefits of the institution the difference between the several orders of subscribers is little more than nominal.

In ten institutions, during the session 1842-3 (*i. e.* from October 1842 to April 1843) there were one hundred and eighty-five lectures delivered: of these, twenty-seven, or about fourteen per cent., were paid for to professional lecturers; the remaining one hundred and fifty-eight, or eighty-six per cent., were delivered gratuitously, by members or friends of the respective institutions. Seventy of the lectures related to scientific, and one hundred and fifteen to miscellaneous, subjects. In the scientific group, lectures on astronomy, geology, and chemistry are most frequent. In the miscellaneous group it is difficult to discover any predominant subject, unless, perhaps, it be poetry. Among them are three lectures on the study of political economy, and two on the origin and theory of government. The average audiences at these lectures may be stated as twenty-five per cent. of the total number of members in each institution. Where females are admitted free, on the introduction of a member, they would constitute, probably, one-third of each audience. In every instance, we believe the attendance is greatest when the lecture is of an amusing character. We are also pretty certain that in the committees of these institutions, owing to the want of any adequate appreciation among the members, it would be considered an injudicious expenditure of funds to engage lectures of a scientific nature, even of first-rate excellence, except under very peculiar circumstances, or where they were illustrated by a profusion of striking and brilliant experiments; and then, it would be the novelty and glare of the experiments, and not the scientific principles they tended to establish, which would interest the audience.

III. *Practical Suggestions for the improvement of Mechanics Institutions.*

And first we will consider their—

(1.) *Principles of Management.*—The authors of the "Manual" quote (p. 88) the following excellent observations from the address delivered by Sir John Herschel, we believe, at the opening of the Windsor and Eton Mechanics Library:—

"There is a want too much lost sight of in our estimate of the privations of the humble classes, though it is one of the most incessant cravings of all our wants, and is actually the impelling power which in a vast majority of cases urges men into vice and crime—*it is the want of Amusement*; it is in vain to declaim against it; equally with any other principle in our nature it calls for its natural indulgence, and man cannot be permanently debarred from it without souring the temper and spoiling the character. Like the indulgence of other appetites it only requires to be kept within due bounds, and turned upon innocent or beneficial objects to become a spring of happiness. *But gratified to a certain moderate extent, it must be in the case of every man, if we desire him to be either a useful, active, or contented member of society.* Now I would ask what provision do we find for the *cheap and innocent and daily amusement* of the mass of the labouring population of this country? What sort of resources have they to call up the cheerfulness of their spirits, and chase away the cloud from their brow, after the fatigue of a days' hard work or the stupifying monotony of a sedentary occupation? why, really very little. I hardly like to assume the appearance of a wish to rip up grievances by saying *how* little."

Now, it is our firm belief that the capital fault of the promoters of mechanics institutions, both at present and at first, is their ignorance or their neglect, or both, of *this paramount matter of Amusement.* The fact is, in spite of all that is said to the contrary, that the poorer classes have neither time nor taste in their present social and mental condition, for scientific detail—their great intellectual want is Cheap, Innocent, and Daily Amusement, and it is only by administering to this want in the first instance that their attention can be obtained to more important matters. It is notorious, that at present they seek to gratify this yearning for amusement, by resorting to the beershop and its kindred haunts, and there can be no doubt that they will continue to resort to these places so long as the thing they seek is to be found nowhere else. Now the great thing to be done, is to raise up in mechanics institutions a force antagonistic to these pestilent haunts of the poor man—to establish in every town an institution where his appetite for pleasurable excitement may be fully gratified, not only without depraving his habits and impoverishing his family, but in such a way as to elevate while it ex-

cites, and to impart instruction while it imparts pleasure. We are conscious that to do this is no easy matter; but, by keeping such an object systematically in view, it is quite possible to approximate towards it much further than most people imagine.

We know the retort which these observations will excite from many persons who are without doubt active and zealous friends of popular education—it will be said, "What sort of amusement do you want? Do not mechanics institutions provide amusement already in their familiar expositions of science. Surely if a working man does not think it worth his while to listen to an explanation of the sublime phenomena of nature, it will be useless to hold out any other temptation." Probably the best answer which can be made to this objection, is to ask whether a man who had received a tolerable education, and had acquired among other things an ordinary knowledge of mathematics, would be likely to receive much pleasure from a course of lectures on the doctrine of fluxions, or from the perusal (if that were possible) of a treatise on conic sections. We apprehend we do not assume too much in concluding that the general reply to such a question would be, "Certainly not!" And if we pressed the inquiry further, by asking, "And pray why not?" it is very likely that we should be told, with an air of wonder at our dulness in so plain a matter—"For the best reason in the world—because the man would feel no interest in the subject, seeing that neither his previous knowledge nor habits had made him at all acquainted with it." Now what mathematics would be to the man of ordinary education, popular science is to the man of no education at all—lack of interest in the one case is quite as natural as lack of interest in the other. The mischief is, that in resolving this question for the benefit of the poor man, we appeal to a wrong criterion—we measure his capacities and tastes, by a standard which prevails only among persons who have enjoyed from childhood, means of instruction much more perfect, than we are seeking to provide for him, for the first time, in the middle of his life. In doing this, we are evidently in error. Let no one mistake our meaning. We admit most fully, that expositions of science are sources of the most refined and intense pleasure, to those whose previous acquirements enable them to follow the statements of the expositor with ease and understanding. What we want to impress upon our readers is the fact, that the class of persons for whom mechanics institutions are designed—namely, the poorer and working classes—are not in a condition to follow such expositions with ease and understanding, and therefore cannot appreciate and do not value them. In this case, as in many others, the poor might say to the rich (with only a trifling variation)

what is said by the frogs in the fable to the mischievous lads who were pelting them with stones, "Good people! pray understand that what is sport to you is pain to us." We think that this view of the case derives considerable additional force, when it is borne in mind that the Lyceums where the principle of amusement has been most largely put in practice, have, without doubt, received a greater share of the cordial good-will and support of the poorer classes than any other institutions for adult instruction hitherto formed—that mechanics institutions have almost in every instance been driven into a greater or less degree of adoption of the same principle, as the only means of escaping total failure—and that at the present moment, as far as our means of information extend, those mechanics institutions are most prosperous which have most thoroughly enforced this new rule of conduct.

Let no one conclude that because we hold these opinions we regard the foundation of mechanics institutes as an achievement of no merit and no value; we regard it as an achievement of the greatest merit and the greatest value. We believe that the error into which the wise and good men who originally established mechanics institutions fell—viz., the error of shooting over the heads of the working classes in the kind of instruction they provided—was almost inevitable, considering the feeble light and the general *à priori* reasonings on which only they could rely as guides. It is not the least merit of these institutions that they have shown us the real depth and density of the black pool of ignorance which stagnates and putrefies around us; and it is our duty, as reasonable men, to be thankful for this new light, and to make the best of it.

We have only to say, in conclusion of this part of the subject, that we are most anxious to see adopted, in all cases, the rule of management already recognised in many mechanics institutes, namely—That the proper business of such institutions is to provide for the poorer classes, the largest possible amount of sound instruction, combined with the largest possible amount of cheap, innocent, and daily amusement.

We will now state, as fully as our small remaining space will permit, the means whereby this principle may be carried into practice.

(2) *Library.*—The library of a mechanics institution is its standing and staple source of support—the constant and abiding fund of interest and attraction when other means are suspended or impracticable. Let the library, then, contain books such as are likely to create a desire for reading—books which amuse without depraving the mind. Let there be a due proportion of books of science and useful knowledge, but let there be also an

extensive and judiciously chosen series of works of Fiction.* The Waverley Novels ought to be first and foremost in the catalogue of every mechanics institution library. We know personally, a man of some eminence at the present moment, who ascribes his acquisition of a desire for knowledge to the perusal of these novels, obtained by him when a lad from the library of a mechanics institution. To the fictions of Scott should be added the works of Edgeworth, Cooper, Dickens, and of many other authors whose names will occur to every one acquainted with the ordinary history of letters. Let no one take fright at the idea of novel reading at a time when the strength with which the best and purest current of thought amongst us runs in the channel of fiction, is one of the most remarkable features in the intellectual condition of the age. There should also be a plentiful sprinkling of voyages and travels, and biography.†

(3) *Reading Room.*—This room should be (if possible) one of the most handsome, spacious, and attractive places of resort in the neighbourhood, because it should be designed to act as the antagonist of the beer-shop, the tavern, and the smoking-room. It should be filled with elegant, even luxurious furniture—adorned with pictures and sculptures—supplied with a profusion of periodical publications, and made the repository of a series of books of reference, and of works remarkable for the excellence of their pictorial embellishments. Wherever it is practicable, cheap and temperate refreshments, such as coffee, should be provided in connexion with this room. We shall rejoice to see the day when it is a chief point of rivalry among mechanics institutions to embellish and improve their reading

* Whenever a second edition of the 'Manual' appears, it would be a great improvement if the catalogue of books recommended to mechanics institutions was greatly enlarged and carefully revised, especially that part of it which relates to fiction. The Manual catalogue ought also to be prepared as a *model*, both in arrangement and fulness of description of the title of each book, by which committees might be guided in forming the catalogue of their own books. It is also desirable that besides the elaborate code of rules already printed with the Manual, there should be a shorter and more generally applicable code given, for the use of smaller institutions. The code of rules at present contained in the Manual is fit only for a very numerous and opulent society. We may say, also, that the outlines of lectures which fill so much of the volume are almost altogether useless, and had better be omitted, and their place supplied by more valuable matter. We do not say that the "outlines" are intrinsically useless, but they are in a wrong place; they belong to a treatise on natural philosophy.

† It is stated in the memoir of the experience, &c., of the York Institution before mentioned, "that the Waverley novels, magazines, and books of voyages and travels, are the most read and best-thumbed volumes in the collection. The *scientific* portion of the library is in a comparatively high state of preservation."

rooms—in other words, their hotels, for the gratification of the intellect and the taste. The keepers of gaming tables and smoking rooms are well aware of the influence of handsome and commodious apartments in attracting customers, and it behoves the friends of a better system to press into their service every shaft from the quiver of the enemy which can be used with honour and advantage.*

(4) *Admission or Exclusion of Politics.*—The large and important question, "How far and in what way, under present circumstances, instruction in political science can with success be made a branch of mechanics institution education," cannot be discussed on the present occasion. This question is well worth an article devoted expressly to its sole consideration, and probably at some future time we may be able to discuss it at adequate length; at present we have only a word or two to say concerning a subject which, although connected with the general question of the admission or exclusion of politics, is of itself, in our opinion, of very minor moment as regards present consequences, and has but a very slender bearing on the practical settlement of that question—we allude to the introduction of Local and London newspapers into reading rooms, to be there read in silence, like any of the literary periodicals. We are decidedly in favour of the admission of newspapers into mechanics institutions in this way, and we think that by the circumstance of such admission the present neutral character of these institutions would be in no way violated or impaired. Our main motive for holding this opinion is the consideration that every working man, and, in truth, every person who can spell, has a strong desire to have access to the current newspapers of the day, and in the country, especially to the local newspapers. We all know that this desire is gratified by going to the beer-house. The man has no taste probably for the beer, but he has an unconquerable, and let us say, a very natural taste for the newspaper. Now why should the poor man be exposed to the danger of intemperance and bad company, when his curiosity might be fully appeased without incurring any evil consequences at the mechanics institution? Why should the beer-house be permitted to possess exclusively a means of attraction so notoriously powerful and

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* A *musical box* of adequate compass and power would be a great addition to a reading room. It would most agreeably relieve the monotonous and yawn-provoking silence which is so often felt to be oppressive in such places. It would a very appropriate, pleasing, and at the same time convenient and economical kind of music, because it would require no presiding musician, and no expensive apparatus. Of course it would only be played with the consent of all the persons present.

universal? If we want to attract the working man to the mechanics institution we must provide there those things in which he takes an interest—and mightiest among these, we contend, is the newspaper. This, in our eyes, is the great motive, and it ought not to be overruled for slight reasons. But there are *already* admitted into reading rooms, publications containing party politics as vehement and one-sided, as can be found in the daily or weekly newspapers. The magazines and reviews are many of them professedly party journals. These publications are read in the reading room, and afterwards go into general circulation, and assuredly we never heard of the slightest evil which had been incurred in consequence. The truth is that the experiment has been tried—the test of long experience has been applied—and there really is no practical inconvenience or evil, to allege against the soundness of the general view. We should altogether deprecate the violent agitation of this matter of admitting newspapers, in committees where even a respectable minority was opposed to it, because such a course would inevitably create a schism; but we should be glad if the committee of every mechanics institution, where the plan is not already adopted, would set apart a special meeting for its friendly and impartial consideration as a practical measure, considering the actual state of their institution, and the tone of feeling respecting it in the neighbourhood.

(5.) *Rates of Contribution.*—*Cheapness* is one of the prime elements in the prosperity of mechanics institutions. Their constant aim, if they mean to enjoy a lengthy and useful existence, must be to offer the largest advantages at the least possible cost. There are two reasons for this: (1.) the working classes are not able to pay much; and (2.) the *vis inertiæ* of their mental darkness must not be confirmed by their disrelish for a high price. In no case ought the yearly contribution of a working man to be more than *five shillings;* and for apprentices and youths under twenty-one years of age, only half that sum. In every case it should be optional with the subscriber whether he will pay his contribution by yearly, half-yearly, quarterly, monthly, or even weekly instalments. Let no one smile at a weekly subdivison of five shillings a year, as if so small a fraction could be of moment to any man; there are scores of working men to whom even a smaller weekly sum is of moment; and if from these you exact the whole subscription at once, notwithstanding its apparent smallness, they are as effectually excluded as if the amount was ten times as great.* We are the

* It is much to be desired that some person fully conversant with the details of mechanics institutions would publish a practical essay on 'Mecha-

more anxious to render the terms of subscription commensurate with the means of those persons who are actually to enjoy the benefits of the institution, because we are convinced that to be permanently useful and prosperous, mechanics institutions must be *self-supporting*. We do not forget or undervalue the pecuniary assistance of the opulent classes; such assistance is always acceptable and always of service; at the commencement of an institution it is indispensable, inasmuch as from no other source can the capital,—the stock in trade of the institution,—in the shape of books, furniture, and fixtures, be obtained. We repeat, that the contributions of the rich are always a service and an honour to both giver and receiver. The defect of such contributions as a permanent and unvarying source of income, is, that it is utterly impossible to depend upon them in either respect; they are the offspring of uncertain circumstances, may be intercepted by a thousand accidents, may realize a large sum or nothing; they may do for a staff, but not for a crutch. On the other hand, the creation of a demand for a certain thing, the establishment of an equivalent between the institution and the working man, is something in which there can be dependence: it is not a matter of caprice, but a matter of bargain and sale. In the one case there is all the mischievous uncertainty experienced by a man utterly dependent on the alms of the charitable; in the other, all the certainty and precision which prevails in the shop of a well-established tradesman. Let there be no rashness and no disrespect; but let this great matter of *self-dependence* be kept steadily in view; it will prevent, depend upon it, much hasty and ill-advised expenditure, and lead to a keen and cautious scrutiny of every project likely to benefit or injure the society; it will, in short, induce those salutary habits of prudence and foresight which always characterise the outlay of a hard-earned income; and it will, more than any other contrivance, prevent that proneness to incur liabilities in a loose and careless way which is so constantly observed in the recipients of uncertain eleemosynary gifts.

(6.) *Lectures.*—The *beau ideal*, in our opinion, of mechanics institution lectures, is to have them, both in subject and treatment, neither too learned nor too vulgar—very interesting and very provocative of further inquiry; and all this without requiring a closer attention than a miscellaneous audience of the

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nics-Institution Book-Keeping,' paying special attention to the full explanation of a concise and simple method of entry for subscriptions payable by small instalments. We are able to assure any person who shall accomplish this task that he will confer a greater benefit on the poorer classes than is easily credible.

poorer classes of both sexes are able and willing to give. To accomplish this with the limited means possessed by these institutions is no easy matter; but that is no reason why it should not be kept steadily in view. It was a favourite opinion with the founders of mechanics institutions, that the attention and support of the poorer classes would be most readily given to a course of lectures expository of the scientific principles involved in the respective mechanical occupations in which they were engaged. Thus it was held, that lectures on dyeing, at Leeds—on metals, at Sheffield—and on spinning, at Manchester, would attract zealous and patient audiences of mechanics. It is scarcely too much to say that this expectation has proved altogether fallacious. We believe that one of the best-established results of the experience of mechanics institutions is the position, that lectures delivered on this principle are utter failures, both in an educational and financial point of view. The West Riding Union was formed in 1838, for the purpose of obtaining first-rate lectures "on those sciences which have the most direct bearing on the manufacturing operations common to the district."—(*First Report*, *p.* 3.) In the Second Report it was admitted that in this, its primary object, it had failed; mainly because there did not exist in the working class an adequate appreciation of the kind of instruction offered. Every subsequent report has confirmed this fact; and after the second year of the Union's existence, the attempt to provide scientific lectures was abandoned as impracticable. In addition to this broad fact of the disrelish for science, the truth seems to be, that public lectures before a miscellaneous audience are radically inefficient as a means of teaching in detail, any technical or practical subject. A far better plan is the formation of a class under a competent teacher, for the specific purpose of studying the particular branch of inquiry, a knowledge of which it is most desirable to impart. In this way the institutions before us have done not a little towards the education of scientific and skilful workmen. We may mention, as an instance, the chemical class at Leeds, which has acquired a reputation for excellence throughout the north of England. We do not advise, therefore, that lectures in mechanics institutions should be extensively scientific. Science, indeed, unless it comes in a very interesting and familiar shape, should be avoided rather than otherwise. It is difficult to define what description of lectures are best adapted for such institutions; and perhaps we shall do best by contenting ourselves with the general observation, that everything abstruse, over-learned, tedious, and requiring a very close attention, *is sure to fail.* The system of *amateur* lectures has

narrowed the choice of committees as to the subject and style of lectures very much; it is, therefore, the more important to press the necessity of striving to adapt the lecture to the capacity of the audience, upon the attention of those persons who in the character of lecturers render such valuable service. *Music* is a never-failing source of delight, and the occasions when it is performed in any shape cannot be too often repeated. *Discussions*, also, are a most attractive addition to the business, or rather amusements, of the lecture room, presuming, of course, that they are conducted with due courtesy and fairness; and they should be fostered by every possible means. In every mechanics institution *females* should be admitted to the lectures *free*, on the introduction of a member. The influence of their presence and suffrage on the prosperity of the society, we are able to state from experience, is of the most potent kind. *Soirées*, or evening meetings for social intercourse, where after tea, or some other refreshment, the audience are entertained by the performance of music and the delivery of speeches,* are an excellent method of promoting the objects of mechanics institutions; but they must not occur too frequently (not more than once or twice a year), or they will become matters of course, and cease to please. The same remark holds good with reference to excursions of the members during the summer for the purpose of visiting some neighbouring town or object of interest.

(7.) *Ways and Means of Public Aid.*—The first observation which occurs under this head is, that mechanics institutions have been long enough before the public to develop the whole of their designs, and to acquire a definite character, either good or bad. We think we do not misrepresent the real tone of feeling respecting them among the community, when we say, that they are very generally regarded as a class of societies which, in the face of great opposition and many obstacles, have acted honestly and zealously up to their avowed purpose, viz., the instruction of the poorer classes in secular knowledge; and that, considering their past services and their present character, they are fairly entitled to every legitimate assistance, both from

* When these meetings become regularly periodical the monotony and baldness of speeches always directed to the laudation of the objects of these "admirable institutions," &c., soon become manifest. A great improvement on this plan has been introduced by the Leeds committee, in the shape of selecting one or two interesting questions for discussion at these meetings. One of the questions at a late meeting was, "The relative merits of the fictions of Dickens and Scott." It excited a most interesting debate, and the audience were greatly pleased. It is a somewhat difficult matter to find questions of the exact sort, but a little attention will overcome that difficulty.

individuals and from the state. In connexion with these views, there is a growing conviction, that as the likelihood of any satisfactory system of general education, becomes more and more distant, with the lapse of every session, it has become both a necessary and a wise policy to assist to the utmost, every existing machinery for education of adequate standing and trustworthiness.

Upon these grounds we venture to suggest the justice and propriety of giving mechanics institutions the benefit of a part of the annual grant for education. We cannot doubt that before long the amount of that grant will be made more worthy of its object. We do not at present intend to discuss the terms on which these institutions should be admitted to a participation in it; but we hope that we have said enough to show that powerful reasons can be urged in favour of the principle of such a direction of the bounty of the State.

There is another means, also, by which the Legislature may materially assist mechanics institutions, viz., by passing an Act for their protection and encouragement, analogous in design to the Friendly Societies' Act, and by exempting them, as soon as possible, from general as well as local taxes. If the introduction of a bill having these objects was preceded by the appointment of a Select Committee of either House to consider the whole subject of mechanics institutions, there can be little doubt that a most important benefit would be conferred upon them. In fact, the granting of a Select Committee would of itself be no small boon. Such a committee would perform, in the most complete and efficient manner, a piece of service which has been, for a long time, and is at the present moment, most urgently required. It would collect into a consecutive and accessible shape the more valuable portions of the individual opinion and observation, the statistics, and the results of experience, which at present are all but powerless, because dispersed in a hundred different quarters. We affirm deliberately that the report and minutes of such a committee as is here proposed (presuming, of course, that ordinary care was exercised) would do more for the advancement of adult popular education than any other single measure that could be adopted. The excellent service rendered by the Committee on Friendly Societies, obtained by Mr Courtenay twenty years ago, is well known and highly valued, and if any honourable member can be induced to make the effort we have suggested, for promoting the instruction of the poor and needy, we venture to assure him that he will confer a benefit not less valuable to others, or less honourable to his own mind and heart. May we not confidently hope that there are many members of

the Legislature who will not permit so fair an opportunity of doing good in the legitimate exercise of their high functions to pass away unimproved?

The establishment of the Government Schools of Design in the country has, we are sorry to say, been the means of exposing mechanics institutions to a formidable rivalry. It is stated in the last 'Report of the York Institution' (for the year ended September 1843), that the institution had lost fifty members during the preceding twelve months, chiefly in consequence of the opening of the School of Design. These unfortunate consequences to mechanics institutions were foreseen by many persons acquainted with them at the time of the introduction of the Government Schools: and the Leeds Institution, at the suggestion of Mr Plint, applied to the Committee of Privy Council for Education to ascertain whether the schools of design could not be incorporated with the existing machinery of mechanics institutions, a machinery which it was most truly urged was every way adapted to carry into operation the new project. The application did not succeed. It is greatly to be regretted, and is scarcely a fair proceeding, that the Government should thus place themselves in competition with a class of societies, which for the last twenty years, have been doing their utmost, in spite of serious discouragements, to promote the very object which the Executive have been at length induced to patronize—a class of societies which, in fact, have done the most, to bring about that state of public feeling, which has led to the formation of schools of design. There are, moreover, numerous reciprocal benefits of a practical kind which would accrue to both parties from an union, and against which, as far as we know, there cannot be alleged any countervailing advantage on the side of separate establishment. As to the government schools, such an union would have rendered their introduction both less expensive, less laborious, and more likely to succeed. In most cases, no fresh apartments or servants would have had to be hired, and no fixtures to be bought; no new committee of managers would have had to be sought out, and drilled into working order, and a business knowledge of the subject; and the drawing and mathematical classes of the institution would have furnished a body of pupils prepared, in the most essential respects, to profit to the utmost by the new kind of teaching. On the other hand, the combination of the two bodies would have increased the resources and the local weight and consideration of the mechanics institution. It would have given to it a prospect of permanence and a feeling of solidity which would not have failed to show itself in an increased measure of usefulness. The establishment of a

rivalry between the two bodies has many positive bad effects; it divides the attention of the working classes on a subject on which it is most desirable that they should not be exposed to uncertainty and bewilderment; it throws a fresh and severe discouragement on the ardour of those excellent persons who have laboured for and defended the mechanics institution through good and evil report; it creates a rivalry in the bestowal of that small local fund for the encouragement of popular education hitherto bestowed on the mechanics institution; and it lessens the prosperity and usefulness of each establishment for no earthly reason or benefit. If the grant had been offered to the mechanics institutions, we are quite sure they would have been able to provide all proper and reasonable guarantees for its legitimate expenditure, and we certainly are at a loss to conceive why so honourable and straightforward a course was not at once adopted. We hope it is not yet too late for a statement of these views to have some effect.

In conclusion we will state what appear to us to be the causes which have retarded the progress of mechanics institutions.

I. *As to the causes of failure* EXTERNAL *to them.*—These have been: (1) the non-existence, among the poorer classes, of an adequate appreciation of the instruction offered, in consequence of the general prevalence among them of a gross and disregarded ignorance; (2) the inability of these classes to find leisure or afford money for educational purposes; (3) the strong opposition which the institutions have encountered from a very large portion of the wealthy classes, and from the clergy, both of the church and the dissenting congregations.

II. *As to the* INTERNAL *causes of failure.*—These have been: (1) a misapprehension, on the part of the founders and promoters of the institutions, of the real extent and character of the ignorance of the poorer classes; (2) the non-provision in the institutions of the means of cheap, daily, and innocent Amusement; (3) the unsuitableness (to a great extent) to the tastes and wants of the poorer classes of the instruction provided in the institutions, in consequence of its over-technical and scientific nature; and (4) the fault, in many instances, of negligent and improvident management on the part of the committees of mechanics institutions.

After this summary, we cannot do better than adopt, as the final paragraph of the present article, the following passage, which we find in the 'Fifteenth Annual Report of the York Institution,' presented to the members of that body by their outgoing committee in September, 1842.

"The chief benefit conferred by Mechanics Institutions hitherto, has been the assistance they have rendered to the more active and intelligent members of the humbler classes. In not a few instances, they have raised the child of the poor man, from poverty and all its ills into a station of trust and competence—in instances still more numerous, they have turned into profitable and honourable channels much of that restless ability, which if not directed to a laudable purpose, visits its neglect upon society by all the contrivances of the knave, the impostor, and the demagogue. To have accomplished thus much in the face of difficulties of no ordinary pressure, it will scarcely be denied in any quarter, is firm ground for hope and perseverance. When, however, a position has been gained, which without controversy, entitles Mechanics Institutions to be reckoned among the tried and established means for the enlightenment of the public mind, your committee would fain hope, that throughout their future progress, the dangers they have hitherto encountered and escaped, will be known only as matters of history, and be referred to with curious interest as the gradual developments of a great and powerful agency of good."

W. N.

*** "It will be readily understood from the statements of the preceding article, that in the present scattered and imperfect state of the statistics of Mechanics Institutions, it is quite impossible for any single person, to give a perfectly accurate and complete list of all the institutions of this character at present in existence. The best attempt of this kind can only be an approximation to the truth, and it is strictly in accordance with this view that the following table has been compiled and is submitted. It contains only the names of places where mechanics institutions, or institutions of a closely analogous nature, are known to be at present in operation; but there cannot be any doubt that the total number of these societies in the kingdom *very greatly exceeds* the number here enumerated. If a complete list could be obtained, it is believed that one of its most striking and pleasing features, would be the evidence it would furnish of the formation of institutions during the last five years in numerous small towns and populous villages.

The Yorkshire institutions have been enumerated separately from the rest, because the writer has greater facilities for making a complete return for that county than for any other.

The figures *after* the names denote the year in which the institution was founded. The figures *before* the names denote the number of institutions of the nature of Mechanics Institutions existing in the town against which the figure is placed.

With the exception of Yorkshire, the list given by Mr Coates has been chiefly followed.

The letter V means that the place is a village, or the centre of a cluster of a villages.

The letter B means that the institution possesses a building which has been erected or purchased specially for its use.

## MECHANICS INSTITUTIONS.

| Place | Year |
|---|---|
| Alnwick | 1824 |
| Ashton-under-Line and Dukinfield | 1825 |
| Banbury | |
| Barnstaple | |
| Bath | 1838 |
| Beecles | 1835 |
| Belfast | |
| Belper | |
| Bilston | |
| Birmingham | 1826 |
| Blackwater | |
| Bolton | 1825 |
| Boston | |
| Bridgewater | |
| Bridport | 1831 |
| Bristol | |
| Bury St Edmund's | 1837 |
| Bury, Lancashire | |
| Bungay | |
| Calton, Mile end | |
| Calne | |
| Cambridge | |
| Carlisle | |
| Cardiff | |
| Chatham and Rochester | |
| Cheltenham | |
| Chester | 1834 |
| Chesterfield | |
| Chippenham | |
| Chertsey | |
| Chichester | |
| Clitheroe | |
| Cockermouth | |
| Colchester | |
| Coventry | |
| Cowes, Ryde | |
| Corsham | 1839 |
| Darlington | |
| Darwen | 1839 |
| Derby—B | 1826 |
| Devonport and Stonehouse | |
| Devizes | 1836 |
| Dover | |
| Dunbar | 1824 |
| Dumfries | |
| Dundee | 1824 |
| Dunse | 1840 |
| Durham | |
| Edinburgh | |
| Edwinstowe, Sherwood Forest—V | 1840 |
| Eaton | |
| Evesham | 1837 |
| Farnham | |
| Gateshead | 1836 |
| Glasgow | 1823 |
| Gloucester | |
| Godalming | |
| Grantham | |
| Gravesend | |
| Guernsey | 1832 |
| Guildford | |
| Hastings and St Leonard's | 1833 |
| Hansworth | |
| Hanley, Potteries | 1836 |
| Hayle | |
| Hartlepool | 1840 |
| Hertford | |
| Hereford | 1840 |
| Hexham | |
| Henham | 1825 |
| Hinckley | |
| Horncastle | |
| Horsham | 1829 |
| Huntingdon | 1840 |
| Ipswich | 1825 |
| Kettering | |
| Kidderminster | |
| Kingsbridge, Devon | |
| Kingston | |
| Lancaster | 1824 |
| Launceston | |
| Leicester | 1833 |
| Lewes | 1825 |
| Leamington | |
| Lincoln | |
| Liskeard | |
| 6 Liverpool—B | 1825 |
| Longton, Cumberland | 1840 |
| Louth | 1825 |
| Lymington | |
| Macclesfield | |
| Maidstone | 1837 |
| Mansfield | |
| 8 Manchester—B | 1825 |
| Malmesbury | |
| Merthyr Tydvil | |
| Monmouth | |
| Morpeth | |
| Neath | |
| Newcastle-under-Lyne | |
| Newcastle-upon-Tyne—B | |
| Newcastle-under-Lyme | 1836 |
| Newport, Isle of Wight | |
| Newport Pagnel | |
| Newark | |
| Northampton | 1839 |
| Nottingham—B | |
| Norwich | |
| North Shields | |
| Odiham—Hants | |
| Oldham | |
| Oswestry, Shropshire | |
| Peterborough | |
| Plymouth | |
| Portsmouth | |
| Preston | 1828 |
| Reading | |
| Redruth | |

| | |
|---|---|
| Reigate, Surrey | |
| Retford | |
| Richmond | |
| Rochdale | 1833 |
| Ross | 1838 |
| Rye | |
| Ryde and Cowes | |
| Salisbury | |
| Sherburn | |
| South Shields | |
| Shrewsbury | 1825 |
| Stockton-on-Tees | |
| Stockport | 1834 |
| Stourbridge | 1835 |
| Southampton | |
| Staines | |
| Staleybridge | |
| Stroud | |
| Sunderland | |
| Swansea | 1839 |
| Tamworth | |
| Tavistock | |
| Taunton | |
| Teignmouth | |
| Tewkesbury | |
| Thornton | |
| Tunbridge Wells | 1838 |
| Trowbridge | |
| Uttoxeter | |
| Walsall | |
| Warminster | 1839 |
| Warrington | 1836 |
| West Bromwich | |
| Whitehaven | |
| Windsor | |
| Wisbeach | |
| Woking | |
| Wolverhampton | |
| Worcester | 1829 |
| Worksop | |
| Worthing | 1838 |
| Yeovil | |

YORKSHIRE.

WEST RIDING.

| | |
|---|---|
| Barnsley | 1834 |
| Bradford—B | 1830 |
| Checkheaton—V | 1838 |
| Denby Dale—V | 1840 |
| Dewsbury | 1826 |
| Doncaster | 1836 |
| Goole—B | 1840 |
| Harrogate | 1841 |
| Halifax | 1825 |
| Heckmondwike—V | 1841 |
| Huddersfied | 1837 |
| Leeds—B | 1825 |
| * Keighley—B | — |
| Knaresbro' | 1843 |
| * Morley—V | — |
| Otley | 1836 |
| Pateley bridge | 1840 |
| Pontefract | 1843 |
| Pudsey—V | 1833 |
| Rotherham | 1841 |
| Ripon | 1834 |
| 2 Sheffield | 1832 |
| Skipton | 1839 |
| Sowerby bridge—V | 1832 |
| Thorne | 1842 |
| Todmorden | 1832 |
| Wakefield | 1841 |
| Yeadon | 1838 |

NORTH RIDING.

| | |
|---|---|
| Malton | 1840 |
| Middlesborough | — |
| Scarbro' | 1834 |
| York | 1827 |

EAST RIDING.

| | |
|---|---|
| Beverley—B | 1833 |
| Bridlington | 1840 |
| Driffield | 1836 |
| Hull—B | 1825 |

SUMMARY OF PRECEDING LIST.

| | Institutions founded before the end of 1830. | From 1831 to 1836, both inclusive. | From 1837 to present time. | Date of foundation not stated. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| York, W. R. | 5 | 8 | 14 | — | 27 |
| " N. R. | 1 | 1 | 2 | — | 4 |
| " E. R. | 1 | 2 | 1 | — | 4 |
| *Metropolis | — | — | — | 34 | 34 |
| Rest of the Kingdom | 18 | 15 | 17 | 103 | 161 |
| | 25 | 26 | 34 | 137 | 230 |

The number of institutions in the Metropolis is given according to Mr Coates' table.

[*We shall feel obliged to those friends of mechanics institutions who will enable us to correct any omissions in the above list, which will hereafter be republished in a revised form. Communications for the editor may be addressed to the publisher,*—Ed.]

Art. V.—1. *Transport Service, and Trinity-House Light Dues.* By C. Richardson, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. E. Wilson. London. 1842.

2. *The Trinity Board Unmasked.* By the same. E. Wilson. London. 1844.

A QUESTION of no slight interest to a large and important class of the community, viz. "that of the exclusive privileges of the Corporation of the Trinity House," will indirectly present itself to the consideration of the legislature, when the Trinity Board applies, as it must, for a renewal or continuance of certain provisions of the 3 Geo. IV., chap. 111, which expire at the end of the present session of parliament. That the species of monopoly conferred upon and still retained by the Trinity Board has worked great practical injury to the interests of the shipowner, is a fact which cannot be disputed. It is conclusively established by two parliamentary reports; that on Foreign Trade, in the House of Lords, in 1822; and that on Lighthouses, in the House of Commons, in 1834. But while we propose briefly to show that this monopoly has, in past times, benefited the few at the expense of the many, our main object is to arrive at a true estimate of the amount of the *present* loss and injury which the rotten and false principles of the system on Tower hill are inflicting upon the shipping community. A short reference, however, to the very early history of this corporation may not be unacceptable to our readers, as it will show by what means this body has fallen from its high estate, and also how easily the corruption of a good institution makes it, in process of time, a very bad one.

Prior to the reign of Henry the Eighth, the Trinity House was a kind of college at Deptford, belonging to a society of seamen, with authority by charter "to take knowledge of those that destroyed sea marks." This monarch granted the society a charter to erect themselves into a corporate body, "*To consist of all the seamen of the realm;*" and the charter recites—

"That the brethren of the guild or fraternity, and their successors, shall and may be able, every year of themselves, to elect, ordain, and successively constitute one master, four wardens, and eight assistants, to govern and oversee the same." And also, "That they may have power and authority for ever of granting and making laws and ordinances among themselves, for the relief, increase, and augmentation of the shipping of this our realm of England."

Hence it is evident that the master, wardens, and assistants, were originally chosen, by *popular election*, from a body consist-

ing of "all the seamen of the realm." That the intention of the sagacious founder of the corporation was to foster the merantile marine of his kingdom, and to secure to seamen *generally*, by the act of incorporation, the rights and privileges of their profession. The corporation was clearly not endowed to benefit a few greedy individuals. Indeed it would appear that, under this charter, no pecuniary emolument accrued, directly or indirectly, to the elected officers of the corporation for the performance of their duties.

King Henry's charter was materially modified by succeeding sovereigns, particularly by James I. But it is unnecessary to refer to these alterations, because a short time before the demise of Charles II, the corporators of the Trinity House, in imitation of many other corporations, and in proof of their loyalty to their sovereign, surrendered into his hands their charter, which was regranted to them by his successor, James II, in the year 1685, and this last is the charter under which the corporation at present enjoys and exercises its several rights. By this charter James II ratified to the Trinity House "all ancient dues, profits, &c., without any account to be made or rendered;" and at the same time he subverted the original constitution of the corporation; for, instead of a master, four wardens, and eight assistants, chosen *annually* by general election, he ordained that there should be one master, four wardens, eight assistants, and eighteen elder brethren, all of whom, in the first instance, were to be named by himself, and future vacancies were to be filled up by the elder brethren themselves, from among younger brethren, a name given by James I to brethren of the guild generally, who were also to be selected, and approved of, by the elder brethren.

From this era, then, may be dated the present constitution of the Trinity Board. For it was thus that it became practically a self-elected body, from the power given, to "*supply vacancies*," and an irresponsible one, because "*no account was to be made or rendered.*"

It is true that, by the charter last referred to, James reserved to himself, and his successors, power "to remove or displace, by order of our or their privy council, any master, wardens, assistants, elder brethren, or clerk of the said guild or fraternity." And this clause might, for a time, act as a check upon misconduct; but as soon as the Trinity Board began its system of electing cabinet ministers, as *honorary* elder brethren, it is clear that any appeal to the privy council for the redress of grievances suffered by the subject at the hand of the corporation became a

solemn mockery.* James's arbitrary notions of prerogative, no doubt, urged him on to this total subversion of the originally popular constitution of the Trinity House. His successful attack upon the charters of the city of London are well known; but although the latter were partially restored at the revolution in 1688, no restoration was made of the popular privileges granted by the charter of Henry VIII to the shipping interest. Perhaps the omission was a mere oversight, or, what is still more probable, the elder brethren having tasted the sweets of irresponsible power, were successful in resisting a return to the ancient order of things. But be the cause what it may, the result has been disastrous to the shipping interest. Indeed, it may safely be affirmed, that the shipowners during the last century have paid more than *two millions sterling* over and above the necessary expenditure in consequence of the "fantastic tricks" irresponsible corporators have played with corporate funds.

The income of the Trinity House is derived from four sources. 1st. Light dues. 2nd. Lastage and ballastage. 3rd. Trinity dues, comprising buoyage, beaconage, &c. 4th. Surplus pilotage, with fees on warrants (granted by 52 Geo. III, chap. 59). As the light dues, however, are the chief source of the corporation's large revenue, as well as the tax most burdensome to British shipping, we shall, in a great degree, confine our observations to them. In the Appendix, then, to the pamphlet at the head of our article, there is the following abstract given of some of the most important facts elicited from the officers of the corporation when examined before the select committee on foreign trade.

"1st. It appears that the average annual expenditure on account of each light, under the superintendence of the Trinity House, without charging the light with any share of the expenses of the establishment on Tower hill, amounted during a series of years prior to 1821 to the sum of 1,900*l.*, exactly 1,250*l.* *more* than the average cost of each light establishment under the management of the Scottish commissioners during the same period; and exceeding by the sum of

* Yet the acting Trinity Board had the assurance to say in a return made to the House of Commons, on the 9th of June, 1817, "If they (the elder brethren) had in any instance misconducted themselves, the charter might have been resorted to, which, while on the one hand it affords them ample protection, provides, at the same time, a summary remedy to parties complaining by application to the Privy Council. The Corporation trust, however, they have preserved invariably the character for integrity, as well as useful exertion when called for, which has been handed to them by their predecessors." This is pretty well considering it was penned only five years previous to the publication of the facts exposed before the Select Committee of the House of Lords.

1,067*l.* 10s. the allowance apportioned by the committee itself, for the future maintenance of each light.

"2nd. That the collection at the outports of the tolls and light dues could generally have been performed by respectable individuals, under ample security, for two-and-a-half or five per cent. on the amount collected; whereas it appeared in evidence that out of seventy-nine places, at which collectors were established, *no less than fifty-nine of them received a remuneration of twenty per cent.* in addition to other Trinity-House appointments, the emoluments of which were equally derived from charges upon shipping.

"3rd. That the commissions paid by the Trinity House in the year 1818 for the collection of the light dues, tolls, &c., in the port of London alone, amounted to no less a sum than 5,200*l.*, and that the total amount of the commissions paid for collecting the same duties in other parts of the kingdom was, for the same year, 15,000*l.*, making a grand total of 20,200*l.* for commissions alone.

"4th. That the Trinity House had leased to individuals at small quit rents, not exceeding 128*l.* per annum for the whole, the tolls of several lighthouses, originally granted to the corporation; thus converting into a source of private emolument those grants from the crown evidently intended for the public service.

"5th. That certain fees arising from the licensing of boats employed on the river Thames were granted to this corporation by the 2 Geo. III, and that the Trinity House had been in the habit of levying a larger sum than that authorised by the act. A proceeding severely animadverted upon by the committee.

"6th. That the expenses of the establishment on Tower hill were unnecessarily high; and that the elder brethren remunerated their own services in a most objectionable form, viz., by the division of a particular collection (that on foreign shipping) of uncertain extent."

It was impossible for any government altogether to pass over these delinquencies. The outcry for a reform was great, and the ministry of the day, with an unwilling hand, proceeded to administer correction. The 3 Geo. IV, chap. cxi, was passed. An act primarily "for the better regulation of lastage and ballastage in the River Thames;" but one important object of which was to regulate and curb the system of maladministration on Tower hill. It is not denied that this act, by the general power it gives to reduce and modify the tolls; and by its appointment of a fixed sum in lieu of the previous indefinite appropriation for the salaries of the elder brethren, conferred much benefit upon the shipping community. Nevertheless it was but a small instalment of the justice due to the shipowners. The Trinity corporation should have been dissolved. It had deservedly forfeited its charter by the negligence and abuse of its franchises; and in all such cases, according to the authority of Blackstone, "the law adjudges that the body politic has broken the condition

upon which it was incorporated, and *thereupon the incorporation is void.*"—1 Black. Comm. 485.

The evidence given before the select committee on foreign trade proves, beyond all dispute, that the shipowners, for a series of years, had been plundered by one of the most barefaced systems of extravagance upon record; and yet the offending parties were let off, comparatively speaking, unscathed.

In fact, it is merely an A B C calculation to prove that, during the twenty years preceding 1821, above *one million sterling* was squandered out of the light revenues alone.* Yet the claws of the Trinity Board were just pared, and they were again turned loose, with diminished means of annoyance, to prey upon the shipowner. Four of the ministers of that period† were honorary elder brethren, and one consequence of their milk-and-water reform was, that the acting Trinity Board neglected to carry into effect (whenever it safely could) the retrenchments recommended in the Report of 1822. A glaring instance of this neglect is to be found in the appointment, in 1825, of a collector of light dues at Great Yarmouth, with a commission of ten per cent., although it appears from a correspondence laid before the Committee on Lighthouses in 1834, that a gentleman of the highest respectability, the water bailiff at that port, had previously offered to collect the dues at the reduced rate of five per cent. Another sin of omission was the non-reduction of the pensions to the amount recommended by the committee; and this naturally brings us to the consideration of the important question, What is the actual quantum of injury the system on Tower hill is inflicting upon the shipping community at the present moment?

Now the first point we propose to prove is, the continued *unreasonableness* of the tolls; but as a preliminary part of this question, it will be proper to refer to the authority under which the Trinity Corporation erects lighthouses and collects tolls.

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* For instance, the excess of expenditure during the above period may be set down in round numbers at 1,000*l.* per annum for each light. Twenty lights make this excess 20,000*l.* per annum; and if the extravagant commission paid at the time for collecting the tolls be added (about 15,000*l.* per annum more than it ought to have been), we find an annual waste on the two items of maintenance and collection of 35,000*l.* per annum. Multiply this sum by thirty, and the result is 1,050,000*l.* In addition to this we ought to reckon the minor extravagances in the beaconage, buoyage, lastage, and ballastage departments, as well as the exorbitant charges made by the central board of management, and then a correct idea may be formed of the manner in which the shipowners were fleeced by the acting Trinity Board during the late war.

† Namely, the Earl of Liverpool, the Marquis of Londonderry, Viscount Sidmouth, and Viscount Melville, besides two ex-Lords of the Admiralty, and two ex-Ministers.

The erection, then, of lighthouses and the collection of tolls have been all authorised either by special acts of parliament, which are very few in number, or by patents granted by the crown. These patents are issued in virtue of the royal prerogative (1 Black. Comm. 264). But as they impose a direct tax upon the subject, some doubt has existed as to the right of the crown to authorise, by letters patent alone, such a collection. The Bill of Rights (3 Car. I, confirmed by 16 Car. I) seems to be sufficiently explicit upon this point. It declares "*that no duty shall be raised or assessed upon the subject, but by act of parliament.*" And it cannot be denied, that the light dues, except in some special cases, are a duty raised upon the subject without the legislative concurrence required. Admitting, however, that the crown does legally possess the prerogative in question, and there are many very eminent lawyers whose opinions are favourable, yet upon one point all the legal authorities are unanimous, viz., "*that the tolls must be reasonable according to law;*" that is, that the tax imposed upon the subject, by the letters patent, must not exceed what is sufficient for the erection and maintenance of the light by which he is benefited. Sir Thomas Booth and Sir John Strange, law officers of the crown in 1737, Sir Fletcher Norton in 1766, and Sir John Copley and Sir Charles Wetherall in 1825, *all concur here;* and the celebrated Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, in the case of the "Trinity House *v.* Stebbins and others," expressed himself thus:—"It was never doubted that these letters patent are good, and that the power of the crown is established by law: *yet the duty laid must be reasonable, and if it is any other than only a proper and adequate compensation for the benefit received, the grant will be bad, and that will be grounds for a sci. fa. to repel it for deceit.*"

That the duty laid neither has been nor is reasonable, we shall now show.

It appears from the Report of the Committee on Lighthouses in 1834, that the annual surplus for 1818, 1819, and 1820, averaged 52,000*l.* per annum; and that this surplus arose from the tolls upon twenty light establishments, the maintenance of which cost upon an average 1,900*l.* each. In 1832 there was a surplus of 40,467*l.* upon the fifty-five lights then exhibited; and as the cost of the maintenance of each light had been reduced to an average of 510*l.*, the total expense of maintenance for the year, including commission on collection, amounted to 35,904*l.* Thus it is evident there was a clear surplus from the light tolls, in 1832, of 114 per cent. over and above the expen-

diture. And the following abstract* of the receipts and expenses of the Trinity Corporation in 1840, drawn up from a parliamentary return (No. 448) made to the House of Commons in July, 1842, shows that the aggregate surplus from the light tolls is still increasing:—

| *RECEIPTS. | | | | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lighthouses | | | | 140,021 | 1 | 1½ |
| Ditto, transferred or purchased | | | | 56,033 | 0 | 4 |
| Rents, dividends, and commissions | | | | 10,943 | 4 | 11 |
| Buoyage and beaconage | | | | 14,071 | 13 | 7¼ |
| Ballastage | | | | 33,591 | 10 | 2½ |
| CHARGES. | £. | s. | d. | 254,660 | 10 | 2¼ |
| Maintenance of lights | 102,655 | 1 | 2½ | | | |
| Ditto of lights transferred | 28,031 | 18 | 0 | | | |
| Ballastage expenses | 31,622 | 6 | 9 | | | |
| Buoyage and beaconage ditto | 9,230 | 0 | 5 | | | |
| Commission on collection of dues | 5,501 | 7 | 6¼ | | | |
| Ditto on transferred accounts | 2,347 | 11 | 10 | | | |
| Salaries to elder brethren | 7,000 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Secretary, clerks, &c. | 6,394 | 19 | 0 | | | |
| Office expenses | 1,126 | 10 | 8 | | | |
| House expenses, dinners, &c. | 3,469 | 6 | 4 | | | |
| Argus steamer | 14,081 | 12 | 2 | | | |
| Deficiency on pensions | 29,739 | 2 | 6 | | | |
| Law and sundries | 543 | 19 | 3 | | | |
| | | | | 241,743 | 15 | 8¾ |
| Balance | | | | £12,917 | 14 | 5½ |

From this abstract we learn that the receipts in 1840, from all the lighthouses under the control of the Trinity Board, amounted to 196,054*l.*; that the charge for their maintenance was 130,686*l.*, exclusive of 7,800*l.*, the commission on collection. If, then, we deduct the two latter sums, a surplus of 57,558*l.* is left, arising from the light dues alone during the year referred to. A surplus that might easily be doubled, if the lighthouses were managed like those in France, by scientific men. For what but a series of blunders can be expected from a Board, not a member of which is a man of science? There is not, we believe, even one of them acquainted with those branches of optics which embrace the condensation and distribution of light.

The contrast between the expenses of the Trinity-House lighthouses for any given year since the corporation's pretended reformation, and of the lights on the coast of France, is startling.

* This abstract has already appeared in the 'Westminster Review,' in an article entitled 'The Corporation of London and Municipal Reform.'

It appears from the evidence given before the Committee on Lighthouses, that in 1832 there were seventy-three lights on the French coast; that these were well exhibited; and it is stated by Sir David Brewster and Lieutenant Drummond, in their examination before the committee, that they consider the lenticular or refracting light used in the French lighthouses as superior, in all material points, to the reflecting lights exhibited by the Trinity Board. These seventy-three lights cost the French Treasury, during that year, 200,000 francs, or 8,000*l.* That is, a less sum than the elder brethren, without spending a halfpenny on the lights, were pleased to charge the shipowners during the same period, *for salaries and house expenses.* Having due reference, then, to the unscientific management of the Tower-hill Board, and to the extravagant system of expenditure inherent in a body self-elected and governed as the Trinity Board is, it is no exaggeration to affirm, that the present surplus of 57,558*l.* per annum might be increased to 114,000*l.* per annum, if the lighthouses were under the control of responsible and scientific men. *Hence it follows that the tolls are at the present moment unreasonable,* and that the spirit and intention of the acts, and letters patent under which the light tolls are levied, require that these duties should be reduced from time to time to what a jury would consider *reasonable rates.*

But the grievances suffered by the shipowners do not stop here. There is a misapplication of the greater part of the surplus arising from these tolls, as we shall now proceed to prove.

The charter of James II directs, "That the monies arising from decrees, orders, fines, forfeitures, or *otherwise*, shall be appropriated to charitable purposes;" and under the comprehensive term "*or otherwise*" the acting elder brethren, who since 1822 have trumpeted forth "a great anxiety to carry out *extensively* "the charitable objects which it is one of the duties of their charter to promote," hold themselves empowered to make an *ad libitum* distribution of the surplus tolls for charitable purposes; although, with the exception of the patent for the Scilly Light, not one of the acts, or patents under which tolls are levied, authorise any such application; and although this proceeding is directly in the teeth of the recommendation of the committee on Lighthouses, who in their Report justly observe, that the exception above alluded to "*may be taken in proof that no part of the surplus dues of other lights ought to be so applied.*"—*Vide* 'Report of the Commissioners on Lighthouses,' p. 20.

The discretionary power of distribution which the acting elder brethren thus vest in themselves, is clearly illegal in law; and it is absurd in principle, because the rate thus practically

levied upon each shipowner for the support of "aged and decayed seamen" is made dependent in amount upon the frequency with which his vessel has to pass and repass a Trinity-House light—a mode of assessment just as rational as if every householder was assessed for his poor rate according to the number of times he might pass up and down his own street. Again, it is unjust in practice, since the taxes thus levied fall heaviest upon the owners of coasting vessels and vessels of small burden; and these parties sensibly feel the grievance at being taxed at a rate so much beyond what is necessary for the maintenance of the lights, in consequence of twenty elderly gentlemen having found out that, as charity is mentioned in their charter, they may, without stint, apply to charitable purposes any surplus funds they can lay hold of. In all this there is much of the cunning which so frequently supplies the place of true wisdom. The cuckoo cry, that the acting elder brethren must extend their charity, gives them one specious objection against any further reduction of the tolls. Then, there is a chance that they—the mere distributors of the shipowner's bounty without his consent—may, in the long run, be mistaken by the many, who rarely look beyond the surface of things, for the donors of it. They salve over their consciences, too, with the idea that the end is meritorious, and apparently with Trinity-House consciences a lawful end sanctifies any means; and thus they wilfully shut their eyes to the illegality and injustice of which they are guilty by this general payment of pensions out of the surplus tolls.

The next grievance on the list is the exorbitant charge yet made by the acting Trinity Board for the services, such as they are, which it renders to the shipowners. To be sure, it is somewhat difficult to define these services exactly, because this is one of the points upon which the elder brethren always contrive to give the least possible amount of information; luckily, however, we have the evidence of the present Deputy Master of the Trinity House to refer to, when examined before the House of Commons, and this throws some little light upon the subject.

"COMMITTEE ON LIGHTHOUSES.—Joseph Hume, Esq., in the Chair.—May 2, 1834.

"Captain John Henry Pelly called in and examined.

"3,465. How long have you been an elder brother of the Trinity House?—Eleven years.

"3,469. Do you consider it necessary to have so many to form a board to carry on the business of the lights, as are now employed?—I do not mean to say that the whole business might not be conducted by a less number, but that at times the brethren are all fully employed.

"3,470. Do you mean fully employed with the other duties of ex-

amining the pilots, and attending to ballastage and lights: Is that what you mean by the general business of the board?—I mean that the general business of the board occupies a great deal of time. A man's whole time is not expected to be given up to the affairs of the corporation.

"3,471. In point of fact, what portion of your time is taken up?—There is a board day always on Thursdays.

"3,472. When all attend?—Yes, when all attend; and there are committees at which the members attend whenever necessary; and the brethren are very often employed in the service of visiting different establishments; I have been absent on the duty for a month or six weeks together.

"3,472. But can you state what portion of the time of the board is taken up with the duties of the lights?—I can hardly say what portion of the time of the board is dedicated to that particular service," &c. &c.

Here we get an inkling into the duties and employments of the elder brethren. Sir John Pelly says, "these duties occupy a good deal of their time;" although, when pressed to particularize, he by no means satisfactorily proves his assertion. Indeed, the following fact is somewhat irreconcilable with his allegation—viz., that the Deputy Master himself, who receives 500*l.* per annum, that is two-fifths more than the acting elder brethren generally, and who may, consequently, be expected to do some little extra work, is, nevertheless, at the present moment able to act not only in the above capacity, but also as Director of the Bank of England! Governor of the Hudson Bay Company! as a Commissioner in the Exchequer Bill office! and as the active* Chairman of the Essex and Whitechapel Turnpike Trust! But it would be unfair to set down the Deputy Master of the Trinity Board as the *solitary pluralist* of Tower hill. His example, so far from being looked upon as a beacon to be avoided, is considered a light to be followed; and, consequently, a majority of the other members of the corporation are graciously pleased, for money considerations, to give the public the full benefit of their services as directors of various insurance, dock, and trading companies; thus making the elder brothership a stepping-stone to other appointments—a substantial foretaste of other good things to come.

In short, the business of the Trinity Board, which "occupies so much time," would seem to comprise, as far as the acting elder brethren are concerned, a board day on a Thursday; an attendance on the committees whenever necessary, or, in other

* In proof of this activity see the particulars of a case at Worship street, reported in the 'Standard' of the 14th day of July, 1841, in which case the chairman and his co-trustees were "plaintiffs," and certain unfortunate fruit women "defendants."

words, "at discretion;" a few weeks' summer recreation in the well-stored Trinity yacht; certain tours of inspection by land during the winter months; and an occasional sitting at the Admiralty Court, to assist the court with a practical opinion, in cases of collision at sea, which latter service, by-the-bye, a couple of intelligent captains of colliers would perform equally well. This is a fair summary of what they do,* and their charges for doing it are as follow:—viz., 7,000*l.* per annum for salaries; about 3,500*l.* for house expenses, court dinners, and banquets given to Austrian archdukes and cabinet ministers; besides office and incidental expenses to the tune of 7,500*l.* more. Thus, the cost to the shipowners of the central board of management amounts to 18,000*l.* per annum—a sum that considerably exceeds the annual charge paid by the French government for ALL the lighthouses on the French coast.

Another just ground of complaint is the scientific incompetency of the ruling Board. It will scarcely be credited, by any one ignorant of the way in which close corporations have been managed, that the acting Trinity Board, which has to examine into and certify upon the qualifications of candidates intended to act as masters in the royal navy, and as pilots from Yarmouth to Deal—which has also to examine into the fitness and abilities of

* We have omitted to include a trumpery procession annually to Deptford, to open the fair there, and to distribute cakes and comfits. The latter may procure a few loud huzzas; the procession a few stupid gazers. But, on such an occasion, a classical toll payer would probably apostrophize the "collective body" in the language of the satirist.

"Ad populum phaleras: Ego te intus, et in cute novi."

"Such pageantry be to the people shown,
There boast your *barge's* trappings, and your own,
I know you to your bottom, from within
Your shallow centre to your utmost skin."

The mention of Deptford fair reminds us of a characteristic anecdote. It appears to have been an annual custom for the parish officers of Deptford, to accompany the elder brethren in procession from St Nicholas Church to their hall. In 1842, however, written orders were for the first time given to the superintendent of police by the corporation's secretary, not to admit any one into the hall without a ticket, even although he belonged to the procession, and bore a wand. These orders were not communicated to the parish officers until their usual arrangements had been made, and then finding the police in possession of the doors and gates of the church, and that they could not join in the procession without being subjected to exclusion from the hall, the parish officers very properly abandoned their previous arrangements, and retired to the vestry loudly complaining of the discourtesy. The consequence was that many of the first families in the parish, not being known to the police, were refused admission into their own church.

such boys belonging to Christ's Hospital as are "to be initiated into the practice of the art of navigation," and which, *not* very long ago, displayed such great inclination to preside over the examination of masters and mates in the merchant service—we repeat, it will scarcely be credited that the members of this Board do NOT themselves undergo the slightest examination upon election; and that the shipowner who pays them, and pretty handsomely too, has no guarantee that the elder brethren, who, by virtue of their office become the examiners of others, do themselves possess the requisite knowledge.* But the case is still worse as regards the management of the light establishments. The evidence of Sir David Brewster and Lieutenant Drummond is pretty conclusive upon one point—viz., the improbability of any effectual improvement in the lighthouse system, until a certain scientific organization is given to the Trinity Board. Yet, with the exception of Captain Fitzroy's name, we look in vain through the dreary lists of half a century, to find among the acting elder brethren one name known to fame for scientific attainments. And we hold it to be as difficult for a man of science, unless backed by the Admiralty, to enter in at the gates of the Trinity House as it is for a virgin to gain admittance into the Magdalen.

Of the incompetency of the Trinity Board, as at present constituted, to examine into and decide upon improved systems of illumination, a striking instance is given in the eighty-sixth number of the 'Quarterly Review,' in an article upon the "Decline of Science in England." The particulars of the statement are taken from the eleventh volume of the 'Edinburgh Transactions' (p. 33), and are as follow:—

"The inventor of a new compound lens, and of a particular apparatus connected with it, published an account of his invention in 1811. Some years afterwards, a very distinguished member of the Academy of Sciences brought forward the same lens and apparatus as a new and important improvement in lighthouse illumination. It was submitted to the most severe trials by the French lighthouse board, composed of some of the most eminent philosophers and naval officers in Paris, and was found to be greatly superior to every other mode of illumination. It was adopted in the great national lighthouse of Cordouan, and arrangements

* In the early part of 1843, an elder brother of the Trinity House addressed a *short* semi-official letter to a respectable city firm, and we have it on the authority of a contributor to the 'Morning Chronicle,' that the letter contained no less than *three* errors in grammar and orthography. Perhaps the writer was anxious to be distinguished as "*homo trium literarum*," a "gentleman of three misspellings."

were made for its universal introduction on the coast of France. The author, fortified by its actual introduction in a foreign country, addressed himself to the three Lighthouse Boards of the United Kingdom, and offered his gratuitous services in bringing into use the new system. The Scottish Lighthouse Board went so far as to order one of the lenses to be executed under the superintendence of the inventor. The Trinity Board made some trials with the lens before it was sent from London, and the Dublin Board declined doing anything in the matter. And the inability of these boards to judge of the merits of the invention has prevented it from being substituted for those unscientific methods which are used in every part of the British shores."

The light here referred to is, we believe, the lenticular or refracting light, now in use in all the French lighthouses on account of its brilliancy, cheapness, and simplicity; and the foregoing particulars furnish rather a *strong* proof of the incapacity of the Trinity Board to discharge one of its most important functions.

But the hand-writing is already on the wall, and we trust the days of this mischievous monopoly are numbered. Within the last eighteen months the shipowners of Leith, of Hull, of Shields, and of other outports, have publicly registered their decided disapproval of any further power or patronage being entrusted to the acting elder brethren of the Trinity House; and the marked repudiation Captain Fitzroy's bill met with from the shipowners generally—a bill, be it remembered, brought forward in the House of Commons by one elder brother, and seconded by another — practically amounted to a vote of NO confidence in the corporation of Deptford Strand. On this point the speech of John Mitchell, Esq., of Leith, at a meeting of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, in February, 1843, is well worthy of notice, for it gives an able exposition of opinions respecting the Trinity Board, which we may venture to say are entertained by three-fourths of the shipowners of Great Britain. Even in the port of London itself, where, from circumstances easily explained, this corporation is less unpopular than elsewhere, a complete apathy prevails as to whether the acting Trinity Board is or is not abandoned to its fate by Government at the approaching discussion of Trinity-House affairs. And when the fatal period arrives, unless the acting elder brethren can get a certificate of character from Mr Joseph Somes, whom they have taken great pains to propitiate, they must then of necessity throw themselves upon the gratitude and compassion of her Majesty's ministers; and truly, if a constant course of subserviency and sycophancy to the "powers that be" deserve reward, these crafty corporators have earned one. Look, for

instance, at the lists of HONORARY elder brethren for the last half century; look at the list for the *present year*, and say when an opportunity has been lost of thrusting a prime minister or a government "great man" into a vacancy. The fitness or principles of an individual weigh as nothing in the Tower-hill scale; the true corporation test there is,—is the candidate in office? If he be, a Jacobin and a Jacobite are equally welcome; nay, a Bolingbroke is as sure to be elected as a Chatham, by a body that has invariably worshipped the ministerial sun. And so inveterate has this "time honour'd custom" become, that it will scarcely excite surprise

> "If, when in Downing street, Old Nick shall revel
> England's prime minister, they choose the Devil."

It is fatally too true, when a public body has been debased by the long exercise of servility and time-serving, that the firmness of an independent spirit, the honest anxiety characteristic of a faithful guardian scrupulously to perform his trust, become dormant. Thus both caste and character are lost in public estimation; and it is from the gradual operation of such causes that the acting Trinity Board has settled down into its present position. How different from the proud one it might have been placed in had it obtained, by deserving, the confidence of the shipowners. Then it would have possessed a power which no government could take away; then the disgraceful exposure of 1822 would have been avoided; then there would have been no exclusion of the toll payers from all share in the election of elder brethren; no waste of the corporate funds; no perversion of patronage; no confusion of accounts; no increase of debt; no obstruction of improvement; and none of that general system of maladministration twice laid open by the report of a parliamentary committee.

Such is a faint representation of the evils which the Tower-hill monopolists have inflicted, and are inflicting, upon the shipowners of Great Britain. For this state of things the remedies, to be effectual, must be administered with no sparing hand; and we shall briefly refer to two of the most obvious ones,—so obvious, indeed, that they cannot fail to have been anticipated by our readers.

The first remedy that naturally suggests itself is this, viz., to take the management of the light establishments entirely from a body that has acted so ignorantly and foolishly, and place all the English lighthouses under the control of a scientific and responsible board, having powers similar to those given to the Trinity

Corporation by the 6 and 7 Will. IV, chap. 79.* If this were done we could almost pledge ourselves to the shipowners that in five years the loan of 400,000*l.* raised a short time ago upon mortgage of the tolls by virtue of the last-mentioned act, would be paid off, and that a reduction of one-half might then be made in the present rates without in the slightest degree impairing the efficiency of the light establishments.

The next important reform we would suggest is, that the constitution of the Trinity Board should be remodelled, in conformity with the terms of its original charter, such alterations only being admitted as time has rendered necessary, or experience has proved to be expedient.

We have already shown that the charter granted by Henry VIII was "for the relief, increase, and augmentation of the shipping of his realm;" and that the corporation he called into existence was intended to consist of "all the seamen of the realm"—a body of men, most wofully fallen into insignificance, if the present self-elected Trinity Board is to be considered their fitting representative. Indeed, it is as clear as the sun at noonday, that if the Trinity Corporation is to be left with the superintendence of buoyage, beaconage, and ballastage, and is to remain entrusted with the examinations hereinbefore referred to, that then the toll payers have a right to require for the future the display of ability instead of ignorance, of economy instead of profusion; and that there is little chance of these desirable results being obtained, until the elder brethren become, in truth and in reality, the recognized representatives of the maritime interests of this great empire, or, in other words, until a popular infusion is given to this Board by the power of electing its members being vested in the chambers of commerce, and shipowner societies, belonging to a dozen of our larger and more important seaports.

We have already stated that certain provisions of the 3 Geo. IV, chap. cxi, will shortly expire; a continuance, therefore, of the acting Trinity Board, as at present organised, rests upon the decision of the Imperial Parliament, when application is made for a renewal of the act. Mr Hume, too, has notice of a motion

* This act, rendered necessary from the misconduct and breach of trust of former Trinity Boards, gives the corporation (*inter alia*) a power to compel the sale of certain private lighthouses specified in the schedule to the act. Two of these, the "Smalls" and the "Longship," are lighthouses formerly leased to individuals by the Trinity Board, at small quit rents. Thus the Board first leased lights for almost a "nominal consideration," and afterwards had to apply to the legislature for authority to purchase the vested rights of the parties so favoured.

for a committee of inquiry into the conduct of the Trinity Board since 1836. And this motion, if acquiesced in by the House, will afford the British shipowners a fair opportunity of recording their sentiments upon "the doings" of the irresponsible body, which has so long treated them with honied words, and extracted from their pockets *unreasonable imposts.*

Let the shipowners then be up and stirring. Let them recollect that there are at the present moment* three cabinet ministers, and five ex-ministers, honorary elder brethren of the Trinity House; and that as surely as the sun rises in the east and sets in the west, so surely will the present Government and the present Trinity Board try to BURKE every effective reform if they discover any lack of energy on the part of the shipping and mercantile classes. In a matter of such importance to the shipowners, let them above all things beware of supineness and selfishness. To work effectually, they must forget their fancied antagonistic interests, and unite hearts and hands together in opposing a stern resistance to the further continuance of this baneful monopoly.

R. C.

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## LIGHT-HOUSE CHARGES.

The following exhibits the Light Dues levied on different parts of the coast:—

"English light dues paid by the 'Regent' lighthouse tender, of 142 tons, on a voyage from Leith to London and back, in June 1833.

| | | | d. | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| For the Spurn lights | 6s. inwards and 6s. outwards | | | 0 | 12 | 0 |
| Harwich, Winterton and Orford, Scarborough Pier, Tynemouth | inwards 17s. outwards 14s. 6d. | | | 1 | 11 | 6 |
| Fern | 3 Lighthouses | per ton | ¾ | 0 | 8 | 10½ |
| Flambro' | 1 ditto | ditto | ¼ | 0 | 2 | 11½ |
| Spurn | 1 Floating | ditto | ¼ | 0 | 2 | 11½ |
| Well | 1 Floating | ditto | ¼ | 0 | 2 | 11½ |
| Foulness | 1 Floating | ditto | ¼ | 0 | 2 | 11½ |
| Haisbro' Sand, North End | 1 Floating | ditto | ¼ | 0 | 2 | 11½ |
| Haisbro' Shore, Newarp | 2 Lights, 1 Floating | ditto | ¼ | 0 | 2 | 11½ |
| St Nicholas Gutt | Buoys | ditto | ⅛ | 0 | 1 | 5½ |
| Lowestoft | 2 Lights and 1 floating | ditto | ¼ | 0 | 2 | 11½ |
| Sunk | 1 Floating Light and Buoys | ditto | ½ | 0 | 5 | 11 |
| Nore | 1 Floating | | | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Trinity dues | | ditto | 1 | 0 | 11 | 10 |
| Spurn floating | Floating | ditto | ¼ | 0 | 2 | 11½ |
| Total, being about 8¼d. per ton on the whole | | | | 4 | 17 | 3 |

* Viz., Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington, and Sir James Graham; two ex-Premiers, the Earl Grey and Viscount Melbourne; three ex-Lords of the Admiralty, the Earl of Minto, Viscount Melville, and Sir C. Adams.

The 'Regent' tender, of 142 tons, in clearing out for the Northern Lights (including the Isle of Man light, the Carr Rock Beacon, and the six buoys on the Frith of Forth) would pay at the rate of 2½d. per ton; that is, 1*l.* 9s. 7d. outward, or 2*l.* 19s. 2d. outward and homeward for the whole coast of Scotland; but for passing about the same number of lights on the English coast, between Berwick and London, she paid 4*l.* 17s. 3d. (including 1*l.* 1s. 5½d for buoys), being 1*l.* 18s. 1d. more than on the Scotch coast."—*Appendix to Report on Lighthouses*, 1836.

We are not aware of any alteration in the rate of the English tolls since the above document was published. It appears, then, that whilst the average cost per ton for passing and repassing a certain number of the Scotch lights is 5d., the charge outwards and inwards for an equal number of the English lights is 8¼d.

We furnish a comparative statement of the various port charges in the Port of London and the Port of Glasgow,—the latter from Daniel's 'Directory to Port Charges':—

PORT OF LONDON.

Light Duties and Rates payable in the river Thames for a ship of 284 tons on a voyage from the Port of London to any foreign port west of Ushant and back again.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 London tonnage rates. Outward, ¾d. per ton; inward, ditto . | 1 | 15 | 6 |
| 2 Trinity dues. Outward, ½d.; inward, ditto . . . | 1 | 3 | 8 |
| 3 Nore light (floating) . . . . . | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 4 Dock dues from 6d. to 9d. per ton. | | | |
| | 3 | 2 | 2 |

5 Ballastage (a Trinity House monopoly). Unwashed 1s. 3d. per ton; washed 2s. 6d. per ton; and 4d. additional if delivered or taken out in any of the Docks.

PORT OF GLASGOW.

Light dues and rates payable in the river Clyde for a ship of 284 tons, on a voyage from the Port of Glasgow to any foreign port and back again.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Lights, beacons, and buoys on the river Clyde. Outward ½d. per ton; inward, ditto . . . . | 1 | 3 | 8 |
| 2 Lights on the basins of the Forth and Clyde Canal; 6d. for 50 tons | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| | 1 | 6 | 2 |

3 Harbour dues, 6d. per ton; Plankage, from 2s. 6d. to 10s. per vessel; and Crane dues, 1d. per ton. } Equivalent to London Dock dues.

4 Ballastage (not specified) for Port Glasgow. At Greenock common ballast 8d. per ton.

Art. VI.—1. *Chemistry in its application to Agriculture and Physiology.* By Justus Liebig, M.D., Ph. D., F.R.S., M.R.I.A. Edited from the MS. of the Author, by Lyon Playfair, Ph. D., F.G.S. Third Edition. Taylor and Walton.

2. *Animal Chemistry, or Chemistry in its application to Physiology and Pathology.* By Justus Liebig, M.D., &c. Edited from the Author's Manuscript, by William Gregory, M.D., F.R.S.E., M.R.I.A. Second Edition, 8vo. London, 1843.

3. *Familiar Letters on Chemistry, and its relation to Commerce, Physiology, and Agriculture.* By Justus Liebig, M.D., &c. Edited by John Gardner, M.D. Second Edition, fcap. 8vo. London, 1844.

SINCE the important discovery, by Lavosier, of the true nature of combustion, and the consequent abandonment of all the false theories of the Phlogistic school, chemical science has made the most rapid advances. Every stage of its progress has been marked by a corresponding improvement in arts and manufactures, and has opened new resources to medical science and practice. Electricity and galvanism have afforded new and extraordinary powers of analytic investigation, which have produced the most astonishing revelations, and led the way to continually expanding fields of chemical discovery. In the course of this progress organic chemistry, which half a century ago was almost wholly unknown, has been cultivated by the continental philosophers with a zeal and success corresponding with the importance of the subject, amongst whom Professor Liebig, the author of the above works, deservedly holds the most distinguished rank. While medicine and the manufacturing arts were continually deriving new light and increased powers from the discoverers of chemistry, little or no benefit was derived to agriculture from the same source; for, though Sir H. Davy gave some admirable lectures upon the chemistry of agriculture several years since, the low state of organic chemistry at that period rendered the efforts of that illustrious chemist of very little value, and the less so, perhaps, because in that day even the educated cultivators of the soil were not prepared to receive his instructions.

Though, during the long period that has elapsed since the publication of Sir H. Davy's lectures, the labours of the continental chemists had made extensive discoveries calculated to advance the science of chemistry in its relation to agriculture, no work since that above alluded to had appeared in England until

the publication of the first edition of Professor Liebig's 'Chemistry in its application to Agriculture and Physiology,' which he undertook at the request of the British Association for the advancement of science. The more general spread of scientific knowledge, and particularly that of chemistry, and the prevailing feeling amongst the most enlightened agriculturists of the want of the application of that science to agriculture in a work expressly devoted to that purpose, rendered its announcement by so eminent a chemist a cause of great satisfaction. But whatever favourable opinions might have been entertained of the interest of the work, from the known ability of the author, its deeply interesting character, and the important light it threw upon the subjects of which it treats, far exceeded any anticipations that had been formed. The last edition of this work derived additional interest and advantage from the author's visit to this country, which he devoted to the observation of the actual state and practice of agriculture in several parts of the kingdom. The consequence has been a considerable enlargement of the former work, by the introduction of matter bearing more expressly upon British agriculture and the resources which chemistry offers to her attention. Prior to the last edition of this work the author published his 'Animal Chemistry, or Organic Chemistry in its application to Physiology and Pathology,' and subsequently the 'Familiar Letters on Chemistry, and its relation to Commerce, Physiology, and Agriculture.'

Before the appearance of Professor Liebig's first work, the most vague, conflicting, and unsatisfactory opinions prevailed even amongst the most eminent practical agriculturists respecting the nutrition of plants, and the nature and operation of manures, and no solution of the mystery in which the subject appeared to be involved had been offered to the British farmer, though from time immemorial it had been known that stable and farm-yard dung caused fertility, and that a corresponding effect was often produced by the application of the ashes of plants to the soil.

The mode of the operation of these substances was almost entirely unknown to the practical agriculturist, and the action of the several alkaline and earthy salts was involved in similar doubt and mystery. How should it be otherwise, when the chemist was not consulted, or when, if his services were recommended, they had been treated with ridicule and contempt? The consequence of this neglect of the only source from which light and information could be derived has been a gross mismanagement of those manures which are ordinarily at the disposal of the farmer, and innumerable failures and consequent loss, from the

empirical application of those substances which partial instances of success had recommended to supply the deficiency of farm yard dung. Our agricultural publications are filled with the perplexities arising from this state of ignorance, which can be solved only by a rational inquiry into the conditions which are essential to fertility, and which chemistry can alone afford.

The author observes, fol. 112 'Agricultural Chemistry'—

"In addition to the general conditions, such as heat, light, moisture, and the component parts of the atmosphere, all of which are necessary to the growth of plants, certain substances are found to exercise a peculiar influence on their development. These substances either are already contained in the soil or are supplied to it in the form of the matters known under the general name of manure. But what does the soil contain, and what are the components of the substances used as manure? Until these points are ascertained a rational system of agriculture cannot exist. The power and knowledge of the physiologist, agriculturist, and chemist, must be united for the solution of these questions, and in order to attain this end a commencement must be made."

Though it is by no means necessary that the practical agriculturist should possess an extensive knowledge of chemistry, it is highly desirable that he should be acquainted with the nature of the substances which are indispensable to the growth of the plants which he cultivates, and the sources whence they are derived. Without such knowledge he will be continually liable to fall into error, and incur consequent loss whenever he finds it needful to have recourse to extraordinary means of increasing the fertility of his land, and must also constantly suffer from the mismanagement and application of the means which he derives from the ordinary sources. The manufacturer is obliged to make himself acquainted with all the materials which he uses, as well as all the conditions which are essential to the production of the articles he makes, and he is fully aware that unless he provides those materials, and complies with the needful conditions, his object cannot be effected; but this being done, the result is uniform. The farmer ought to be actuated by a similar forethought, in order to insure the same constancy of effect in raising the produce of the earth. Nature, however, provides the latter in many instances so bountifully with the means of ensuring his object, that he feels a less pressing necessity for making himself acquainted with them beyond the most ordinary operations; so that, when the means become exhausted, and the produce consequently fails, he is at a loss to assign the real cause, and to apply the proper remedy. The necessity for exertion, however,

is strongly felt—a something is wanting, and blind experiment supplies the place of knowledge and discrimination, the deficiency may or may not be supplied, the results of the experiments are conflicting, and all is confusion and error. All this error might be avoided, and a comparatively constant beneficial effect produced—saving the varying influence of seasons—by obtaining a knowledge of the nature and properties of the substances which enter into the composition of plants, and the sources from whence they are derived, and acting upon such knowledge. Nothing, however, can be obtained without some labour and application, and those who would read the admirable works of Professor Liebig at the head of this article with profit, must first make themselves so far acquainted with the rudiments of chemistry as to understand the names and general character of the several elements concerned in vegetation. This being attained, they will find these books full of the most important communications upon every subject calculated to throw a light upon the operations of agriculture, and the phenomena of vegetable and animal life.

Part I, 'On the Chemistry of Agriculture,' treats of the chemical processes in the nutrition of vegetables, in which it is shown that carbon with oxygen and hydrogen, the two latter in the proportion which constitute water, form the great mass of the substance of all plants. Woody fibre, starch, sugar, gum, &c., are such compounds of the elements of water with carbon. Other vegetable substances consist of carbon with oxygen and hydrogen, in which the former (oxygen) is in excess. Most of the organic acids are of this nature. In a third class of vegetable substances, hydrogen is in excess. These constitute the fixed and volatile oils, wax, and resin.

The juices of vegetables contain organic acids, generally combined with inorganic bases or metallic oxides, for metallic oxides exist in every plant, and may be found in its ashes after incineration. Nitrogen forms a portion of the elements of plants, and those substances formed by the union of this other organic element always contain sulphur. Whence do plants derive those substances by which their bulk is continually increased until they arrive at maturity? This can only be known by an inquiry as to the substances of which they consist. By far the principal part of these substances are derived from the air. The atmosphere consists principally of oxygen and nitrogen, the former in the proportion of about twenty-one to seventy-nine of the latter. It also contains carbonic acid gas in the proportion of one part by weight to 1,000, with a very small but variable quantity of

ammonia. Plants by means of their leaves extract the two latter from the air, and give out pure oxygen, while they imbibe water from the earth by means of their roots.

In the organs of the plant the carbon and the elements of the water are converted by a new arrangement into woody fibre and the other organic substances. The mineral substances, which constitute the ashes when wood is burnt, are conveyed into the plant in the water taken up by the roots. These substances though very small in quantity compared with the other parts of the plant, are nevertheless essentially necessary to its growth.

After refuting by the most conclusive arguments the opinions which have hitherto prevailed amongst chemists of the manner in which humus contributes to the nourishment of vegetables, the professor proceeds to the investigation of the origin of carbon:—

"Now, whence do vegetables derive their carbon? and in what form is carbon contained in the atmosphere?

"These two questions involve the consideration of two most remarkable phenomena, which, by their reciprocal and uninterrupted influence, maintain the life of individual animals and vegetables, and the continuance of both kingdoms of organic nature. One of these questions is connected with the invariable condition of the air with respect to oxygen. One hundred volumes of air have been found at every period, and in every climate, to contain twenty-one volumes of oxygen, with such small deviations that they must be ascribed to errors of observation. Although the absolute quantity of oxygen contained in the air appears very great when represented by numbers, yet it is not inexhaustible. One man consumes by respiration twenty-five cubic feet of oxygen in twenty-four hours; ten cwt. of charcoal consume 32,066 cubic feet of oxygen during its combustion, so that a single iron furnace consumes annually hundreds of millions of cubic feet, and a small town in Giessen (with about seven thousand inhabitants) extracts yearly from the air by the wood employed as fuel more than five hundred and fifty-one millions of cubic feet of this gas.

"When we consider such facts as these, our former statement, that the quantity of oxygen in the atmosphere does not diminish in the course of ages—that the air at the present day, for example, does not contain less oxygen than that found in a jar buried eighteen hundred years in Pompeii—appears quite incomprehensible, unless some cause exists to replace the oxygen abstracted. How does it happen that the proportion of oxygen is invariable? The answer to this question depends upon another, namely, what becomes of the carbonic acid produced during the respiration of animals, and by the process of combustion? A cubic foot of oxygen gas, by uniting with carbon so as to form carbonic acid gas, does not change its volume. The billions of cubic feet of oxygen extracted from the air are imme-

diately supplied by the same number of billions of cubic feet of carbonic acid. The most exact and most recent experiments of De Saussure, made in every season for the space of three years, have shown that the air contains, on an average, 0·000415 of its own volume of carbonic acid gas; so that, allowing for the inaccuracies of the experiments, which must diminish the quantity obtnined, the proportion of carbonic acid in the atmosphere may be regarded as nearly equal to $\frac{1}{1000}$ part of its weight. The quantity varies according to the seasons; but the yearly average remains continually the same. We have reason to believe that this proportion was much greater in past ages; and, nevertheless, the immense masses of carbonic acid which annually flow into the atmosphere from so many causes, ought perceptibly to increase its quantity from year to year. But we find that all earlier observers describe its volume as from one half to ten times greater than that which it has at the present time; so that we can hence at most conclude, that it has diminished. It is quite evident that the invariable quantities of carbonic acid and oxygen in the atmosphere must stand in some fixed relation to one another, a cause must exist which prevents the increase of carbonic acid by removing that which is constantly forming; and there must be some means of replacing the oxygen removed from the air by the processes of combustion and putrefaction, as well as by the respiration of animals. Both these causes are united in the process of vegetable life.

" The facts which we have stated in the preceding pages prove that the carbon of plants must be derived exclusively from the atmosphere. Now carbon exists in the atmosphere only in the form of carbonic acid, and therefore in a state of combination with oxygen. It has already been mentioned, that carbon and the elements of water form the principal constituents of vegetables; the quantity of the substances which do not possess this composition being in very small proportion. Now, the relative quantity of oxygen in the whole mass is less than in carbonic acid, for the latter contains two equivalents of oxygen, whilst one only is required to unite with hydrogen in the proportion to form water. The vegetable products containing oxygen in a larger proportion than this, are comparatively few in number; indeed, in many the hydrogen is in great excess. It is obvious that when the hydrogen of water is assimilated by a plant, the oxygen in combination with it must be liberated, and will afford a quantity of this element sufficient for the wants of the plant. If this be the case, the oxygen contained in the carbonic acid is quite unnecessary in the process of vegetable nutrition, and it will consequently escape into the atmosphere in a gaseous form. It is therefore certain that plants must possess the power of decomposing carbonic acid, since they appropriate its carbon for their own use. The formation of their principal component substances must necessarily be attended with the separation of the carbon of the carbonic acid from the oxygen, which must be returned to the atmosphere whilst the carbon enters into combination with water or its elements. The atmosphere must

thus receive a volume of oxygen for every volume of carbonic acid which has been decomposed.

"This remarkable property of plants has been demonstrated in the most satisfactory manner, and it is in the power of every person to convince himself of its existence. The leaves and other green parts of plants absorb carbonic acid and emit an equal volume of oxygen. They possess this quality quite independent of the plant; for if, after being separated from the stem, they are placed in water containing carbonic acid, and exposed in that condition to the sun's light, the carbonic acid, is, after a time, found to have disappeared entirely from the water. If the experiment be conducted under a glass receiver filled with water, the oxygen emitted from the plant may be collected and examined. When no more oxygen gas is evolved, it is a sign that all the dissolved carbonic acid is decomposed, but the operation recommences if a new portion be added.

"Plants do not emit gas when placed in water either free from carbonic acid, or containing an alkali that protects it from assimilation."

It is one of the most remarkable and beautiful instances of the economy of Nature, that the functions of plants and animals have a reciprocal action, by which each supports the existence of the other. By respiration animals consume oxygen by combining it with carbon as carbonic acid; while on the other hand vegetable life is supported by decomposing carbonic acid and renovating the air by the liberation of oxygen, which would otherwise prove poisonous to animals. The redundant vegetation of tropical regions liberates immense quantities of oxygen, which, flowing off to the temperate zones, supplies the greater waste and inferior production of oxygen in those latitudes, while the returning currents carry back the carbonic acid gas produced by combustion and respiration in the populous and colder countries. There now no longer exists any doubt that the immense strata of mineral coal found in various parts of the world owe their origin to the action of vegetable life at a very remote geological period.

"The various layers of wood and mineral coal, as well as peat, form the remains of a primeval vegetation. The carbon contained in them must have been originally in the atmosphere as carbonic acid, in which form it was assimilated by the plants which constitute these formations. It follows from this, that the atmosphere must be richer in oxygen at the present time than in former periods of the earth's history. The increase must be exactly equal in volume to the carbonic acid abstracted, in the nourishment of a former vegetation, and must therefore correspond to the quantity of carbon and hydrogen contained in the carboniferous deposits."

The enormous quantity of carbon contained in the strata of

coal having been derived from the atmosphere, it follows that the quantity of carbonic acid gas existing at the period of the formation of mineral coal was much greater than at the present time, which, together with a higher temperature, will afford an explanation of the rapid vegetation by which they were, evidently, produced.

The decomposition of carbonic acid and emission of oxygen by the leaves and green parts of plants, takes place during the day, both by the direct action of the sun's rays, and also, but in an inferior degree, by that of diffused light. During the night, on the contrary, plants absorb oxygen, and give out carbonic acid gas. The latter circumstance has led some philosophers to doubt whether, eventually, plants do, upon the whole, purify the air.

"These doubts have arisen from an erroneous consideration of the behaviour of plants during the night. The experiments of Ingerhouss were in a great measure the cause of the uncertainty of opinion regarding the influence of plants in purifying the air. His observations that green plants emit carbonic acid in the dark, led De Saussure and Grischow to new investigations, by which they ascertained that, under such conditions, plants do really absorb oxygen and emit carbonic acid, but that the whole volume undergoes diminution at the same time. From the latter part it follows that the quantity of oxygen absorbed is greater than the volume of carbonic acid separated; for if both were equal no diminution could occur. These facts cannot be doubted, but the views based upon them have been so false, that nothing but the total disregard and the utmost ignorance of the chemical relations of plants to the atmosphere can account for their adoption.

"It is true that the decomposition of carbonic acid is assisted by the absence of light; but then, namely, at night, a true chemical process commences, in consequence of the action of the oxygen upon the organic substances composing the leaves, blossoms, and fruits. This process is not at all connected with the life of the vegetable organism, because it goes on in a dead plant exactly as in a living one.

"The substances composing the leaves of different plants being known, it is a matter of the greatest ease and certainty to calculate which of them, during life, will absorb most oxygen by chemical action when the influence of light is withdrawn. The leaves and green parts of all plants containing volatile oils, or volatile constituents in general, should absorb more than other parts free from such substances, for these change into resin by the absorption of oxygen. Leaves also containing the constituents of nut-galls, or compounds in which nitrogen is present, ought to absorb more oxygen than those destitute of such matters. The correctness of these inferences has been distinctly proved by the observations of De Saussure, for whilst the leaves of the Agave Americana absorb only 0·3 volumes of oxygen in the dark during twenty-four hours, the

leaves of the Pinus abies containing volatile and resinous oils absorb ten times; those of the Quercus rober containing tannic acid fourteen times, and the balmy leaves of the Populus alba twenty-one times that quantity. This chemical action is shown very plainly in the leaves of the Cotylidon colycinum, the Cacalia ficoides, and others; for they are sour like sorrel in the morning, tasteless at noon, and bitter in the evening. The formation of acids is effected during the night by a true process of oxidation; they are deprived of their acid properties during the day and evening, and changed by a separation of part of their oxygen into compounds containing oxygen and hydrogen, either in the same proportions which constitute water, or even with an excess of hydrogen; for such is the composition of tasteless and bitter substances.

"Most vegetable physiologists have connected the emission of carbonic acid during the night with the absorption of oxygen from the atmosphere, and have considered these actions as a true process of the respiration in plants, similar to that of animals, and like it, having for its result the separation of carbon from some of their constituents. This opinion has a very weak and unstable foundation. The carbonic acid which has been absorbed by the leaves and by the roots, together with water, ceases to be decomposed on the departure of daylight; it is absorbed in the juices which pervade all parts of the plant, and escapes every moment through the leaves, in quantity corresponding to the water which evaporates. A soil in which plants vegetate vigorously contains a certain quantity of moisture indispensable to their existence; carbonic acid likewise is always present in such soil, whether it has been abstracted from the air, or has been generated by the decay of vegetable matter. Rain and well water, and also that from other sources, invariably contains carbonic acid; plants during their life constantly possess the power of absorbing water, and along with it carbonic acid. Is it, therefore, surprising that the carbonic acid should be returned unchanged to the atmosphere along with water in the absence of light, for this is known to be the cause of the fixation of its carbon?

"Neither this emission of carbonic acid nor the absorption of oxygen has any connexion with the process of assimilation, nor have they the slightest relation to one another; the one is purely a mechanical, the other purely a chemical process. A cotton wick enclosed in a lamp containing a liquid saturated with carbonic acid, acts exactly in the same manner as a living plant in the night. Water and carbonic acid are sucked up by capillary attraction, and both evaporate from the exterior part of the wick.

"Plants living in a moist soil containing humus exhale much more carbonic acid during the night than those growing in dry situations; they also yield more in rainy than in dry weather; these facts point out to us the cause of the numerous contradictory observations made with respect to the change impressed upon the air by living plants, both in darkness and common daylight; but these

contradictions are unworthy of consideration, as they do not assist in the solution of the main question. There are other facts which prove in a decisive manner, that plants yield more oxygen to the atmosphere than they extract from it. These proofs may easily be obtained without having recourse to any peculiar arrangements from observations made on plants living under water."

Humus is vegetable matter in a state of decay. That dark mass which is found immediately beneath the grass in all old pasture lands is humus blended with the finer particles of the soil. By the action of air and moisture humus is slowly converted into carbonic acid gas, and in this way affords food to the roots of young plants.

The decay of vegetable substances is the source of humus,—that matter which imparts a dark colour to the soil. This decay is a slow combustion, by which the organic parts of plants are separated and are resolved into water and carbonic acid.

"A very long time is required for the completion of this process of combustion, and the presence of water is necessary for its maintenance; alkalies promote it, but acids retard it, all antiseptic substances, such as sulphurous acid, the mercurial salts, empyreumatic oils, &c., cause its complete cessation.

"The property of woody fibre to convert surrounding oxygen into carbonic acid diminishes in proportion as decay advances, and at last a certain quantity of brown, coaly-looking substance remains, in which this property is entirely wanting. This substance is called mould; it is the product of the complete decay of woody fibre. Mould constitutes the principal part of the strata of brown coal and peat. By the contact of alkalies, such as lime or ammonia, a further decay of mould is occasioned."

The author then proceeds to show that the carbonic acid produced by this slow and continual decay of humus is supplied to the roots of young plants before those organs more especially appointed for absorbing it (the leaves) are sufficiently developed. The stirring the soil round the roots facilitates the action of the air upon the decaying matter, and thus accelerates their growth. As the leaves expand, carbonic acid is imbibed, both by them and the roots, and when the organs by which it obtains food from the atmosphere are matured, the carbonic acid of the soil is no longer required. The roots, however, must continue to take up the proper food of plants during the continuance of their life.

"When the food of a plant is present in greater quantity than its organs require for its own proper development, the superfluous nutriment is not returned to the soil, but is employed in the formation of new organs. At the side of a cell already formed, a new cell arises;

at the side of a twig and leaf, a new twig and a new leaf are developed. These new parts could not have been formed had there not been an excess of nourishment."

"We know that the functions of the leaves and other green parts of plants are to absorb nutritive matters from the atmosphere, and, with the aid of light and moisture, to appropriate their elements. These processes are continually in operation; they commence with the first formation of the leaves, and do not cease with their perfect development. But the new products arising from this continued assimilation are no longer employed by the perfect leaves in their own increase; they serve for the formation of woody fibre, and all the solid matter of similar composition. The leaves now produce sugar, amyline, starch, and acids which were previously formed by the roots when they were necessary for the development of the stem, buds, leaves, and branches of the plant."

But we must cut short these details, though every sentence is too deeply interesting to be omitted without regret; and so condensed is the matter as to baffle all power of satisfactory abstraction. We shall give a few more words on this subject:—

"Substances containing a large proportion of carbon are excreted by the roots and absorbed by the soil. Through the expulsion of these matters, unfitted for nutrition, the soil receives again, with usury, the carbon which it at first yielded to the young plants in the form of carbonic acid. The soluble part thus acquired by the soil is still capable of decay and putrefaction, and by undergoing these processes, furnishes renewed sources of nutrition to another generation of plants; it becomes *Humus*. The fallen leaves of trees and the old roots of grass in the meadow are likewise converted into humus by the same influence. The carbon contained in the roots of annual plants, such as the corn plants and culinary vegetables, is, without doubt, derived principally from the atmosphere. But after the removal of the crop, their roots remain in the soil, and undergoing putrefaction and decay, furnish humus, or that substance which is able to yield carbonic acid to a new vegetation.. A soil receives more carbon in this form than its decaying humus had lost in carbonic acid."

In the succeeding chapter it is shown that the oils and resins of plants, substances which contain an excess of hydrogen, are produced by the decomposition of water in the organism of plants, more oxygen being given out by the leaves than has been absorbed in the form of carbonic acid.

"The process of assimilation in its most simple form, consists in the extraction of hydrogen from water and of carbon from carbonic acid; in consequence of which, either all the oxygen of the water and of the carbonic acid is separated, as in the formation of caoutchouc, the volatile oils containing no oxygen, and other similar substances, or only a part of it is exhaled."

It is only a few years ago that nitrogen was said by chemists to exist in small quantities in some particular plants. By the progress of organic chemistry, however, its presence has been detected in all plants, and is found to be indispensable to their existence. Professor Liebig has completely demonstrated that the proximate source of the nitrogen in plants is the atmosphere, in which it exists combined with hydrogen in the form of ammonia, from whence it is abstracted by the leaves of plants, and is brought down to the earth by every shower of rain. As fast as new forms of vegetable and animal life appropriate this nitrogen, others decay and putrefy, and yield it in the form of ammonia to the atmosphere, to be again assimilated and again set at liberty in a manner corresponding with the mutations of carbon as already described. The facts and arguments by which the existence of ammonia in the atmosphere is proved, and that it is from that source that plants derive their nitrogen, are perfectly conclusive and convincing :—

"Experiments made in this laboratory (Giessen) with the greatest care and exactness, have placed the presence of ammonia in rain-water beyond a doubt. It has hitherto escaped observation because it has not been searched for."

All the rain-water employed in this inquiry was collected six hundred paces south-west of Giessen, whilst the wind was blowing in the direction of the town. When several hundred pounds were distilled in a copper still, and the first two or three pounds were evaporated with the addition of a little muriatic acid, a very distinct crystallization of sal-ammoniac was obtained. The crystals had always a brown or yellow colour. Ammonia may always be detected in snow-water.

Though ammonia is supplied to plants by the atmosphere in sufficient quantity for their ordinary existence and development, yet it is well known that an artificial supply of that substance to the soil has a great effect upon the productiveness of cerial crops, and therefore places in the strongest light the impolicy of fermenting dung to such a degree as to dissipate all its ammonia, and the lamentable loss sustained by the continual waste of the urine of animals and the feculence of towns, which always contain it in large quantities. Ammonia decomposes gypsum by uniting with its sulphuric acid; and it is by attracting ammonia from the atmosphere, and condensing it in the soil in the form of sulphate of ammonia, that gypsum produces perhaps its most powerful effect. By strewing stables with powdered gypsum the ammonia is prevented from wasting, and the offensive odour got rid of.

Having thus shown the organic elements of plants, we proceed to take a rapid view of the inorganic substances which are no less essential to their growth and structure. When vegetable substances are burnt, a considerable quantity of ashes remain, consisting of varying proportions, in different plants, of alkalies and alkaline earths, silica, and iron; the alkalies and alkaline earths are metallic oxides, and are combined with sulphuric, muriatic, phosphoric, and carbonic acids, forming sulphates, muriates, phosphates, and carbonates. The silica is generally united with potash, forming silicate of potash. These substances, which are necessary to the growth of plants, are no less needful to animal existence; and in this we have a striking instance, in addition to thousands of others, of the admirable economy and harmony of nature.

"Alkaline and earthy phosphates form invariable constituents of the seeds of all kinds of grasses, of beans, peas, and lentils. These salts are introduced into bread along with flour, and into beer along with barley. The bran of flour contains a large quantity of ammoniacal phosphate of magnesia. This salt forms large crystalline concretions, often amounting to several pounds' weight, in the cæcum of horses belonging to millers; and when ammonia is mixed with beer, the same salt separates as a white precipitate. Most plants, perhaps all of them, contain organic acids of very different composition and properties, all of which are in combination with bases, such as potash, soda, lime, or magnesia. Plants containing free organic acids are few in number. These bases evidently regulate the formations of the acids, for the diminution of the one is followed by a decrease of the other. Thus in the grape, for example, the quantity of acid contained in its juice is less when it is ripe than when unripe; and the bases, under the same circumstances, are found to vary in a similar manner. Such constituents exist, in small quantity, in those parts of plants in which the process of assimilation is most active, as in the mass of woody fibre; and their quantity is greater in those organs whose office it is to prepare substances conveyed to them for assimilation from other parts. The leaves contain more inorganic matter than the branches, and the branches more than the stem. The potato plant contains more potash before blossoming than after it."

"The acids found in the different families of plants are of various kinds; it cannot be supposed that their presence and peculiarities are the result of accident. The fumaric and oxalic acids in the lichens, the kinovic acid in the China nova, the rosellic acid in the rocella tinctaria, the tartaric acid in the grape, and the numerous other organic acids, must serve some end in vegetable life. But if these acids constantly exist in vegetables, and are necessary to their life, which is incontestable, it is equally certain that some alkaline base is also indispensable, in order to enter into combination with the acids, for these are always found in the state of neutral salts. All

plants yield, by incineration, ashes containing carbonic acid: all, therefore, must contain salts of an organic acid. Now, as we know the capacity of saturation of organic acids to be unchanging, it follows that the quantity of the bases united with them cannot vary, and for this reason the latter substances ought to be considered with the strictest attention, both by the agriculturist and the physiologist. We have no reason to believe that a plant in a condition of free and unimpeded growth produces more of its peculiar acids than it requires for its own existence; hence a plant, on whatever soil it grows, must contain an invariable quantity of alkaline bases. Culture alone will be able to cause a deviation."

The author goes on to show that as far as regards the saturation of the organic acids, bases of one kind often supply the place of another, the action being the same, namely, the saturation of the acid; but it is a very remarkable fact, that whatever the base be, it must afford an equal number of equivalents, or quantity of oxygen: and it therefore follows that the quantity of any particular base required for the saturation of the acid must depend upon the greater or less proportion of oxygen which that base contains. Whenever it is found, as is shown often to be the case, that such substitutions take place, the quantity of oxygen contained in the bases is constant, notwithstanding those substitutions.

"These arguments refer only to those alkaline bases which, in the form of organic salts, form constituents of the plants. Now these salts are preserved in the ashes of plants as carbonates, the quantity of which can easily be ascertained. The bases contained in the bark do not any longer belong to the vital organization of the plant."

Here several illustrations are given of the substitutions of bases in trees of the same kind growing on the different soils, showing that the quantity of oxygen is the same in all.

The whole of the arguments of this part of the author's work go to prove that plants cannot exist without the presence of those metallic oxides called earthy and alkaline bases, and that the mineral acids with which they are often combined, yield their elements to form certain necessary substances of particular plants; and that whatever portion of these which the plant may have imbibed more than it requires for these purposes, are returned unchanged to the soil from whence they were derived.

From the known fact that salt is volatilized by the evaporation of water holding it in solution, it must follow that the salts contained in sea water are conveyed to the land.

"By the continual evaporation of the sea its salts are spread over the whole surface of the earth; and being subsequently carried down by the rain, furnish to vegetation those salts necessary to its existence.

This is the origin of salts found in the ashes of plants in those cases where the soil could not have yielded them. The roots of plants are constantly engaged in collecting from the rain those alkalies which formed part of the sea water, and also those of the waters of the springs penetrating the soil."

The formation of soils must be attributed to the disintegration of rocks by the combined effect of mechanical and chemical agencies operating through long periods of time. The operation of these causes is most observable in mountainous regions, where the rocks, being exposed to intense frosts, their surfaces become

"Split into minute fragments, thereby affording a more extended surface exposed to the chemical agency of water and carbonic acid. The larger masses and minuter particles being carried down by torrents, are often conveyed to immense distances, and deposited in the plains as gravel, sand, and alluvial soil; the latter are again washed away from the plains, and produce deltas, often extending over many thousand miles of the space once occupied by the sea."

After describing the manner in which those actions are carried on, the professor observes:—

"It is scarcely necessary to furnish any further proofs that all clays, whether they be pure, or mixed with minerals so as to form soils, suffer progressive and continual changes. These changes consist in giving a soluble form to the alkalies and alkaline bases which they contain, by the combined action of water and carbonic acid. This gives rise to the formation of soluble silicates, or if these are decomposed by the carbonic acid, to the hydrate of silica, which being in its peculiar soluble condition, may be taken up by the roots of plants."

Further on, under the head of the Art of Culture, he observes:—

"Arable land is originally formed by the crumbling of rocks, and its properties depend on the nature of their component parts. Sand, clay, and lime are the names given to the principal constituents of the different kinds of soil. Pure sand and pure limestone, in which there are no other inorganic substances except siliceous earth, carbonate or silicate of lime, form absolutely barren soils. Now from whence come argillaceous earths in arable land, what are their constituents, and what part do they play in favouring vegetation? They are produced by the disintegration of aluminous minerals, among which the common potash and soda felspars, Labrador spar, mica, and the zeolites are those which most commonly undergo this change. These minerals are found mixed with other substances in granite, gneiss, mica slate, porphyry, clay slate, grauwache, and the volcanic rocks, basalt, clink stone, and lava. It is known that aluminous minerals

are the most widely-diffused on the surface of the earth, and as we have already mentioned, they are never absent from fertile soils; and if they should happen to be absent from soils capable of cultivation, this only happens when certain of their constituents are supplied from other sources. Argillaceous earth must therefore contain something which enables it to exercise an influence on the life of plants, and to assist in their development. The property on which this depends is that of its invariably containing alkalies and alkaline earths, with sulphates and phosphates."

After dwelling at considerable length upon the important part played by alkalies in the vegetable processes, every line of which is full of interest and instruction, he proceeds to another important substance no less indispensable to fertility.

"Alkalies and alkaline earths are not, however, the only substances necessary for the existence of most plants; but other substances besides alkalies are necessary to sustain the life of plants. Phosphoric acid has been found in the ashes of all plants hitherto examined, and always in combination with alkalies or alkaline earths. By incinerating the seeds of wheat, rye, maize, peas, beans, and lentils, ashes are obtained quite free from carbonic acid, and consisting entirely of phosphates, with the exception of very small quantities of sulphates and chlorides. Plants obtain their phosphoric acid from the soil; it is a constituent of all land capable of cultivation. Phosphorus has been detected, also, in all waters in which its presence has been tested, and in those in which it has not been found it has not been sought for."

"A few very simple experiments point out the manner in which the earthy phosphates, and particularly the phosphate of lime, are taken up by the roots of plants. Phosphate of lime is insoluble in pure water, but it dissolves readily in water containing common salt or a salt of ammonia, and in water containing sulphate of ammonia it dissolves as readily as gypsum. Phosphate of lime is also soluble in water containing carbonic acid. In this respect it is analagous to carbonate of lime.

"The soils in which plants grow, furnish their seeds, roots, and leaves with phosphoric acid, and they, in their turn, yield it to animals, to be used in the formation of their bones, and for those constituents of the brain which contain phosphorus."

The following chapters on fallow, on the rotation of crops, and on manure, are all full of the most valuable matter to the scientific and the practical farmer, and cannot fail to prove of the greatest advantage in imparting correct views, and thereby promoting enlightened practice.

Under their several heads are treated, the action of lime; the burning of lands; physical state of soils; constituents of plants; formation of sugar; importance of alkalies; exhaustion

of soils; restoration of fertility, &c. &c. After describing the effect of fallows in promoting the disintegration of the several substances in the soil by the free admission of air and moisture, which are capable of yielding the nourishment of plants, the professor proceeds to explain the chemical agency of lime in promoting the same object.

"In order to form a proper conception of the action of lime on soils, we must remember the processes employed by chemists to effect the speedy decomposition of a mineral, and to render soluble its ingredients. In order to dissolve finely-pulverised felspar in an acid, it would be necessary to expose it to continued digestion for weeks, or even months; but when the felspar is mixed with lime and is exposed to a moderately strong heat, the lime enters into a chemical composition with the felspar. A part of the alkali (potash) imprisoned in the felspar is now set at liberty, and a simple treatment of the felspar with acid, in the cold, now suffices to dissolve the lime, and other constituents of the mineral. The silica is dissolved by the acid to such an extent that the whole assumes the consistence of a transparent jelly. When a mixture of common clay, or of pipe-clay and water, is added to milk of lime, the whole becomes immediately thick on agitation. When they are left in contact for several months, it is found that the mixture gelatinizes on the addition of an acid—a property which the mixture of clay and water did not possess, or only to a very small degree, before the contact with lime. The clay is broken up by the union of certain of its constituents with lime; and what is still more remarkable, most of the alkalies contained in it are set at liberty. These beautiful observations were first made by Fuchs of Munich; and they have not only led to conclusions on the nature and properties of hydraulic limestones, but what is of far more importance, they have explained the action of slacked lime upon soils, and they have thus furnished an invaluable means of liberating from the soil the alkalies which are indispensable to the existence of plants."

By burning marles a similar effect is produced; the alkalies are set at liberty and yield a constant source of fertility. We have seen a large nursery and market garden which was kept in the highest state of productiveness by burning the substratum in a kiln. This garden was situated upon the sand of the inferior oolite which abounds with beds of marle.

"The mechanical operations of the farm, fallow, the application of lime, and the burning of clay, unite in elucidating the same scientific principle. They are the means of accelerating disintegration of the alkaline silicates of alumina, and of supplying to plants their necessary constituents at the commencement of a new vegetation."

The mechanical condition of a soil must always have a powerful influence upon its productiveness, for notwithstanding all the chemical conditions be fulfilled, if all the particles of which it is

composed be in a state of extremely minute division, it will be rendered unproductive. In such a case its powerful retention of water excludes the action of the atmosphere, while the temperature of the soil is kept down by the evaporation from the surface of the redundant moisture which a more porous condition would have allowed to descend through it. On the other hand, a very porous condition of the soil is equally unfavourable to fertility, from its incapacity of retaining moisture in a due degree to supply the nourishment required by the roots of plants. Thorough draining and the application of burnt clay or coarse sand, is the obvious remedy for the first of these defects; and the admixture of marl, clay, and chalk, for the latter.

The chapter on the rotation of crops is deserving the deepest attention of every agriculturist. The experience of farmers has long proved that most lands become almost unproductive when it is attempted to cultivate one kind of grain on the same land in successive years; but by changing the crop every year, and particularly by the introduction of a fallow or green crop between the corn crops, a greater quantity of corn will be produced.

The necessity for such change of crops admits of a satisfactory solution by a consideration of the analysis of the several kinds of crops, from which it will appear that they take up from the soil very different proportions of inorganic substances. If by a repetition of the same crop any particular principle or substance become exhausted or much diminished, a corresponding diminution of produce must ensue, and that crop must ultimately cease to grow altogether. Now whether the inorganic substances which plants exhaust from the soil be supplied by means of manure or by the gradual disintegration of the soil, time is required for their production; and a plant which requires a large supply of a particular kind of nourishment will find it accumulated in the soil after an interval in which crops have been cultivated which require little or none of the same substance.

"A table is given in this chapter from the experiments of Bousingault, showing the total quantity of inorganic matter extracted from the soil of a given space of ground by several crops which are most usually cultivated, which we here insert.

"The numbers express the quantities of inorganic substances removed from the same soil by different plants, and carried away with the crops. They therefore prove that different plants take up, in their organism, unequal weights of these ingredients of the soil. It is shown by a further consideration of the composition of their ashes, that they differ essentially from each other with respect to their quality."

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to the investigation

of the quantity of each particular inorganic substance taken up by the different crops.

The profoundly argumentative manner in which this work is written, and the importance of every link in the chain of reasoning, render it almost impossible to give a satisfactory abstract of the invaluable matter it contains, or even to select particular passages, when all are pregnant with instruction upon the most important object of human industry. The following passage, however, is too striking to be omitted. After speaking of the important part played by the alkalies in the vegetable economy, and the silicate of potash contained in coal and peat-ashes, the author observes:—

"It is of much importance to the agriculturist that he should not deceive himself respecting the causes which give the peculiar action to the substances above-mentioned. It is known that they possess a favourable action on vegetation, and it is likewise certain that the cause of this is their containing a body which, independently of the influence exerted by its physical properties of porosity and capability of attracting and retaining moisture, assists also in maintaining the vital processes of plants. But if the subject be treated as an unfathomable mystery, the nature of their influence will never be known. In medicine, for many centuries, the mode of action of all remedies was supposed to be concealed by the mystic veil of Isis; but now these secrets have been explained in a very simple manner. An unpoetical hand has pointed out the cause of the wonderful and apparently inexplicable healing virtues of the springs in Savoy, by which the inhabitants cured their goitre;—the waters were found to contain small quantities of iodine. In burnt sponges, used for the same purpose, the same element was also detected.

"The extraordinary efficacy of Peruvian bark was found to depend on a small quantity of a crystalline body existing in it, viz. quinine; and the causes of the various effects of opium were detected in as many different ingredients of that drug.

"Now all such actions depend on a definite cause, by ascertaining which we place the actions themselves at our command.

"It must be admitted as a principle of agriculture, that those substances which have been removed from the soil must be completely restored to it; but whether this restoration be effected by means of excrements, ashes, or bones, is in a great measure a matter of indifference. A time will come when plants growing upon a field will be supplied with their appropriate manures prepared in chemical manufactories, when a plant will receive only such substances as actually serve it for food, just as at present a few grains of quinine are given to a patient afflicted with a fever, instead of the ounce of wood which he was formerly compelled to swallow in addition.

"There are some plants which require humus (as a source of carbonic acid) without reproducing it in any appreciable quantity, whilst

others can do without it altogether, and actually enrich a soil deficient in it. Hence a rational system of agriculture would employ all the humus at command for the supply of the former, and not expend any of it for the latter; but would, in fact, make use of them for supplying the others with humus.

"We may furnish a plant with carbonic acid, and with all the materials which it may require; we may supply it with humus in the most abundant quantity; but it will not attain complete development unless nitrogen is also afforded to it. An herb will be formed, but no grain; even sugar and starch may be produced, but no gluten. But on the other hand, the supply of nitrogen in the form of ammonia will not suffice for the purposes of agriculture. Although ammonia is of the utmost importance for the vigorous growth of plants, it is not in itself sufficient for the production of vegetable casein, fibrine, and albumen. These substances are not known in a free state, for they are always accompanied by alkalies, sulphates, and phosphates. We must therefore assume that without their co-operation ammonia could not exercise the slightest influence on the growth and formation of seeds; that in such a case it is a matter of perfect indifference whether ammonia is conveyed to them or not; for it will not assist in the formation of the constituents of blood, unless the other constituents necessary for their production be present at the same time. All these conditions are united in the liquid and solid excrements; none of them are absent. In these are present not only ammonia, but also alkalies, phosphates, and sulphates, in the relative proportion in which they exist in our cultivated plants."

A brief reflection on the above-cited passage, coupled with what has been before stated of the exhaustion in the soil of particular organic principles, the futility will be apparent of expecting a constant fertility from the application of any one particular salt, and by which farmers are so frequently disappointed.

Our limited space will not allow us to dwell longer upon this portion of the author's work, but we cannot quit it without expressing our conviction that this treatise on the chemistry of agriculture is one of the most valuable works that science has ever presented to mankind, inasmuch as it is eminently calculated to give new powers to industry, in increasing the sources of subsistence, and thereby enlarging the sphere of human happiness.

In the subsequent part of this volume we have, under the general head of the chemical processes of fermentation, decay, and putrefaction:—1. Chemical transformations. 2. The causes which effect fermentation, decay, and putrefaction. 3. Fermentation and putrefaction. 4. The transformation of bodies which do not contain nitrogen as a constituent, and of those in which it is present. 5. Fermentation of sugar. 6. Eremacausis or decay. 7. Eremacausis or decay of bodies destitute of nitrogen:

formation of acetic acid. 8. Eremacausis of substances containing nitrogen: nitrification. 9. Vinous fermentation: wine and beer. 10. Fermentation ascribed to the growth of fungi, and of infusoria. 11. Decay of woody fibre. 12. Vegetable mould. 13. On the mouldering of bodies: paper, brown coal, and mineral coal. Under these heads those mysterious changes of organic matter, called fermentation and putrefaction, the nature of which has hitherto baffled human scrutiny, are clearly and admirably explained.

The chapter upon vinous fermentation is a masterly production of the highest order, in which the true chemical nature of that hitherto mysterious phenomenon is explained with admirable perspicuity, and is eminently calculated to confer the most important benefits upon the arts of making wine and beer, both of which, as generally practised, are certainly susceptible of very great improvement by the aid of the new and extraordinary light which has been thrown upon them by the distinguished author. The vinous fermentation, or, in other words, the change of the sugar contained in the must of grapes and in wort into alcohol, depends upon the presence of gluten, which they always contain. When the 'must' of grapes is exposed to the action of the air, as in an open vessel, at the temperature of 60°, or thereabouts, it soon becomes turbid, an intestine action takes place, bubbles arise from all parts of the liquor, a frothy head of yeast forms on the surface, and another portion falls to the bottom of the vessel, the whole or the greater portion of the sugar disappears, and the liquor becomes vinous and intoxicating, that is, the elements of the sugar have undergone a new arrangement, a portion both of its carbon and oxygen have been resolved into carbonic acid gas, which is given off at the surface, while the remainder of those elements of the sugar, with all its hydrogen, have assumed the form of alcohol, which remains in the liquor. The immediate cause of this change is owing to the presence of the gluten, an azotized substance exceedingly susceptible of becoming oxidized by contact with the air, and of undergoing chemical changes. If the juice of grapes be extracted out of the contact of the air, it may be kept in a perfectly close vessel for any length of time without undergoing any change; but no sooner is the air admitted than the vinous change commences, which has been described above. Now this change commences with the gluten, which becomes oxidized by contact with the atmosphere, and the change which it thus undergoes induces a corresponding change in the sugar with which it is in contact, by which its elements enter into new arrangements, that is, they are resolved into carbonic acid gas and alcohol, as before stated.

The action once commenced, it will proceed without further contact with the air, as long as the liquor contains any unchanged gluten, and also sugar upon which it can exert its influence. If there is an excess of sugar, so that the gluten becomes exhausted before the former, the resulting liquor remains sweet, as is the case with the rich wines of the south of Europe. If, on the contrary, the gluten be in excess, as in the instance of the poorer wines of more northern countries, all the sweetness entirely disappears, and some gluten remains in solution. When the latter wines are kept in a cool situation in casks for a great length of time, the excess of gluten becomes slowly oxidized by means of the oxygen which penetrates the pores of the wood, a process which is called ripening, and which renders it but little liable to undergo further change. But if the same kind of wine, instead of being kept in closed casks, and in a cool situation, be exposed to the air, the consequent rapid oxidation of the gluten would induce an oxidation of the alcohol, by which it would be speedily converted into acetic acid or vinegar, and this conversion will be still further accelerated by an increase of temperature.

In the case of malt liquor, though there is an excess of gluten above what is necessary to convert the sugar into alcohol, it does not so readily enter into spontaneous fermentation as wine, and therefore it is assisted by adding to it yeast, which is gluten already in a state of fermentation, and the presence of which soon excites a corresponding action in the gluten of the wort, which in its turn induces the vinous transformation on the elements of the sugar. It is, in fact, a complete case of inoculation. The author observes that—

"The various kinds of beer differ from one another in the same way as the wines. English, French, and most of the German beers are converted into vinegar when exposed to the action of the air; but this property is not possessed by the Bavarian beer, which may be kept in vessels only half filled, without acidifying or experiencing any change. This quality is obtained for it by a peculiar management of the wort. The perfection of experimental knowledge has here led to the solution of one of the most beautiful problems of the theory of fermentation."

We should be happy to quote the whole of this passage in the author's work, but, even with the fear of obscurity before our eyes, we are compelled to be brief. It has been observed that wort is proportionably richer in gluten than in sugar. In the ordinary mode of fermenting worts the gluten deprives the sugar of a part of its oxygen, by which other substances are produced at the expense of the sugar, and consequently a diminished quantity of alcohol form a given quantity of malt, and this effect

increases in proportion to the degree of temperature of the fermenting wort, producing various and peculiar flavours; and when the fermentation has ceased, a considerable quantity of unchanged gluten remains in solution in the beer, which is the cause as above explained of future acidity. These consequences are avoided in the Bavarian process, by a very protracted fermentation at a low temperature, in shallow vessels. In this process the oxidized and precipitating gluten induces the fermentation of the sugar, in which itself takes no part. Thus the whole of the saccharine matter becomes converted into alcohol, while, at the same time, the gluten is entirely separated; the removal of which from the beer prevents it from becoming sour in the cask.

The decay of woody fibre, the formation of humus, mould, the mouldering of bodies—paper, brown coal and mineral coal, and poisons, contagions, and miasms, are all treated of in the author's usual profound and at the same time perspicuous manner, and will be found highly interesting and instructive to persons engaged in those branches of the arts and sciences with which they are connected.

In the appendix to the first part of this work will be found several very valuable analyses of vegetable substances.

With regard to the author's admirable work on Animal Chemistry, which we have read again and again with increasing interest and satisfaction at each perusal, we will only now say respecting it, that few works deserve to rank higher in public estimation, whether we consider the novelty of the writer's views or the sound arguments and profound scientific knowledge by which they are developed.

F.

**Art. VII.**—1. *Report on the West Indian Colonies.* Parl. Paper. 1842.

2. *Report on the Western Coast of Africa.* Parl. Paper. 1842. Parts I and II.

3. *The Effect of an Alteration in the Sugar Duties.* By Macgregor Laird, Esq.

4. *Fifty Days on Board a Slave Ship.* By the Rev. Pascoe Grenfell Hill.

5. *Some Account of the Trade in Slaves.* By James Bandinel, Esq. 1842.

THE two first volumes at the head of our article contain the evidence collected by two committees of the House of Commons in the session of 1842: one to inquire into the actual condition, both of negro and of planter, in our West Indian possessions; the other to examine into the state of our settlements on the coast of Africa, the present position and efficiency of our system for the repression of the slave trade, and the prospects of a free emigration from that quarter of the globe. Though, like all their brethren, unnecessarily bulky, they are works of great value, as containing the most trustworthy and authoritative evidence we can obtain on these difficult and controverted topics.

Mr Laird's pamphlet is most able and most opportune. He has the double advantage of writing with a thorough and personal knowledge of facts, with a clear conception of the great moral and economical principles involved in this complicated question, and with a true and earnest sympathy for the African negro and the English poor. His style is distinct, terse, and vigorous, impossible to misconceive, and not easy to withstand. We are glad to see that the pamphlet has reached a third edition, for it is one which cannot be extensively circulated without producing a strong and beneficial impression.

Mr Hill's *brochure* is well deserving the attention of all who feel interested in the welfare of Africa or the suppression of the slave trade. It is a narrative of the occurrences of fifty days passed on board a slaver between the period of her capture by one of our cruisers in the Mozambique Channel, and the landing of her slaves at the Cape. It draws a simple but a fearful picture of the cruelty of our system of armed repression, and of the terrible aggravation of the sufferings of the wretched victims of our humanity consequent thereon; and the unpretending and unexaggerated tone in which it is written

must carry conviction home to every mind. Those who, after the disclosures contained in the works of Mr Laird, Mr Hill, and Sir Fowell Buxton, still uphold the system at present followed by our cruisers and maintained by our government, must be alike impassible to argument and evidence.

With the help of the above works we propose to lay before our readers a succinct view of the relation between the two great subjects which at present occupy so much of the public attention,—the slave trade and the sugar duties.

In order to prevent misconception at the outset, and to save the necessity of future precautionary protestations, it may be well to state that we are, and always have been, earnest enemies of slavery; that we advocate the principles of commercial freedom in their widest signification and their most unreserved extent; that we are sincere friends to the West India planters and to the cause of African civilization.

The present position of this great series of national questions may be stated thus. About thirty-five years ago England prohibited the slave trade to her own subjects, and since that time has been unceasing (and unquestionably most sincere and zealous) in her efforts to prevent others from engaging in it, by treaties with foreign powers, and an armed squadron on the coast of Africa. In these efforts—worthy of all praise as far as their object is concerned; worthy of all condemnation as regards the wisdom of the means—she is calculated to have spent considerably upwards of *fifteen millions* sterling.* Yet not only has she entirely failed in her object, the slave trade having increased in extent *in spite* of her exertions, and been infinitely augmented in the degree of suffering it inflicts *in consequence* of those exertions; but in the course of her efforts she has not unfrequently found herself obliged to violate the most acknowledged principles of international law,† and has

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* "Great Britain has expended in bounties alone upwards of 940,000*l.*, and in the maintenance of the courts established for the adjudication of the captured slaves, above 330,000*l.*; besides a large sum annually in supporting a considerable force of cruisers in various parts of the world, to intercept and destroy the traffic. This expenditure, together with that caused by the payments to foreign powers on account of the slave trade, for the support of liberated Africans, and for other incidental expenses, may be shown, from official documents, to have amounted to upwards of fifteen millions sterling."—*Prospectus of the Society for the Civilization of Africa*, prefixed to Sir T. F. Buxton's book, p. 2.

† See for instances, Bandinel, p. 175, also, pp. 224, 225. We also wish to draw particular attention to the following official document:—

LETTER FROM LORD ABERDEEN TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY.

"Foreign Office, 20th May, 1842.

"My Lords,—I beg to call your lordships' attention to the subject of the

thereby incurred the hatred of every maritime power in Europe and America, and on more than one recent occasion narrowly escaped involving herself in actual hostilies.* And it has now become a question among sincere abolitionists whether, both for England herself, and for the miserable objects of her miscalled protection, it would not be desirable, and may not be necessary, to withdraw our squadron, and abandon—if not our object—at least that mode of prosecuting it.†

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instructions given to her Majesty's naval officers employed in suppressing the slave trade on the coast of Africa, and to the proceedings which have taken place with reference thereto, as detailed in the papers named in the margin of this letter.

"Her Majesty's Advocate-General, to whom these papers have been submitted, has reported that he cannot take upon himself to advise that all the proceedings described as having taken place at Gallinas, New Cestos, and Sea Bar, are strictly justifiable; or that the instructions to her Majesty's naval officers, as referred to in these papers, are such as can with perfect legality be carried into execution.

"The Queen's advocate is of opinion that the blockading rivers, landing and destroying buildings, and carrying off persons held in slavery, in countries with which Great Britain is not at war, *cannot be considered as sanctioned by the law of nations*, or by the provision of any existing treaties; and that, however desirable it may be to put an end to the slave trade, a good, however eminent, should not be attained otherwise than by lawful means.

"Accordingly, and with reference to the proceedings of Captain Nurse at Rio Pongas on the 28th April, 1841, as well as to the letters addressed from this department to the Admiralty on the 6th April, the 1st and 17th June, and the 28th July of last year, I would submit to the consideration of your lordships that it is desirable that her Majesty's naval officers employed in suppressing the slave trade should be instructed to abstain from destroying slave factories and carrying off persons held in slavery, unless the power upon whose territory or within whose jurisdiction the factories or the slaves are found should, by treaty with Great Britain, or by formal written agreement with British officers, have empowered her Majesty's naval forces to take these steps for the suppression of the slave trade; and that if, in proceeding to destroy any factory, it should be found to contain merchandise or other property which there may be reason to suppose to belong to foreign traders, care should be taken not to include such property in the destruction of the factory.

"With respect to the blockading rivers it appears, from the papers referred to, that the terms 'blockade' and 'blockading' have been used by British naval officers when adverting to the laudable practice of stationing cruisers off the slave-trading stations, with a view the better to intercept vessels carrying on slave trade, contrary to treaties between Great Britain and the powers to which such vessels belong.

"But as the 'blockade,' properly used, extends to an interdiction of all trade, and indeed all communication with the place blockaded, I beg leave to submit for your lordships' consideration, whether it will not be proper to caution her Majesty's naval officers upon this head, lest by the inadvertent and repeated use of the term 'blockade,' the exercise of the duty confided to British officers in suppressing slave trade might by any one be confounded with the very different one of actual blockade.

"I have, &c. (Signed) "ABERDEEN.

* The existing state of our relations, both with France and the United States, afford an exemplification.

† "If we succeed in establishing a blockade of the coast, together with a confederacy on shore, and proceed no further, it will still be doubtful, as it has been in our former operations (?), whether more of good or of evil will be effected;—

After the legal abolition of the slave trade, the English people began to reflect, justly enough, that their work was incomplete, unless they could eradicate slavery itself, first in their own dominions, and then by example, or diplomacy, or force, throughout the world. A society was formed, having this most desirable object in view, and was supported by a numerous and able party in the legislature. The project was zealously advocated at one side of the Atlantic, vehemently reprobated and resisted on the other; but no efficient steps were taken by either party to effect those preparatory measures which, in the eyes of all, were essential to the beneficial operation of the proposed change. The West India planters felt like men who were about to be robbed by a stronger party, and took refuge in a dogged and sullen opposition. Their antagonists spared no pains to enlighten or excite the country; and in 1834, when the spirit of movement was predominant, and a popular government in power, the pressure from without became too strong to be withstood; and the legislature passed, in isolated simplicity, that emancipation act which should have been the crowning one of a long progressive series of preparatory enactments. Lord Stanley hastily proposed a grant of twenty millions; the country, in a frenzy of lavish enthusiasm, confirmed the offer; and the West Indians were only too glad to grasp at a compensation which, in the then state of popular excitement, they had not ventured to hope for,—which was grounded on no principle, based on no deliberate calculation, which could be regarded in no other light than as hush-money —as an opiate to the conscience of England and the clamours of Jamaica; and which, we must now confess, was either very unnecessary or very insufficient.

The eight years of apprenticeship provided for by the act of the imperial legislature still afforded both the government and the planters an opportunity of redeeming their past error and inaction; unhappily it was lost by both. The former were occupied with concerns which pressed upon them nearer home, and shrunk from grappling with a troublesome and complicated subject; and the latter preferred moaning over the difficulties of their position to manfully facing and vigorously preparing

good, by the degree of restraint imposed upon the traffic, or evil, by rendering what remains concealed and contraband;—and when I recur to the fearful aggravation of the sufferings of the slaves, which has already arisen from this cause, I am almost disposed to think that it were better to do nothing than to do only this." —*Buxton*, p. 300.

All the first authorities among the abolitionists are agreed upon this point, as may be seen by a reference to the quotations from their statements in Appendix A of Mr Laird's pamphlet, particularly at p. 71.

for the far greater difficulties which awaited them when the period of complete emancipation should arrive. In the mean time, however, the anti-slavery party in England had recovered from their unwonted access of generous profusion, and repented of the bad bargain they had made. They openly declared that 20,000,000*l.* was too much to have paid for a mere measure of apprenticeship, and should have entitled the negro to immediate freedom; forgetting that, though they had partly paid the planter for his slave, they had not paid him for his land; that without labourers his land was valueless; and that no steps had been taken to secure him labourers when the term of apprenticeship expired. But their restless activity and zeal overpowered the feeble government and the wearied West Indians, and at the end of four years the negro was wholly emancipated.

From the autumn of 1838 the cultivation of sugar in our colonies was carried on by free labour. If this experiment were to succeed, and (as many affirmed, and some, ourselves among the rest, believed) free labour were to prove cheaper than slave labour, it was certain that our example would be followed by other countries, and slavery would be everywhere abandoned as an economic error. It was at least equally certain that, for the success of this experiment, it was essential that government should contribute its fostering care, the planters their most resolute and lively industry, and the mother country a large measure of patient self-denial. It was necessary that the home authorities should facilitate, by every means within their power, the influx of an ample supply of labourers to colonies where labour was the one thing needful; that the planters should spare no effort either of forbearance or invention to induce the negro to work with the expected efficiency of freedom; and that the people of this country should restrain their natural desire for cheap sugar and coffee till the trying period of transition should be passed. *Unhappily all these three essential conditions of success have been wanting.* Government have not forestalled, they have not always encouraged, they have sometimes even checked and prohibited, the endeavours of the colonists to procure from legitimate sources the requisite supply of labour. The planters, a few rare instances apart, have till lately struck out no new devices for exciting industry or economising labour, or rendering it more efficient and available, but appear to have confined themselves to such means of inducement or coercion as wages and provision grounds would afford; while England turns round upon the harassed colonists in the most critical conjuncture of their fate, and insists upon

throwing them open to the competition of Cuban and Brazilian produce.

We are not surprised at this demand—however inconsistent, however incompatible with the attainment of the great object which the English nation has so long, so enthusiastically, and so expensively pursued; it is not unnatural, and we do not know that it would be right to resist it. If it be unjust, as it undoubtedly is, to the planters, *at present* to remove the protective duties on colonial produce—it is as unquestionably unjust to the poorer classes of this country longer to continue them; for not only does the exclusion of foreign sugar severely impede that trade which alone can employ our needy population, but it is in evidence which cannot be disputed, that the consequent scarcity and high price of this article and of coffee, affect not only the comforts of this class, but also their habits and their morals.*

That the abolition of these protective duties would, in the existing position of things, be unjust to the West Indians, we do not hesitate to affirm, because the government of the mother country has neglected to provide, and, till very lately, has thwarted the colonists in their attempts to provide for themselves a supply of labourers in lieu of those of whose services the legislative enactment of 1838 deprived them. A very simple principle of justice is involved in this matter. The West Indians have *no* right to say to this country—"You must protect us against foreign competition, because we are unable to meet it." But they *are* entitled to say—"You must protect us through that crisis of transition in which your unscientific legislation placed us; and you must not expose us to foreign competition till you have emancipated us from all those artificial restrictions which would now make foreign competition fatal to us, *nor till we have had time to recover from their noxious operation*. If you *will* hamper us, you *must* protect us. If you throw us on our own resources, you must, in justice, leave us the unfettered exercise of those resources. In a word, if you refuse to protect our produce, you must, in common honesty, leave us free to cheapen that produce by all the legitimate means in our power."

The conduct which England has pursued on these important subjects for the last half-century appears to us, therefore, to have landed her at length in a dilemma of singular perplexity. For these three propositions we hold to be indisputable—*That,*

* We refer particularly to evidence delivered before the Import Duties' Committee, 1840. See also 'Companion to Almanac,' 1841, p. 135.

in justice to the West Indians, we ought to continue, at all events for a limited period, our prohibitory duties on foreign sugar;—*That*, in justice to our own people, we ought immediately to remove these duties; and *that* to do this would, in the first place, ruin our colonies and the negroes who inhabit them, and in the next place, give the greatest possible stimulus to that slavery which we have spent thirty-five years and thirty-five millions in endeavouring to extinguish.*

Many persons are of opinion that we should not only admit slave-grown sugar into this country, but, as a measure of mercy to the Africans,† should withdraw our preventive squadron from their coast. This, however, whatever may be thought of its desirableness, no English ministry will, we fear, have the moral courage to propose; but the other measure is more probable. We ourselves, notwithstanding the heinous inconsistency and mischief which such a step would involve, think that justice to our own impoverished population, and fidelity to the sacred principles of commercial freedom, require us to withdraw, at no distant period, the present protection from colonial produce. We believe this ought to be done; we have little doubt that it will be done speedily. Indeed, the alteration just announced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer may be considered as "the beginning of the end." *How then will stand the case?*—Our efforts and our expenditure to put down the slave trade and extinguish slavery will have resulted—*In* increasing the one, and perpetuating the other;—*In* the sacrifice by the mother country of thirty-five millions sterling, and

* The mere expectation of this, arising from the diminished productiveness of our sugar colonies since emancipation, has, we learn from the highest authority, already given a great impetus to the slave trade.

"Now the investigation alluded to as devolved upon another committee of your Honourable House, is, no doubt, one of the highest importance, even to the interests of the African himself; inasmuch as we have it on the highest authority, *that the diminished supply of sugar from our West India colonies*, consequent on emancipation, *gave an extraordinary stimulus to the slave trade*, for the supply of Cuba and Brazil; and the best aid for its discouragement, and the best chance for its total extinction, would undoubtedly be the diminution of inducement to carry it on, which would arise from the production of sugar by free labour in the British colonies on lower terms."—*Report of West African Committee.*

See also Mr Gedde's testimony, 6791.

In 1836 the commissioners at Havanna state that the slave trade had reached a most disgraceful pitch, and proceed thus: "The actual high price of colonial produce, which has risen here most remarkably in value since the emancipation of the negroes in the British colonies, is, without doubt, one of the principal causes of the increase in the demand for Africans."

† See the evidence and able argument of Mr Laird on this point ('Parliamentary Reports and Appendix,' D, p. 75) and compare 'Buxton,' pp. 300 and 530.

the consequent eternal burden of upwards of a million yearly to a struggling and suffering people;—*In* a dreadful sacrifice both of negro and European life;—*In* the ruin of the richest and loveliest colonies the world ever saw; and *In* the probable relapse of the negroes who inhabit them, into the indolent barbarism of their native wilds.*

We have now seen what *has been done.* It cannot be unprofitable to inquire *what might have been done.*

In this complicated series of errors, the first great one seems to have been the attempt to put down the slave trade by an armed force. In all such cases the resort to forcible repression is open to the radical objection, that it is directed against the symptom, not against the disease—against the effect, not against the cause.* It is an endeavour not to remove the motive to crime, but to counteract that motive by the stronger terror of punishment. Its success, therefore, can never be more than partial, because the stimulating motive is always operating, and the deterring penalty can at best only be contingent. Now the case of the slave trade is one in which *every attempt at armed repression which falls short of complete success involves a fearful aggravation of the evil;* for the greater the risk of detection, the swifter and the smaller must the slave vessels be made, the more closely must the slaves be packed, and the more confined and stifling must be their hiding places. In this respect it differs materially from ordinary smuggling, which is often referred to in argument as a parallel case. The greater the vigilance of our revenue cutters and coast guard, the greater is the risk and expense of smuggling, and consequently, *pro-tanto*, the less must be its profit and the smaller its extent—and here *something* is gained, though it may be at a cost very disproportionate to its importance and amount. But in the case of the contraband traffic in slaves, the increased risk and cost to the traders consequent upon the vigilance of our cruisers is met by precautions in the build and equipment of the vessels, and in the mode of shipping the slaves, which are the source of half the horrors of the trade, and sufficient profit is always left, even on the happiest supposition, to induce the slavers to push their nefarious traffic to its utmost possible extent. The effect, therefore, of our attempts at forcible repression is to increase the horrors of the slave trade, without materially diminishing its amount; and the utmost exertions of

* Upon this head the most decisive evidence was given before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1842, by G. Carrington Esq., H. Barkly, Esq., H. Spalding, Esq., and Sir C. T. Metcalf.

our cruisers can do nothing more than slightly diminish the profits of the trader.

Mr Laird says—

"The slave-trade treaties can only be justified on the good the African race derive from them. Tried by this test, it is questionable whether they have not proved to the negro a curse in place of a blessing. When we commenced them, we found a legalized slave trade going on with a certain degree of cruelty, which may be represented by a mortality of from ten to fifteen per cent. Our interference made it a smuggling trade, and has raised the mortality to from twenty-five to thirty-three per cent. The numbers exported is not diminished. 'Each individual has more to endure, and the number of individuals has increased to twice what it was. The result therefore is, that aggravated suffering reaches multiplied numbers.'—*Buxton on Slave Trade*, p. 268."

Had it not been for the efforts of our well-meaning statesmen and enthusiasts, the African slave trade would have been a legal, and therefore an open traffic; and all the infinite horrors described by Sir F. Buxton, which have arisen from making it secret and contraband, would have been spared.* These horrors, therefore, lie at our door; the validity of the plea of good intentions—the question of our moral guilt or

* Mr Hill concludes his 'Narrative of Fifty Days on Board a Slave Vessel' with the following remarks:—

"It is too manifest that, under circumstances similar to those which I have related, *the capture of the 'prize' must be an event far more disastrous to the slave than to the slave dealer. It cannot be supposed that the accumulated calamities which ensued to the hapless beings on board the* 'Progresso,' *on their transfer to the protection of their liberators could have taken place had they continued in the hands of their purchasers.* As the latter have the highest interest which men can have in the preservation of a very valuable cargo; so are they, of all men, the most qualified for their task, by experience of the system best calculated to provide for the health and safety of the negroes. In these respects the reverse may generally be asserted of their captors. . . . In general it is certain that the augmentation of sufferings under the present system employed for the suppression of the slave trade, is such as to present an additional motive for the adoption of a more efficient system. . . . While we boast the name of Wilberforce, while others are disputing with him the claim of being 'the true annihilator of the slave trade,' that trade, so far from being annihilated, is at this very hour carried on under circumstances of greater atrocity than were known in his time, and the blood of the poor victims calls more loudly on us as the actual, though unintentional aggravators of their miseries."—P. 106.

When we add to the above extract, that the writer was chaplain on board one of our cruisers, and that of three hundred and ninety-seven negroes found on board the slaver when he joined her, only two hundred and twenty-two were landed, and one hundred and seventy-five died on the voyage, besides others who died after landing, we shall need no further evidence to convince us that the "atrocity" of the slave trade is almost equalled by the atrocity of our system of armed repression.

innocence in this sad matter, can only be decided by him who knows the precise amount of blameable alloy that mingled with the motives which urged us to our lamentable error.

This is bad enough—but more is still behind. From Sir F. Buxton's account* it appears that, of the negroes annually torn from their homes to supply the demand for slaves, one half perish before embarkation, and little more than one-fourth become available to the planter. In order to furnish 120,000 slaves to the Cuban and Brazilian colonist, he calculates that 400,000 negroes are requisite. In other words, that Africa loses at least three times the number that America gains. By far the greater portion of this awful waste of human life is clearly traceable (by Sir F. Buxton's own showing) to our system of armed repression. It is impossible to make an exact estimate, but if the statements referred to are correct, we shall be safe in calculating that whereas, under an open and unfettered trade, 120,000 available slaves would be procured by a loss to Africa of 250,000 negroes, the same number now costs that devoted country 400,000 of her sons. For the difference of 150,000 yearly, the British squadron is responsible.

These statements are startling and difficult to credit; but if reliance is to be placed on the evidence of the ablest officers upon the African station, on the statements of those who have investigated the subject with the greatest diligence, and on the authority of the leaders of the anti-slavery party (who are necessarily unwilling witnesses), no doubt can exist as to their correctness. And if they *are* correct, it follows that by avoiding our first error of attempting, at a cost of 15,000,000*l*., the forcible repression of the traffic, we should have escaped burdening our consciences, and afflicting our fellow creatures with the most awful of the miseries which attend that traffic; we should have escaped being accessory to the torture and the death of many thousand negroes—we should have spared England millions of her treasure, and Africa torrents of her blood.

Two years ago, in consequence of Sir F. Buxton's able ex-

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|---|---|---|
| Annual victims torn from their homes | 400,000 | |
| One half perish before embarkation from casualties incident to the seizure, march, and detention | 200,000 | |
| | | 200,000 |
| One-fourth die on the passage | | 50,000 |
| Landed | | 150,000 |
| One-fifth die in the seasoning | | 30,000 |
| Available to the planter | | 120,000 |

—*Buxton's African Slave Trade.* 1840.

posure of the utter failure of the means hitherto employed to suppress, or even to check the African slave trade, and at his suggestion, it was resolved to send up the Niger, *at the national expense*, an expedition, half missionary, half mercantile, and half diplomatic, which was to eradicate the nefarious traffic by civilising and christianising Africa, forming treaties with the native chiefs, establishing a model farm in the interior, and creating a legitimate commerce, the actual non-existence of which the authors of this notable scheme thought proper to assume, not only gratuitously, but in defiance of clear and repeated proof. The unsound foundation of the scheme was shown, and its ignominious failure predicted by all whose experience and information entitled their opinions to attention, and by none more emphatically than by Mr Laird* and Mr Jamieson,† who were personally acquainted with the people and the coast it was proposed to visit. The lamentable issue of the adventure has verified in every particular these gentlemen's prediction. The mortality which prevailed among the adventurers was appalling in the extreme; their model farm was soon abandoned; they almost destroyed the commerce which had previously flourished on the Niger, without substituting any in its stead; and the miserable survivors of the expedition were finally rescued by the steamer of the very gentleman whose warnings they had so presumptuously despised.‡ But this is a digression, though a necessary one.

Our second great error was committed at the time the emancipation act was passed. We have spoken of the com-

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* 'Westminster Review,' 1840. This able article has just been reprinted with considerable additions.

† 'Grounds of Appeal against the proposed Niger Expedition.'

‡ One would have thought the loss of life that was incurred would have affected, with some feelings of compunction, the gentlemen who had been the great promoters and supporters of that most unfortunate expedition; but if we may judge from the speech of the noble lord the member for Liverpool at Exeter Hall, on the 21st of June last (when the African Civilization Society held their first public meeting since royalty graced their chair), no such feeling enters into their imagination. Speaking of the mortality that had occurred, the noble lord stated—

"My lord, we have already been reminded that we ought not to consider the disaster which has befallen this our first work, as any indication on the part of Providence that our efforts, even in this direction, are to be discouraged. We must consider that all the great efforts we make, whether in benevolence, in commerce, or for the extension of the power of England, are, in the first instance, accompanied with heavy losses,—that upon this very river the enterprise of that great commercial town with which I have the honour to be connected was allowed to penetrate a considerable distance, and to incur much heavier loss of life than has been incurred by this expedition, without an outcry having been raised from every part of the empire against those who had exposed their fellow men to danger—(hear, hear). The merchants of Liverpool were allowed, not only without blame,

pensation then granted to the planter as a kind of hush-money, because it was voted upon no clear principle or careful estimate of what common equity required. *It was either unnecessary, or it was inadequate.* If, as the advocates of abolition maintained, the negroes would be willing after emancipation to work for a

but with commendation for the hardihood of their enterprise, to send eight-and-forty white men up the Niger for the development of the commercial resources of the country, and to bring back only eight of those men. Not only was no cry raised against them for staying at home themselves, while they exposed others to these dangers, but, on the contrary, the loudest expressions of public approbation were bestowed on them for their enterprise—(hear, hear). Why is it that less danger is to be incurred from motives of benevolence, than in those of commercial profit? Why is it that the benevolence of this country is to be considered a cruelty, for incurring those risks which the mere objects of commerce, highly honourable as they are, are considered to be entitled to call forth?"—(cheers.)

His lordship is not happy in his parallel between the two expeditions: the Liverpool one in 1832-3 was undertaken *immediately* upon the discovery by the Messrs Landers of the *embouchure* of the Niger into the bight of Biafra; the Buxton one in 1841-42, ten years after the discovery of the Landers; the Liverpool expedition was the first to navigate the Niger, the Buxton one had the experience of seven or eight previous ascents to guide them; the first remained in the river twelve months, the last fifty days; the one was undertaken on the representation of the Landers that the climate of the interior was comparatively healthy, the other with the certainty that from one-third to one-half of the Europeans would perish in the ascent. One of the principal promoters and partners in the first headed the expedition; not one blood relation of the author of the second accompanied it; the one was undertaken without any assistance from the government, direct or indirect, at the sole expense of private individuals; the other was at the expense of the government—its projector did not risk a farthing upon it.

While on this subject we will mention a remarkable fact connected with the first and last expeditions to the Niger. In 1832, such was the interest excited by the discovery of the Landers, that the Liverpool expedition might have been manned wholly by volunteers, picked from a crowd of medical and scientific men, eager to join the enterprise without remuneration, deeming it a privilege to be allowed to share its fortunes: there was not a single volunteer from any missionary, benevolent, or anti-slavery society, not a solitary application for a passage to the interior from any of the numerous bodies that have so long claimed the credit of being the peculiar friends of the African race.

The whole bench of bishops, we believe, are vice-presidents of the African Civilization Society; the Niger expedition, manned and officered from H. M. navy, could not procure an English clergyman to volunteer for the service, and were obliged to send to Geneva for a foreigner, who was ordained by the Bishop of London for the purpose, and received double the pay of a naval chaplain for his services.

If we are to judge from the reports of missionary societies, we would have expected that in both cases there would have been no lack of devoted men, ready to volunteer for any such enterprise, and we certainly do feel astonished at a government expedition being reduced to the necessity of getting a clergyman manufactured, as it were to order, for lack of one volunteer out of the thousands in the English church.

fair and equitable remuneration; and if the labour of a freeman be (as undoubtedly *ceteris paribus* it is) twice as efficient as the labour of a slave, the planters would be placed by emancipation in at least as good a position as before, and could therefore have no claim to compensation for damages inflicted on their property. On this supposition the vote of 20,000,000*l.* was a gratuitous and guilty waste of the public money.

If, on the contrary, as the West Indians affirmed (and as, in the majority of instances, has turned out to be the case) it should be found impossible to induce the emancipated negroes to labour for such reasonable wages as the planter could afford to pay, or indeed to give *on any terms* that steady and uninterrupted service which at certain periods is essential to the successful issue of the sugar crop, *then* it is clear that the 20,000,000*l.* would prove a most poor and insufficient compensation, inasmuch as *in that case* the emancipation of their slaves would be tantamount to an entire deprivation of their regular supply of labour; and this want of labour would be equivalent to the confiscation of their whole estates.

In order to make this clear to all classes of our countrymen, we will imagine two or three parallel cases. If the sempstress or the dressmaker, who gains her livelihood by sewing, were forbidden the use of *needles,* and offered as compensation the full value of her stock of those articles, would she, or would any one, conceive that she was equitably dealt with? If the legislature in its wisdom were to deprive the cotton manufacturer of his *carding machines,* or of his *steam engines,* paying him the full value of the same,* and leaving him the rest of his stock and machinery untouched, might he not consider himself as the victim of a shameful robbery? If parliament, in some freak of experimental enthusiasm, had said to the great coach proprietors of the kingdom before the introduction of railways, "You have set up for the public accommodation a vast establishment of horses and vehicles and harness, at a great expense; your coaches and cattle we leave to you untouched, but we prohibit the use of *harness,* and will pay you for your stock thereof; and for the future your horses must draw by suction or persuasion;" who would have been found to defend the justice of such enactment?

Yet if it be true that the operation of the emancipation act has deprived the planter of that command of labour which is

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* In the case of the planters, however, the payment was less than *one-half* the assessed value. (Parliamentary Papers, 'West India Report,' Quest. 2526.) On an average of the colonies, it amounted to forty-four per cent. of the usual price.

necessary to the cultivation of his estates, these absurdly suppositious cases are precisely analogous to his. If, then, the emancipation act did *not* deprive the planter of the requisite command over the labour of his negroes, the 20,000,000*l.* was *unnecessary;* if it *did,* the 20,000,000*l.* was *inadequate.* On either supposition it was an inconsiderate and an indefensible grant, which, on the most favourable view, can only be regarded as a *species of bribe to the West Indians to take upon themselves the risk of that experiment which, as it was tried at the desire of the mother country, ought to have been tried at the cost and at the hazard of the mother country.*

That the abolition of slavery was a most desirable measure, there can, we think, exist no doubt whatever. That it was effected in a most undesirable manner is, we fear, equally unquestionable. Its success might have been much more complete, its good more unalloyed, and its indirect influence far more beneficial and extensive, had a different spirit and a sober reflection presided over its enactment.

It cannot be denied that the effect of emancipation has been materially to improve the condition and the moral habits of the great body of the negro population. Marriage is more common, theft (at least from their masters) more rare, and desire for instruction (at least for religious instruction) more diffused. As little can it be denied that its effect has been greatly to curtail the supply of labour, lamentably to diminish the production of the staple articles of commerce, to impoverish all, and to ruin many of the proprietors, to increase the profits of the slaveholders of Cuba and Brazil, and thereby to stimulate the slave trade to increased activity.

The falling off in the main article of produce is thus officially stated.

| Sugar exported from | Average of 1831-2-3, Three Years of Slavery. | Average of 1835-6-7, Three Years of Apprenticeship. | Average of 1839-40-41, Three Years of Freedom. |
|---|---|---|---|
| St Vincent . | 23,400,000 lbs. | 22,500,000 lbs. | 14,100,000 lbs. |
| Trinidad . | 18,923 tons. | 18,255 tons. | 14,828 tons. |
| Jamaica . . | 86,080 hds. | 62,960 hds. | 34,415 hds. |
| Total W. Indies | 3,841,153 cwt. | 3,477,592 cwt. | 2,396,784 cwt. |

Our ground of complaint is, that these effects were predicted in 1834 as certain to follow from the emancipation act; that they *ought* to have been foreseen, and *might* have been

prevented. It might have been foreseen that emancipation would greatly diminish the amount of labour available to the planter; for in no part of the world—and *a fortiori* not in the tropics—do the great mass of men ever undergo regular and continuous labour, unless under compulsion of some kind. Now there are two kinds of compulsion—that of the dread of actual inflictions, which is the compulsion of slavery; and that of necessity, in order to obtain such comfortable and sufficient maintenance as custom has made essential. This is the compulsion of nature, to which freemen in all parts of the world are subject, though in degrees varying according to a multiplicity of circumstances. In Greenland it arises from the severity of the climate; in England from the density of the population.

Now *emancipation withdrew the former species of compulsion, but neglected to substitute the latter*; for owing to the splendour of the climate, the scantiness of the population, and the vast abundance of fertile soil in the West Indies, the mere provision grounds of the negroes (which they can cultivate with little labour) afford them not only an ample supply of the necessaries of life, but a surplus wherewith to purchase many of its luxuries.* They are, therefore, independent of wages, and have no motive to labour in the cultivation of sugar estates beyond what a desire for otherwise unattainable luxuries may supply. If, instead of voting 20,000,000*l.* to the West Indians as a compensation for depriving them of their slaves, *one-tenth*† of that sum had been set apart as a fund for providing them

* The luxury in which the negroes are enabled to live, by the joint operation of extravagant wages and fertile gardens, is acknowledged to be carried to a degree unheard of among any other labouring population of the world. This is confirmed by the concurring testimony of all the witnesses. They can lay out fifty dollars in giving a party, and treat their ladies to the newest fashions [p. 25]; they consume great quantities of bottled porter, and afford themselves Madeira wine on great occasions [pp. 196, 272. See also 'Gurney's West Indies,']; they have four-post bedsteads, neat side boards, and mahogany chairs, to the value, sometimes, of 400*l.* [p. 430]; they keep brood mares, and saddle horses to ride to their provision grounds [p. 433]; and spend as much as ten guineas on a gown for their wives [p. 163].

† In mentioning *one-tenth* (*i. e.* 2,000,000*l.*) we considerably exceed the probable sum that would have been required. The average cost of transporting an emigrant from Sierra Leone to Jamaica is estimated by compecent persons at from 6*l.* to 8*l.* From Europe it would be something more, and from North America about 4*l.* We will, however, assume the average at 10*l.*, allowing a good deal for the shelter and maintenance of the emigrant after his arrival and previous to his location. Now the number of emigrants required to keep up the existing cultivation is estimated at about 40,000; viz. 3,000 for St Vincent (by Mr Grant), 10,000 each for Trinidad and Guiana (by Mr Burnley and Mr Barkly), 15,000 for Jamaica (by Mr Burge), and we may add 2,000 for other islands. Forty thousand *labourers*

with such a supply of labour as it was obivous they would need; and had immediate measures been taken for establishing, *under government superintendence*, a regular system of free immigration from Europe, Africa, and Hindostan, there can be little doubt that our present position would have been widely different from what it is; our emancipated negroes would in all probability have been diligent and steady labourers, our colonies would have been flourishing and productive, and the acknowledged success of free-labour cultivation would ere now have enabled our islands to compete successfully *and unprotected* with the slave sugar of Cuba and Brazil. We should thus have given the death-blow to slavery and the slave-trade (*which by no other means can we ever do*); we should have saved 18,000,000*l.*, which England can ill spare, and which she has always grudged; and we should have made it practicable for our statesmen to do justice to the poor of their own country by an abolition of protective duties, without at the same time inflicting ruin on the colonies.

That we are justified in assuming that such results would have ensued from a systematic, extensive, and judiciously-conducted immigration into our West Indian islands, the Parliamentary Report of 1842 furnishes ample proof. For the immigration which actually has taken place during the last two years, tardy, partial, and limited as it has been, and in spite of the drawback of numberless errors, has produced a most decided and promising alteration in the aspect of affairs wherever its influence has extended. The following extracts from the evidence of several witnesses examined last year before the committee will place this in a very clear point of view:*

"*Robert Bushe.*] From whence have your emigrants principally come?—Some from North America, but mostly from the old islands, such as Grenada, Nevis, St Kitt's, and Antigua.

"Have you had many from Sierra Leone?—Only one hundred and eighty.

"When you say from North America, you mean negro emigrants? —Yes.

"What do you find to be the best and the most valuable class of labourers among the emigrants?—Those one hundred and eighty

would require about 100,000 *individuals*. Now many of these would be supplied from captured slave ships; but putting aside this source of supply, 100,000 immigrants at 10*l.* each would only cost *one million* sterling; and the expenditure even of this one million would have been spread over many years, for it is only proposed to introduce the new labourers by degrees. —See also Mr Laird's pamphlet, Appendix B.

* This statement receives full confirmation from the 'Report' of Dr Ewart, agent-general for immigration, to Lord Elgin, Oct. 1842.

from Sierra Leone are the best we ever had; I did not have any of them myself, but a friend of mine has told me that he would rather have the twenty of those people that he has than forty of the old negroes, for they invariably do two tasks a day, or twelve tasks a week.

"How long have they been in the colony?—Ten or twelve months.

"And up to this time you find that description applies to them?—Up to the very hour I left they were esteemed the best labourers in the colony.

"Did those Sierra Leone people that you have bring their families with them?—Very few; but there are some of them that have gone back to bring their families.

"They were satisfied with their employment in Jamaica?—Quite so; so much so that they got leave to go back and bring their families.

"What has been the general conduct of those labourers since they have been with you?—Very good; superior to what I looked for from Africans who had never been out of Africa.

"Are they in general Christians?—Yes.

"Were they Christians when they came to you?—A proportion of them. I have had about twenty baptised since they were in Golden Grove.

"JAMAICA.—*Mr T. M'Cornock.*] Has their general conduct and demeanour been more steady and industrious and respectable than that of the other negroes on the estate?—Not more so, but it has been better than I expected; and they work as much as one can expect, seeing the example set them by the Creoles.

"Are they more industrious than the other labourers upon the estate?—Yes; they are steadier than many of the Creoles.

"Do you find them less disposed to absent themselves for long periods from labour?—Yes, up to the present time.

"Extract from *Mr Maxwell's* evidence, March 22, 1841.

"Comparing the work of the natives and the different classes of immigrants together, which do you prefer?—That of the natives, decidedly; they understand it better.

"Have you tried the liberated Africans?—We have three on the estate; they work extremely well.. One of the women I mentioned is an African; she is my god-daughter, and I have now 100 dollars belonging to her in my hands.

Would you be pleased to see a greater number of these Africans arrive?—I should prefer them much to the labourers from the old islands, as I think they are disposed to settle down more steadily."

We have now taken a review of what the conduct of England *has been* with regard to this momentous subject, of what it *might have* been, and, in our opinion, *ought* to have been. We have also given a plain picture of the sad and discreditable dilemma into which our injudicious measures have betrayed us. Let us now take a survey of what may yet be done, at the

eleventh hour, to retrieve our errors, and give a last chance of success to the "grand experiment."

In the first place we must insure as large and regular an influx of new labourers into the West India colonies as is found practicable. This plan must be *commenced immediately,* and must be conducted by government, or at all events under direct official superintendence. Happily the first step has been already taken. After waiting till the ruin of our colonies was almost sealed, parliament has condescended to inquire into the matter; and two parliamentary committees have reported that such an extensive system of immigration is necessary for the salvation of the sugar islands; that abundance of willing immigrants can be procured; that the transport of these should be carried on by the government; and that, if so conducted, there is no risk of serious abuse.

In reply to some remarks from Mr P. M. Stewart, Lord Stanley declared a few evenings ago, in his place in parliament, that he was extremely anxious to promote emigration from Africa to the West Indies, that he had taken energetic steps for so doing, and the whole course of his policy since he entered into office has been directed to the removal of the restrictions and impediments previously existing. Of course, whatever his lordship distinctly affirms, we are bound to accept as strictly and precisely true. All we can say is, that in this case his subordinate agents do not honestly carry out his lordship's views; and Lord Stanley is not a man to allow those under his control to thwart his real wishes with impunity. The following statement by Mr Laird (p. 53) we recommend to his lordship's attention:—

"I subjoin some of the regulations (controlling the emigration from Africa) by which it will be seen that a negro, with the exception of the Kroomen, must reside six weeks in a colony where it is well known that no sort of employment is to be had, before he is eligible to emigrate (this effectual means of preventing escaped slaves from taking refuge in Sierra Leone has been very successful)—he must then give so many days' notice of his intention to do so, and then have some printed notice a certain number of days in his possession; and in addition the agent is instructed to register the names of intending emigrants, and not to allow them, if they have entered for Jamaica, to change their minds and go to Guiana without paying a fee of half-a-crown, being nearly equal to a fortnight's wages, if he is fortunate enough to get labour; and if the governor chooses, he can, by a simple order, prevent any one being taken on board, even if he has complied with all these regulations. Considering that every European in Sierra Leone is more or less dependent upon the existing

system being kept up, it is not to be supposed that these restrictions lose anything of their stringency in practice—and this is what is called *free* African emigration; it is a system cunningly devised to prevent it—one that would not stand twenty-four hours in London or Liverpool if applied to English emigrants to Canada or Australia.

"'No persons, except individuals of the tribes inhabiting the Kroo coast, and persons entering the colony in her Majesty's vessels, or furnished with certificates of their desire to emigrate, signed by duly authorised officers of government, are to be considered eligible as emigrants unless they have resided in the colony for a space of six weeks.

"' days' notice (the number of days to be decided by the governor) of the intention of any person to emigrate must be given by the collecting agent either to the manager of the district, or to any other local authority who may be named for the purpose by the governor.

"'Every person invited to emigrate will be furnished with a copy of a printed paper, authenticated by the signature of the government emigration agent, containing information relative to the colony to which it is wished to induce such person to go. The day on which the paper was so delivered is to be marked on it, and the intending emigrant will keep it days (the number of days to be decided by the governor). It will be the duty of the manager of the district, or of such other local authority as may be named by the governor to explain the contents of the paper to him, and to certify on it that this has been done, and also that he has received the proper notice of the intention of the party to emigrate.'"

If Lord Stanley is really sincere and earnest in wishing to procure for the West Indies an ample supply of labourers, he will not only insist on the instant annulment of all the vexatious regulations which now fetter and impede emigration from Africa, but he will at once take measures for establishing a regular stream of labour from India to our Western colonies,—a plan against which no valid argument can be adduced, though doubtless much clamour will be raised. Before the absurd prohibition was enacted, an emigration of Hill Coolies had already taken place, and the papers laid last year before the House of Commons, on the motion of Mr Grantley Berkeley, show the following favourable result, which is surely an ample inducement to renew the experiment:—

"In 1838 there were landed in British Guiana three hundred and ninety-six Coolies; of these two hundred and thirty-six returned to India in May 1843; sixty remain in the colony; two absconded soon after landing; ninety-eight are assumed to have died. It is not certain that all these are dead; some have been lost sight of, and are possibly still living in the colony. 'Considering,' says Governor

Light (Dispatch of 1st June, 1843), 'that in the selection of these people at Calcutta the agents seem to have cared very little who they engaged; and knowing from Mr Whinfield, the sheriff of Berbice, who from his various conversations with them elicited their history, that they were the scourings of the population of several large cities, it is only to be wondered at that they so readily became industrious, and that so many have survived.' The governor states that the mortality did not amount to five per cent. per annum. And after all, the mortality, there is every reason to believe, would have been still less had a proper system of supervision been established at first, and the same neglect cannot occur again. It is also worthy of notice that, though no care was taken by the agents at Calcutta to preserve a due proportion between females and males, Governor Light describes, in reference to the estate of Mr Moss—'Though a small mortality has taken place among the Coolies at Anna Regina, their number is still the same as when first disembarked, several births having replaced the dead.' 'This,' remarks Mr Moss, when quoting the passage, 'proves that the climate suits the Coolies.'

"Some of the Coolies refused to state the amount of their savings, and others are suspected to have understated theirs; but it is certain that one hundred and sixty-nine male Coolies (having with them ten women and fourteen children) embarked on board the ship 'Louisa Baillie,' intrusted their money, to the amount of 17,802 dollars (about 3,700*l.*), to the care of Capt. Remington during the voyage. From the Anna Regina estate thirty-five adult males (with three women and six children) are known to have carried away 5,395 dollars (about 1,100*l.*), and about twenty of the number refused to give any account of what they had saved. Some of the sixty Coolies who remain in Guiana have become proprietors of land. Here, then, we have two hundred and thirty-six individuals—who in their own country were perpetually on the verge of starvation, who had contracted all the improvident habits of hopeless poverty—returning home after an absence of five years, during which time they have been well fed and well clad, provided with medical attendance, and moderately worked, with savings amounting, in some cases, to 50*l.*"

The actual effect of the proposed emigrants in supplying the demand for labour will be considerable; their moral influence in inducing the Creole negroes to abandon their present desultory habits for more steady and continuous exertion will be still more important. The present, too, is a favourable moment for setting this legitimate influence in operation. The negroes, who had in such great numbers abandoned the labour on sugar estates for the cultivation of their provision grounds and the rearing of poultry, have in consequence greatly overstocked the market, and reduced prices; so that this mode of industry is no longer as profitable as it was;—while at the same time, as they never manure, they have in some islands materially ex-

hausted the fertility of their provision grounds; and are therefore beginning to find that, for the purchase of luxuries, they are not so independent as formerly of the wages which can only be earned by labouring on the adjoining estates. A systematic and vigorous immigration will now, therefore, be critically well-timed, and may change the whole aspect of affairs. The fear that the arrival of any possible number of immigrants into the West India colonies will inordinately or even materially reduce the wages of the labourers, can only be entertained by persons wholly unacquainted with those countries. For, in the first place, the quantity of fertile land is such that it would rapidly absorb and employ any conceivable addition to its present population at ample and remunerating wages;—and secondly, the object of the planters in desiring a large immigration is not so much to reduce wages (which in several of the colonies are not exorbitant) as to ensure such a supply of labour as shall enable them always to take off their crop (which now often rots upon the ground), and to increase the productiveness of their estates. The cost of sugar of late years has been enhanced far more by the diminution in the quantity produced than by the augmentation of the wages of the labourer.

As to the wisdom of encouraging *European immigration* into our tropical colonies, both opinions and evidence differ widely. Certainly, up to the present time, experience, with the exception of a few isolated instances, has not been in its favour. We think, however, that its failure hitherto has been owing to errors which may in future be avoided. If European immigrants would abstain from the use of intoxicating liquors—a large postulate no doubt—and would confine themselves, at all events for two or three years after their arrival, to the more elevated lands and to the labour of the coffee plantations, there seems no reason to believe that they would find the climate in the least degree unhealthy. We are glad to find the view we entertain supported by the opinion of many of the ablest planters. We are therefore earnestly desirous that emigration from Europe, and especially from our own country and Ireland, to the West Indies should not be abandoned without further trial, as it would offer an admirable outlet for our increasing population, and would at the same time afford to the negroes an example of really energetic labour. We are, moreover, strongly inclined to the opinion, that part, at least, of the work on sugar plantations might, in several islands, be safely and advantageously undertaken by *acclimated* Europeans; as a day's labour may be easily performed in the three hours after sunrise and the two hours before dark; and the boiling-house

(where continuous and combined labour is most essential) is said to be less trying to a European than to an African constitution. In Porto Rico a great part of the sugar is raised entirely by *white* labour.

Let us now inquire what may be done by the *West Indians themselves* at the present crisis, to avert the destruction which hangs over them. In the first place they must pass, and the government here must sanction, such just and equitable laws for the regulation of labour as experience has shown to be requisite. They must encourage contracts for the performance of regular and *continuous* work, and appoint proper officers to enforce the performance of those contracts. As long as the labourer considers himself at liberty to abandon his employment at any moment and on any pretext, and as long as the law is inadequate to prevent this, or the master is afraid to appeal to the law, the proprietor can have no security that the most splendid crops will not rot upon the ground. He is in the same position as an English farmer would be, if, the first fine week in harvest time, his labourers were all to strike work, or to refuse to work except half the usual number of hours and for double the usual wages, and he were unable, from scantiness of population, to obtain others in their place. We call attention to the following resolution of the Committee of the House of Commons, which is in accordance with the testimony of almost all the witnesses:—

"'That it is also a serious question, whether it is not required by a due regard for the just rights and interests of the West Indian proprietors, and the ultimate welfare of the negroes themselves, more especially in consideration of the large addition to the labouring population which it is hoped may soon be effected by immigration, that *the laws which regulate the relations between employers and labourers in the different colonies should undergo early and careful revision by their respective legislatures.*'

"25th July, 1842."

In the second place, the planters must endeavour to introduce without delay more economical modes of husbandry and manufacture, in order, as far as may be, to diminish their dependence upon manual labour. The degree to which this can be done varies greatly in different islands and on different estates. Some planters conceive that there is little room for improvements of this nature; others imagine that the proper management of sugar estates is yet in its infancy. But all agree in stating—what, indeed, is self-evident—that some security for *an ample and regular supply of continuous and combined labour is a "sine quâ non"* to the introduction of all such improve-

ments as demand a further outlay of fixed capital on the part of the planter; as otherwise such outlay would merely augment his risk, and increase the degree of his dependence on the working population.

*Thirdly.* They must endeavour to stimulate the negroes to increased and more regular exertion, by giving them a direct interest in the productiveness of the estate. Of the details of any plan by which this can be effected on sugar plantations we do not feel competent to speak.* Mr Ross's pamphlet, published some years ago, clearly shows both the practicability and the advantage of such a system, as applied to coffee and cocoa plantations; and he is strongly of opinion that it might be easily and beneficially introduced in the case of sugar.†

In St Lucia and Grenada a similar plan appears to have been introduced, and to be still practised with considerable success; but it is fair to state that the most experienced planters examined before the committee last year almost uniformly speak of it as impracticable so far as sugar cultivation is concerned; and it is obvious that it must be attended with many most serious difficulties in all cases where husbandry and manufacture are conjoined. Still, however, we cannot but think that some modification of this plan will be found most effectual in restoring the productiveness of the West Indian islands; for all concurring testimony seems to prove that our chief embarrassments there arise from the circumstance, *not* that the negro is *idle*, but that he prefers working for *profit* to working for *hire;* and that it is only when *labouring for himself* that he puts forth his full powers.

*Fourthly.* It will be desirable to throw the colonial estates, as far as may be practicable, into the hands of resident proprietors or tenants, instead of—as is the case with a great proportion of them at present—having them managed by agents or attornies, who are the representatives sometimes of the mortgagee, sometimes of the absentee landlord. These agents are, no doubt, most of them men of integrity and experience, and planters of acknowledged merit; and the system might work well enough, so long as the superintendence of an established routine was all that was required. But the laborious adaptation of the old system to altered circumstances; the zeal

* It appears that, in the East Indies, sugar is generally cultivated and manufactured either on the 'Metayer system, or by the *juice* of the cane being purchased by the manufacturer from the grower of the cane.—See 'Porter on the Sugar Cane.'

† Thoughts on the System of Labour for Wages in the West Indies,' by Henry Ross.

to examine into each item of expenditure, and inquire where any possible reduction can be effected; the skill to try new experiments, and the patience to await their result; the judgment to decide where a slight present sacrifice or outlay might be attended with great future benefit; the promptitude and unshackled freedom required to take advantage of any passing circumstance; and, above all, the restless activity which leaves nothing untried to avert impending ruin, or renew former prosperity; these can only be found in the personal interest and the unfettered authority of a resident proprietor or lessee.

Many absentee proprietors have recently gone out to reside on their estates, and others, no doubt, will follow their example. But there will still remain numbers to whom this would be impossible; and *their* only plan will be to lease their estates to secure and intelligent tenants resident in the colonies. These, however, it is now almost impossible to find. *No tenant will encounter the risk of a transition state.* Were the main difficulties once got over—if it became clear that the government were resolved to do all that lies in their power to supply the necessary population, and to pass the necessary laws—if there was a fair probability of combined and continuous labour being procurable—and if the amount of protection which the mother country would continue were finally ascertained—responsible and capable tenants might be readily procured. *But these are essential preliminaries.*

It will be seen, then, that our opinion is, that there remain measures (notwithstanding all our previous blunders) which, if now energetically carried out, might yet redeem the past, avert the impending ruin of our colonies, ensure and complete the success of the "grand experiment," and—by a practical demonstration of the superiority of free over slave labour, even in sugar cultivation—put an end to slavery throughout the transatlantic world, by removing the sole inducement to its continuance. Thus, and thus only, by the almost unanimous acknowledgment of all to whose opinion any weight can be attached, can slavery and the slave trade be finally put down.

But, for the adoption and operation of these measures, and chiefly increasing the supply of labour, *some time* is requisite; and *on the granting of this time the success of the whole experiment hinges.* If these measures be at once adopted, and a sufficient protection be allowed to colonial produce *till* these measures have had time to operate, we are jus-

tified in looking for a fortunate result.* If, on the contrary, the withdrawal of protection should precede or *immediately* follow the adoption of such measures, then the last chance of the West Indians will have been quashed, and with it the last hope of the real friends of the negro, for the extinction of slavery and the abolition of the slave trade.

If the government show a firm determination to assist the planter by every means in their power, and to protect him during the transition state, he will have courage to continue a losing cultivation, to make the necessary outlay, and to struggle through the day of peril in the hope of better times. If, on the contrary, this disposition be not manifested, he will see no means of extricating himself from his difficulties; he will no longer venture to encounter a continued loss; nor will the mortgagee any longer dare to make further advances in a hopeless speculation; and in the case of a vast proportion of the estates, no resource will remain but to abandon the cultivation altogether. And it must be remembered that if this once takes place, the evil is irreparable; for not only will the fixed capital now employed in the cultivation of sugar (which in many of the colonies is immense) go rapidly to ruin from disuse, but the land will relapse into its primeval wildness, and its clearance can only be again effected at an expense which no subsequent profits can repay. If, therefore, the capital of the planter should

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* Considerable difference of opinion prevails among the planters as to whether, with an ample supply of labour, our colonies could compete in cheapness with the sugars of Cuba and Brazil. Mr Bushe thinks they could *not;* Mr Burnley is strongly of the opposite opinion; Mr Grant thinks that free sugar will always cost about 3s. a cwt. more than slave sugar. We do not understand how there can be any question as to the correctness of Mr Burnley's views, *under the supposition of abundant labour and moderate wages,* for, even putting aside the acknowledged superiority of a freeman's work as to vigour and efficiency, the heavy expenses of the Cuban and Brazilian planter in stocking his estate with slaves and replacing those who die, must tell seriously against him in the long run. It is impossible to say how far the cost of production in our islands might be reduced by ample and efficient labour. Mr Grant estimates the cost of raising a cwt. of sugar on one of his estates, in 1841, at 30s. 10d.; with *sufficient labour* he says it would only have been 12s. [Report, pp. 19, 22.] Now, if he is right, and we add 8s. for rent, wear and tear, and interest of capital, and 6s. (and it *ought* not to be more) for freight, dues, insurance, commission, &c., it appears that St Vincent sugar could be afforded *duty free,* in London, at 26s. a cwt. The fertile lands of Trinidad and Demerara could, of course, *under similar conditions,* afford it considerably cheaper—say at 23s. Now, in January 1843, Havannah sugar of a similar quality was quoted at 23s. a cwt., and Brazilian, of an inferior quality, at 17s.; and it was considered by some *that these prices were losing ones.*

be once dissipated or destroyed, all future repentance and amendment will come too late.

What may be the ultimate intentions of the government as to the settlement of the sugar duties it is difficult to conjecture; whether they will be able to follow out these intentions is at least equally uncertain. At present the Chancellor of the Exchequer has announced their determination, for the present year, to maintain the existing duties on slave-labour sugar, but to admit sugar, *the produce of free labour,* at a discriminating duty of *ten shillings.* What will be the operation of this change, and what amount of foreign sugar will in consequence come into our ports, we cannot take upon ourselves to predict; but it is clear that it will prove almost, if not quite, as effectual an encouragement to Cuban and Brazilian produce (and therefore to Cuban and Brazilian slavery and the slave trade) as its *direct* admission; and we cannot think so meanly of the intellect of Sir Robert Peel as to imagine that he did not know that it would prove so. Holland and Spain will take the sugar of Havannah and Brazil for their own consumption, and send the sugar of Java and Manilla to England; so that whatever amount of free-labour sugar we abstract from the other markets of Europe will be replaced by an equal amount of slave sugar from the countries whose produce we *professedly* exclude. Our government, therefore, to save appearances, is making a dishonest distinction without a difference, and has taken up a position which would be untenable—were there anybody logical enough to drive them from it; and those real friends of Africa who support them, under the delusion that they can admit foreign *free* sugar without encouraging *slave* sugar, are most egregious, and, we must add, most easy, if not most willing, dupes.

We are not, however, surprised at the Chancellor's announcement, for the ministers are and have been exposed to great pressure and severe temptation. The merchants and manufacturers are loudly demanding increased facilities and extended markets for their produce—a degree of distress still prevails among the people, which urgently requires any practicable reduction of price in the chief articles of consumption, and the approaching termination of the Brazilian treaty calls for an immediate decision. West Indians, therefore, could not securely count upon a continuance of protection to nearly its present amount, and no one duly alive to the welfare of our own working population, could even wish for it. Pressed between the equally just claims of the contending parties—between the demand, on one side, of the people for cheap sugar, and of the

manufacturers for free trade—and the claims, on the other, of the West Indians for time to work out of their difficulties, and of the enemies of slavery for a last chance of success to be given to the "grand experiment," the Premier, it appears to us, had but one course to pursue—viz., to press forward immigration as rapidly as possible, and to make an immediate but moderate reduction, in the differential duties, affirming, at the same time, the principle of their ultimate abolition. *Free and extensive emigration*—with a little patient forbearance till immigration has done its work—*offers the only mode in which Englishmen can obtain the blessing of cheap sugar without an entire abandonment of consistent principle, and a great encouragement to slavery in its worst forms.*

What will be the course pursued with respect to these two vital questions—extensive African emigration, and the admission of foreign sugar—by that numerous and active party of which the Anti-Slavery Society may be considered as the incarnation, it is of some importance to consider. We should have regarded it as certain that they will unanimously and energetically oppose any measure tending to admit slave-grown sugar into competition with the produce of our free colonies, had it not appeared manifest, from many parts of their conduct, that, from having been during a long series of years arrayed in warfare against the planters, a rooted feeling of hostility towards that body has grown up in their minds, which survives the entire alteration, since effected in the circumstances which gave it birth;—and that, with a weakness too commonly incident to human nature, they have forgotten the client in the cause, and in the zeal of advocacy blindly continue the litigation long after the interests of the plaintiff and defendant have become identical.

With regard to the other measure—African emigration to the West Indies—the course they mean to pursue has, unhappily, been clearly announced. Their witnesses before the committee deprecate it in no measured terms, though in somewhat contradictory ones; their new secretary has issued an official and characteristic manifesto to the same effect.* Before a single witness was examined they circulated throughout the country

* "To the Editor of the 'Colonial Gazette.'

"27 New Broad Street, London, 30th January, 1843.

"Sir—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, having had their attention directed to a correspondence which appeared in your paper of the 25th instant, I have been requested to state, on their behalf, that as they have insuperable objections to any scheme for augmenting the labouring population of the West Indies from Africa, they are, con-

an address against immigration crowded with misrepresentations; and on the 13th of last May, at a meeting at Exeter Hall, their usual mouthpiece denounced it in langage marked, to say the least, by no scrupulous regard to decency or truth. We deeply regret the decision they have taken; and if their opposition should materially interfere with the progress of measures which, it has been clearly shown, are essential to the ultimate prosperity of our sugar colonies, to the civilization of Africa, and to the extinction of negro slavery in foreign countries, the world will hold them morally responsible for all the deplorable consequences which may ensue. And as the greater part of the honours attendant on the slave trade are, by their own acknowledgment, clearly traceable to their clumsy and inconsiderate attempts to put it down by force, so, if they pursue the course on which they seem bent, and pursue it with effect, the failure of emancipation and the perpetuation of slavery will also lie at their door—and the guilt in the latter case will be greater than before, inasmuch as the motive is slighter, and the operation more obvious and undeniable.

On what ground they can excuse to their own consciences their opposition to African immigration, we are at a loss to conjecture. It is true that it would benefit the planter; but this, though it may be the real motive of their conduct, is not one which they can avow to the world, and scarcely to themselves or to each other. It is *proved* that to the negro himself the removal from Africa to the West Indies would be a vast material, as well as spiritual gain. It is *proved* that it cannot, under any circumstances, reduce the wages in the sugar islands below the very highest remuneration which can be beneficial to the labourer himself. It is *proved* that a constant communication between Africa and the West Indies affords the best and almost only hope of civilizing that vast continent. It is *proved* that, under government auspices, this immigration would be liable to no abuse. It is proved that on this immigration depends the continued cultivation of colonial produce, and that on the continuance of this cultivation depends the ultimate welfare of the creole negro himself. And it is further in evidence which cannot be doubted, and it is moreover acknowledged by themselves, that by the successful cultivation of sugar by free labour alone, can the slavery of Cuba and Brazil ever be extinguished.

If, in the face of this evidence, the anti-slavery party continue

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sequently, no parties to the plan of Sir George Stephen, for whose past labours in promoting the abolition of slavery they entertain sincere respect.

"I am, sir, yours respectfully,

"JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary."

to oppose immigration, who shall say that they will not incur the guilt of those that "*sin against the light?*"

We cannot close this article without noticing the charge of inconsistency and hypocrisy which has been so coarsely urged against the holders of the views we have advocated, by many from whom more fairness, courtesy, and discrimination might have been expected. If the friends of emancipation argued—as these gentlemen represent them as doing—that Brazilian sugar ought to be excluded from our markets simply because it is the produce of that slave labour which we wish to discourage and to stigmatise, their strictures on the inconsistency of holding such a doctrine in the case of sugar only, and not applying it to cotton, tobacco, and other articles of slave produce, would be pertinent and unanswerable. Such a doctrine would be indefensible in theory, and untenable in practice. This, however, is *not* our argument. We object to the equal admission of Brazilian sugar, not becanse it is the produce of slave labour, but because it cannot be admitted without giving a great stimulus to the slave trade—a statement which does not hold good in the case of the other articles referred to. Our real argument is this, and it is irrefragable. In our colonies sugar is raised by free labour; in Brazil by slaves, which slaves are supplied, not as in America, by natural increase, but by forcible importation from Africa. In Brazil, under existing circumstances, sugar is produced at about half the cost of its production in the West Indies. If therefore you were to admit foreign into free competition with British plantation sugar, the latter would be entirely driven out of the market, and its cultivation, ceasing to be profitable, would cease altogether; and as most of the land, and nearly all the fixed capital of our West Indian colonies are employed in the growth and manufacture of sugar, the cessation of this growth and manufacture would be tantamount to their total ruin.

From this two consequences would unquestionably follow: *first,* that other transatlantic countries, seeing that with us the experiment of emancipation had terminated in the ruin of our planters and the loss of our sugar cultivation, would be effectually deterred from repeating the experiment in their own case; and thus that great act of national virtue, which was intended as an example, will operate only as a warning. *Secondly,* the increased price of the sugar of Brazil and Cuba consequent upon its admission to our markets, and the increased demand for it consequent upon the cessation of its cultivation in our islands, would not only rivet the chains of slavery in those countries,

but would give a stimulus to the African slave trade against which all the antagonist efforts of our cruisers and our Niger expeditions would be only like Mrs Partington sweeping away the Atlantic Ocean. Now will any one say that these remarks are applicable to cotton, indigo, tobacco, the precious metals, or any of the articles which are usually cited as parallels?

Finally, we would refer all those who conceive that such opinions as we have here put forth are inconsistent with or unfaithful to the most devoted allegiance to the great principles of free trade, to the well-known declaration of Mr J. Deacon Hume, whose competence and sincerity no man dare question:—

"I cannot conceive that, having thirty years ago abolished the slave trade, and having now abolished slavery itself, any question of free trade can arise between Jamaica and Cuba;—Cuba, with abundance of rich and fresh soil, not only having the advantage of employing slaves, whatever that may be, but notoriously importing the enormous amount of 40,000 or 50,000 slaves every year. They have, in fact, the slave trade and slavery; AND AS THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY HAVE DEPRIVED THE PLANTER IN JAMAICA OF THAT MEANS OF RAISING HIS PRODUCE, I CONCEIVE THAT THAT IS A QUESTION, LIKE SEVERAL OTHERS, TAKEN ENTIRELY OUT OF THE CATEGORY OF FREE TRADE."

W. R. G.

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ART. VIII.—1. *Seventh Annual Report of the Committee of Management of the Art-Union of London.* 1843.

2. *Report presented by a Sub-Committee of the Art-Union of London, appointed to consider the future Prospects and the most efficient Mode of working the enlarged Means of the Association.* 1842.

3. *Report of the Committee of the Royal Irish Art-Union.* 1843.

4. *Transactions of the Apollo Association in the United States, now the 'American Art-Union.'* 1843.

IN the year 1835 a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed, with Mr Ewart at its head, "to inquire into the best means of extending a knowledge of the arts, and of the principles of design, among the people (especially the

manufacturing population) of the country; also, to inquire into the constitution, management, and effects of institutions connected with the arts." In the report which they published in 1836, the committee made the following statement in reference to exhibitions as a means of diffusing a knowledge of the arts:—

"Among exhibitions connected with the encouragement of art, their attention has been called to the institutions established in Germany, under the name of Kunst-Vereine, and now becoming prevalent in this country. These associations, for the purchase of pictures to be distributed by lot, form one of the many instances in the present age of the advantages of combination. The smallness of the contribution required brings together a large mass of subscribers, many of whom without such a system of association would never have been patrons of the arts. Messrs Waagen and Von Klenze highly estimate the advantages conferred on the arts by such associations, which appear to have been introduced into Prussia by M. von Humboldt."

Dr Waagen had stated in evidence, that the first *verein* established at Berlin, about 1825, had then (1835) an annual income of 1,200*l.*; and that by its means several meritorious artists found employment, and good works of art were spread over the country. Further, that many others had been established, not merely in Prussia, but in Bavaria, Saxony, Wurtemberg, and Hanover, by which an interest in the arts had been spread in an extraordinary degree in Germany.

Shortly after the publication of this report, a number of gentlemen, anxious to extend in this country the advantages which such associations offered, called in to their assistance, amongst other influential men, the chairman of the committee referred to, and four other members of parliament, and established the Art-Union of London.* There was already one similar association in the metropolis, but it was felt by the founders that such societies could not be too numerous nor be formed on too comprehensive a plan. There was this difference in principle between the then existing society and the Art-Union of London, that in the former the *committee* purchased the works of art which were afterwards distributed, while in the latter

* The first Committee consisted of Mr Atkinson, Mr Charles Barry, Mr Briscoe, M.P., Mr Britton, F.S.A., Mr B. B. Cabbell, F.R.S., Mr Ridley Colborne, M.P., Mr Dimond, Mr Edwards, Mr Ewart, M.P., Mr George Godwin, Mr Griffith, Mr B. Hall, M.P., Mr B. Hawes, M.P., Mr Hawkins, F.R.S., Mr Henry Hayward, Mr H. T. Hope, M.P., Mr Mist, Mr Morant, Mr Lewis Pocock, Lord Prudhoe, Mr Rainy, Mr Towers, and Mr George Vivian.

those who gained prizes were entitled to select for themselves from the five public exhibitions in London of the current year.

The progress which the London Art-Union made is quite unexampled; men of all opinions, with his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge as president, joined it; the amount of the first year's subscription, 489*l.* 6s., was doubled in the second, and so on for each year up to 1842, when it increased in even a greater proportion, and reached 12,905*l.* 11s.; for the present year the sum which has been subscribed exceeds 14,200*l.*, which large sum it is necessary to remember, is for the most part furnished for the encouragement of art by individuals who, without some such arrangement, could hardly be led to give their aid to the object in view.

In the provinces, in Scotland (even earlier than in London), and in Ireland, the same principle of association has been acted on with similar success; and at this moment there is in the hands of committees throughout the United Kingdom a comparatively enormous sum of money, intended to aid in spreading widely the love of the arts of design, and to give encouragement to artists; objects so important as fairly to overrule the otherwise valid objections to any approach, however distant, to a lottery system.

This, however, is not a point we are now inclined to discuss. The especial design of this paper is not so much to record the rise and progress of art-unions (extraordinary as that of the London Art-Union in particular may be), as to call attention to the recent singular proceedings of her Majesty's government relative to them. The annual distribution of the amount subscribed by the Art-Union of London had been fixed (these six months past) for the 23rd of April; the Duke of Cambridge had appointed to take the chair; nearly 14,000 circulars were prepared to give notice of it to the subscribers; and all the elaborate arrangements were perfected; when, on the 15th of that month the following letter was received by the honorary secretaries:—

"Treasury, April 12, 1844.

"Sirs,—I am commanded by the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury to acquaint you that an institution called the 'Art-Union of London,' having for its object the chance distribution of prizes of works of art, has been brought under the notice of their lordships, and that they are advised that it is illegal; and I am also to acquaint you that the further continuance of the same will render all parties engaged in it liable to prosecution.

"I am, sirs,
"Your obedient servant,
"W. R. Reynolds.

"To Geo. Godwin, Esq. and Lewis Pocock, Esq.
"4 Trafalgar square, Charing cross."

A memorial was immediately forwarded to Sir Robert Peel, setting forth the nature of the association, and the position, as regarded artists and the public, in which the committee were placed by this unexpected interference, and soliciting an interview. They were accordingly received two days afterwards by Sir George Clerk on the part of the Premier, and urged forcibly on the Lords of the Treasury the following points:—

That the Art-Union of London, since its establishment in 1837, had expended about 36,000*l.* in the purchase and preparation of works of art, to the great encouragement of artists and the diffusion of a knowledge of and taste for the fine arts throughout the empire; that none of the parties concerned in its management have any pecuniary or other personal interest therein; that it had put into operation painters, sculptors, engravers, medal-die sinkers, and workers in bronze—a branch of art much neglected in this country; that they had established correspondents not merely throughout the United Kingdom, but in Ceylon, Bombay, Singapore, Nova Scotia, Hobart Town, Mexico, and New York; and had thus bound together by one common interest—an important and good one—a multitude of individuals throughout the world, and had opened to many fresh sources of elevating gratification, tending to wean them from debasing pursuits; that the committee had then about 14,000*l.* in their hands for distribution and for payment of engravers; that many artists had devoted labour and skill in the preparation of works of art, and in the majority of cases looked to this and similar associations for their reward; and that if the committee were prevented from completing their arrangements the results would be disastrous in the extreme to a large body of meritorious men. They therefore prayed, without then entering on the question of legality, that they might receive assurance that no legal proceedings would be sanctioned by government if the general meeting were held as arranged; and promised to give the most serious attention to the opinion of the law officers of the crown before any steps were taken towards a future subscription.

The only reply they obtained to all this, and much more, was that Sir Robert Peel could not interfere in the matter; all he could do was to inform them of the law. Some of the ministers were themselves subscribers; the evils that would result if the proceedings were stopped were fully admitted; but still no sanction could be given. The most prudent course would be to postpone the meeting until the committee could ascertain whether or not the legislature would protect them. And accordingly the meeting *was* postponed *sine die,* to the mortifica-

tion of the public and the infinite dismay of the artists throughout the empire.

Without now discussing whether or not these associations come within the *letter* of the laws against lotteries, the committee of the Art-Union of London have unquestionably a strong case, and have just cause to complain bitterly of the course which has been pursued. They were established at the suggestion, as we have already said, of a committee of the House of Commons; the Queen is patron of more than one such association; and his Royal Highness Prince Albert, a very short time before the arrival of the treasury mandate, had communicated to the honorary secretary his approbation of the Art-Union of London. Amongst the vice-presidents of the Irish Art-Union are half a dozen of the judges, and amongst the prizeholders last year was his Excellency Earl de Grey. Moreover, when this same question was agitated a year and a half ago, the High Chancellor of Ireland, Sir Edward Sugden, Mr Fitzroy Kelly, and other eminent lawyers, pronounced that art-unions were perfectly legal, and although a violent outcry was at that time raised, it subsided gradually, and the question came to be considered as settled. Where was the government then? The matter was at that time as fully before them as now, yet no signs came from Downing street, and accordingly, strengthened in their conviction, the committee at once entered into various costly prospective engagements with engravers and others, for which they are at this moment liable: a fact which has not been noticed in the discussions to which the proceedings have given rise.

Immediately after the circumstances were known, a section of the metropolitan artists called a meeting of the profession, which was very numerously attended. Some strong resolutions were passed, and a memorial was transmitted to Sir Robert Peel, setting forth the merits of these associations in general, and of the Art-Union of London in particular, and praying for the appointment of a committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the truth of the statement, with a view to the ultimate introduction of some measure on the part of government to set art-unions on an assured and permanent footing. Petitions have also been presented to both houses of parliament from various quarters.

In the provinces great excitement has been caused amongst artists, as it is admitted on all hands that the provincial schools of art, as at Birmingham, Liverpool, and elsewhere, cannot be supported without the aid of the funds raised by the local art-unions. Previously to the establishment of the Irish

art-union the fine arts were entirely neglected in Ireland. In the first twelve months of its existence 1,200*l.* were subscribed for their advancement, and a larger sum each year afterwards, by means of which the arts have been revived in a degree that could not have been anticipated. This association has served too, according to a speech of the viceroy, as a neutral ground on which all ranks and parties could meet for the good of their common country, and act together with perfect cordiality.

The importance of the fine arts in every point of view—whether that of morals or manufactures—is now tolerably well understood, together with the advantages which must result from disseminating a taste for their productions amongst the masses. To quote the last report from the committee of the London Art-Union:—

"There never was a time when it was more necessary to exalt the fine arts, and spread abroad a love for their productions, than now. Science is every day elevating trades into professions, and liberating men from the necessity of manual labour. The greatest activity of mind prevails, with increased leisure. It should, therefore, be the endeavour of all who are interested in the progress of society, to wean it from the petty interests with which it is too apt to interweave itself, and supply pursuits which will tend to develop the thinking man, refine his intellectual enjoyments, and suggest the noblest aims."

The stir which the government proceedings on the subject have caused throughout the country is remarkable. Meetings have been held, petitions presented to parliament, and deputations sent to London to aid in removing the treasury ban, and in obtaining a permanent settlement of the question. In the provinces and in Ireland it is indeed a question of life and death with artists. At the dinner in aid of the Artists' Benevolent Fund on the 11th of May, Mr Godwin stated in reply to the toast, "Prosperity to the Art-Union of London," proposed by the chairman, Lord Palmerston—that for four years preceding the establishment of the Art-Union in Ireland the only sale effected was one to the extent of thirty shillings for a water-colour drawing, and that since it had been in operation, the amount of private sales had increased each year equally with those of the society itself!

The present position of the matter is this: unable to resist the representations that were made to them, the government promised not to oppose the appointment of a committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the subject. It was in

consequence moved for, and obtained by Mr Wyse, on Friday, May the 17th.

The committee is now sitting, and will doubtless elicit much valuable information. They will, we presume, first investigate the constitution of the various art-unions in the United Kingdom, and compare the results both here and abroad, for which purpose the Foreign Office must be called upon to supply papers. The committee will also inquire into the different modes of distributing works of art adopted, and report upon the comparative advantages of each system. The great fact, that by the operation of art-unions the enjoyment of works of fine-art is no longer confined to the few, but made possible to all, will need no proof; and this is, without controversy, the chief object for which they were established. G.

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ART. IX.—1. *Masson's Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, and the Panjab.* 3 vols.

2. *Masson's Narrative of a Journey to Kelat.* 1 vol.

3. *Postans' Personal Observations on Sindh.* 1 vol. Longman and Co.

FIVE years have scarcely elapsed since the countries between Persia and India were as little known in England as those of the interior of Africa, nor had ever the names of those kings who style themselves "Asylum of the World," and imagine all eyes dazzled by their splendour and power, found their way into a literature which Europeans consider universal. But the last few years have added greatly to our knowledge, both in history and geography; and if they have not increased our humility, it is because we have still much to learn, and very much to unlearn, when judging of the opinions and actions of a people with whom we really possess no ideas in common. Journals of tours or service in Afghanistan have been sufficiently numerous and interesting, but the works we have placed at the head of our article, show the most intimate knowledge of their subject. The two first are the result of long residence in the country, and personal acquaintance with its inhabitants. The last-mentioned (that of Lieutenant Postans) devotes some pages to a discussion of the expediency of stretching our frontier to the Indus, and occupying the country bordering on that river—a

question which may involve the safety of our Indian empire, and on which the lives of thousands must depend.

Without professing entirely to agree with either of our authors, we shall commence by glancing rapidly at the natural bounds which enclose the countries eastward of Persia, and westward of the Indus.

If our readers will draw a straight line from Herat to Somneanee, on the sea-coast, they will, as nearly as possible, intersect the eastward margin of the great desert, which separates Persia from Afghanistan, and which is perfectly impassable in its whole distance (more than a thousand miles) to any large body of men; the roads to Yezed and Shiraz, which are generally marked in the maps as caravan routes, being seldom travelled except by cosseids sent with expresses, or cafilas of merchants, who make long marches, and whose numbers are so small as to require but little water, and no food beyond what they can carry with them. The road into Mikran, though not impassable, is so beset with natural difficulties, that, for convenience sake, it may be classed under the same head. From Herat to Cabul, and from Cabul to Peshawar, the lofty mountains, which afterwards connect themselves with the Hindoo Coosh and Himalaya ranges, present a barrier which is only penetrable at Herat and Cabul, except by goat tracks, which, like those before mentioned, are used by cosseids and small parties of travellers.

In fact, Herat is the gate by which alone travellers from Persia can enter Afghanistan, and Cabul that by which alone those coming from Bamean and the northward can do so.

The eastward boundary is the Indus, within and parallel to which run the Solimann mountains, until they reach the junction of the Sutlej with the Indus, where they turn off, and cross the whole country to Kelat, and are known in England as the Bolan range. The boundaries now mentioned include a triangle, within which the chief characteristics of the country are arid deserts, and lofty, sterile mountains. Separated by nature from their neighbours, the Afghans are a fierce and hardy people, divided into tribes, who are constantly at feud with each other, despising commerce and neglecting agriculture, living in poverty and pride; and, if the difference which the Mussulman and Christian faith naturally impress on their followers could be removed, we should say they are exactly what the highlanders of Scotland are described to have been in the troubled times which preceded the union of the two crowns. If there is one characteristic for which they are more remarkable than another, it is their love of genealogy, and their abhorrence of any deviation from or interruption to the customs which they have inherited from times antecedent to those of which they have

any fixed traditions. The cities are few, distant from each other, and difficult of approach: and the chief part of the population, which is extremely thin and scattered, dwell in small villages, or rather collections of huts, of the rudest and meanest description. The hill tribes live chiefly in caves (Samooches, Masson), whence they make long and distant forays, attacking the weary caravans at wells, to which they must resort, and where they have no chance of succour. Others keep the strongholds commanding the most difficult part of the defiles, which lead through their endless mountains, whence they levy black mail on all who attempt to pass. Of this description is Dozdan (*anglicé*, the robber's den), which is situated at the entrance to the Bolan pass, and whence small parties and escorts were frequently attacked, until its situation was discovered. Nor must we be misled by the high sounding names which are dotted over the map; for they are frequently given to a single well or tree, where travellers usually dismount, and to which the Afghans delight in giving the most flowery, and sometimes the most poetical appellations.*

Swearing by his beard, and wedded to his arms, the Afghan either lives on horseback, or scrambles over the hills, with agility equalled only by that of the wild goat he pursues; and when he has no feud on hand, which is not often the case, delights in the excitements attending on plundering. Even those whose age or sex prevents their engaging in these expeditions personally, listen, with delight and admiration, to the songs and legends of their bards, which celebrate and immortalize deeds of violence and outrage. Hence the roads in Afghanistan have even been unsafe, and the country unsettled, unless when some iron-handed chief, like Mustapha Khan, of Kelat (*vide* Masson's 'Kelat,' p. 369), has awed the inhabitants into an unwilling subjection, which was never of longer continuance than the life of the individual, and only enforced by punishments of the most ferocious description. The above is equally applicable to the country south of the Bolan range, with this exception, that deserts and jungles, instead of mountains and deserts, are its chief characteristics.

After the death of Nadir—Shah-Ahmed, an Afghan chief of the Suddozie tribe of Ghilzies, who had followed his fortunes while living, seized the throne of Afghanistan, which extended from Herat to the sea, and from Cashmere to the Indus, and established himself as sovereign of the Dooranee empire. During his reign

* Sir i Kujoor (*Anglicé*, i the head of the date trees), a single tree in the Bolan pass; Sir i Chushmè (the fountain of tears), a well; Tuckt i pool (the throne of flowers), a well also.

the chiefs of the different tribes paid homage and tribute in proportion as they imagined he could enforce it; but all acknowledged him as the head of the empire, a homage which his imbecile successors were only able to exact from those who dwelt within their immediate reach. The chief of Kelat, though never acknowledged as a sovereign, claimed allegiance to himself from the numerous Balooch, Kakur, and Murree tribes who dwelt about the Bolan and southern part of the Solimann range, and in the desert and plains which still form the Khanate of Kelat and Cutch Gundava; and this obedience has been generally paid to his successors. The Talpoor Ameers of Hydrabad having dispossessed the Arab dynasty of Kalora, who claimed descent from the Caliphs of Bagdad, for a time paid tribute, lest the king should take part and side with the deposed chiefs, but during the struggles between the Barrukzyes and Suddozyes, they became heedless of all remonstrance on that subject, and established themselves as independent princes. In spite of their personal imbecility, and their endless family feuds and assassinations, the descendants of Ahmed Shah continued to hold an important position among the potentates of the East, and as late as the year 1824, when Shah Zeman, grandson of Ahmed Shah (now blind and stricken with years and infirmities), occupied the throne of Cabul, the government of India was in considerable alarm, and its Mussulman subjects highly elated at a threat of invasion made by that sovereign. Such, however, are the vicissitudes of fortune to which despotic power is liable, that he has lived to be an humble dependant on our bounty, and, among other afflictions, to witness the murder of one of his sons by a drunken soldier, in that very capital which once echoed only with fulsome adulations of his dignity and power, in which Mussulmen of all ranks take so great and childish a delight.

The government were alarmed, partly from ignorance of the geography and political state of Afghanistan (then a sealed book to them, on account of the difficulty which travellers experienced in endeavouring to penetrate its deserts and mix with its lawless inhabitants), and partly because they were doubtful of the result of the Burmese war, and were convinced that, if the latter people gained even a partial advantage over them, the Mussulmans of India would join heart and hand with their brethren in faith in an endeavour to expel from India the unbelieving race who had deprived them of their superiority, and withdrawn from them the employments from whence they derived the chief sources of their wealth.

It is not our object to detail the vicissitudes which the unfortunate, and, perhaps, wicked brothers of the Suddozie race expe-

rienced during the following years; suffice it to say that Dost Mahomed seized the supreme power in Cabul, three of his brothers reigned at Peshawar, three others conjointly at Candahar, and Kamran, a nephew of Shah Shujah, at Herat. In the meanwhile Runjeet Singh, who was consolidating his power in the Punjab, seized on Cashmere, and finally on Peshawar; and Lord William Bentinck, considering that the integrity and importance of the Punjab would afford the best security against invasion from Afghanistan, while it gave him no uneasiness with regard to our Indian possessions, allied himself offensively and defensively with the wily ruler of that country; and it is to Lord Auckland's unwillingness to act even as a mediator, for fear of disobliging Runjeet Singh, and to our ignorance of the geographical and political state of Afghanistan, that we owe the late disastrous war.

Previous to the seizure of Peshawar by Runjeet Singh, Lieutenant Burnes made his first visit to Cabul, and Dost Mahomed at once seized the opportunity to endeavour to form an alliance with us, which, however, he was unable to effect, either then or in 1837, when that officer appeared at Cabul in an official character. Dost Mahomed required that the British government should mediate between him and Runjeet Singh for the restoration of Peshawar, but as Mr Masson says, very justly, Dost Mahomed had never himself held Peshawar, and consequently had no personal claim on it. His brothers (one of whom was then residing at the court of Lahore), were the rulers whom Runjeet Singh had dispossessed, and to them he was willing, nay, almost anxious, to restore it (Masson, vol. iii, p. 424), and to this Dost Mahomed would also have consented. All might have been easily arranged, and peaceful relations firmly established.

Here, however, commenced a series of blunders, which are clearly detailed in the four last chapters of Mr Masson's third volume, which we recommend to the attentive perusal of our readers. Dost Mahomed's offer was, as we have stated, declined, for fear of causing any interruption to our relations with Runjeet Singh, and because at that time Runjeet's star was brilliant in the ascendant, while that of the Doranee empire was setting in the darkness of anarchy and confusion.

Finding all alliance with us impossible, Dost Mahomed avowed his intention of accepting the offers of Russia. How far these offers were made in sincerity it is not the object of the present inquiry to determine; but the intention expressed by Dost Mahomed, when disappointed in his desire to ally with us, and the groundless fears of the intentions of Russia and Persia, induced Lord Auckland and his advisers to decide on assisting

the unfortunate Shah Shujah, whose prayers and entreaties had never for a moment been listened to during the many years he resided as a pensioner in India.

The governor-general issued a proclamation, stating that he would assist Shah Shujah to recover the throne of his ancestors, of which he had been unjustly deprived, and restore him to the earnest prayers of his loving subjects, who so constantly deplored his loss. Having assisted to reinstate him on the musnud, the proclamation goes on to declare that the British troops will be withdrawn, leaving no other trace of their invasion than that which may be discovered in the bonds of an everlasting peace and friendship between the empire of Afghanistan and that of India.

As soon after this as possible an army was assembled at Ferozepore, and certain battalions raised for the Shah's service, officered by gentlemen selected from the company's own regiments; another force destined to co-operate from the side of Scinde and Beloochistan assembled at Bombay, under Sir John Keane, and the whole reached Sukker and Lower Scinde towards the close of 1839.

The information which the government had obtained, though meagre, was such as to induce them to send as large and efficient a commissariat as possible, and accordingly the march of the army from Ferozepore was one of the most extraordinary sights ever witnessed. The whole of the country for hundreds of miles was foraged and swept clean of both food and followers, to supply the wants of the army, and for a few days previous to their departure a large canvass city occupied the plains near the Sutlej. The colours of England blew out in pride over the pavilions of the officers of rank. Streets upon streets, more regular in their formation than those of any city in Europe, stretched farther than the eye could see—every trade that can be imagined was carried on within the precincts of the respective bazaars, while the neighing of horses, galloping of orderlies, and the gay apparel of idlers, whom youth and animal spirits rendered careless of the future, offered the pomp and circumstance of war in its most imposing light; nor did "coming events throw their dark shadow" over that tinsel, which is so captivating to the young, and sometimes even to the old. In a few weeks the greater part of those pavilions had been abandoned in the Bolan pass; hundreds of wretched followers had died of fatigue and exhaustion, or by the daggers of the fierce tribes which occupy the hills through which they passed. Pampered chargers had become jaded scarecrows, and thousands of those patient animals, on whom the existence of an

Indian army depends, afforded a last and important service to the dismounted and weary stragglers, by marking, with their bodies, a road through the otherwise trackless desert.

In this digression, however, we have omitted to say that Sir Henry Fane had thrown up the command of the army on finding that Mr M'Naughten, a secretary to government, who accompanied the army as political agent and envoy to the Shah, was invested with such powers as would, in his opinion, have interfered with that absolute and independent command, which he, in common with every general, from Washington to Napoleon, considered necessary to success.

By his retirement the command devolved upon Sir John Keane, who neglected no precaution which a soldier could take; and his care was rewarded by success. We will not dwell on the difficulties encountered, or the apathy displayed by the enemy in allowing the army to pass its deserts, jungles, and defiles, without serious molestation. Mehrab Khan, the important chief who ruled the country of Kelat and Cutch Gundava, was rendered neutral by negotiation, and the people generally looked on in stupid wonder, not thinking themselves really much interested in the matter, as the army was escorting their Shah, and inflicted no injuries on them; added to which, the Feringees had promised not to remain in the country after they had fixed Shah Shujah on the gadi, on which subject they were totally indifferent; the attachments of all people in the East, where revolutions are of daily occurrence, being rather to the throne *per se* than the person who temporarily occupies it.

Neither the Bolan or Kojuck passes were defended, and the rulers of Candahar finding they could make no defence in the latter pass, which is the stronghold of their immediate country, abandoned Candahar also and fled to Persia. Arrived at Candahar, but one difficulty remained, viz. to recruit the commissariat, and obtain camels to supply the immense casualties which had occurred on the march to that city. Elated with success, which Mr M'Naughten attributed in a great measure to his own negotiation, he assured Sir John Keane that the country was now entirely subjugated, that the remainder of the march would be merely his Majesty's triumphal progress, and entreated him to leave the Bombay troops, both European and Native, behind him. To this Sir John Keane gave an unqualified refusal, and as soon after the necessary supplies had been obtained, as was possible, the army proceeded towards Ghuznee, leaving only a detachment for the security of Candahar, and the battering train, for which it was impossible to procure carriages, and which the constant

and repeated assurances of Mr M'Naughten induced the general, unwillingly, to dispense with.

Day by day these assurances were repeated, until the army approached Ghuznee, and were too far from Candahar to be able to return, even if necessary; then, when the commissariat had but a few days' rations in possession, he found himself in presence of a fortress esteemed impregnable, occupied by a determined enemy, and learned that Dost Mahomed, with an immense army of cavalry, waited on the road between it and Cabul, ready to fall on his rear, and destroy him if he attempted to retire, and to dispute progress with him if he advanced towards Cabul. With a passing joke at the dignity of the envoy, the general hesitated not one instant, but made his dispositions for the attack, and God assisted the bold, for by accident, and not from any information, he ordered the Cabul gate to be attacked; while he made a feint on the other side of the fortress. It proved to be the only gate which had not been blocked up by masonry, and the guard, who were smoking their hookahs in fancied security, were in a moment launched into eternity.

Had he failed at Ghuznee, which city, but for a providential accident, he never could have captured without battering guns, it is more than probable that the bones of his army would have been whitening on the plains between Ghuznee and Candahar, instead of those which have made the name of Courd Cabul to stink in our nostrils. The city, whose boast it was that her sovereign had overrun the better half of the civilised world, having been taken, "fear and trembling" fell upon the army of Dost Mahomed, and it dissolved like the storms of hail which in those countries threaten and pass away often, ere the season arrives when they may spend their fury on the earth.

The Shah ascended the throne of his ancestors amid the roar of artillery, the congratulations of the army, and the adulations of the people. Great part of the army returned to India, and the remainder, assisted by a swarm of political agents, under the immediate command of Mr M'Naghten, who had also control of the troops enlisted for the service of the Shah, were retained to enlighten the people and "teach their senators wisdom."

"And in those days the king sat on his throne, and made feasts unto all his servants, and showed the riches of his glorious kingdom and the honour of his excellent majesty many days; and his heart was lifted up, and his mind hardened with pride."

But if the Shah's heart was lifted up, so were the hearts of

those who ruled over him; they built palaces and cantonments, and spread themselves out over the land, and saw not the hand that was as surely writing the "Mene Tekel," as it did in the days of Belshazzar, though its characters were far easier to read than those which required the interpretation of a prophet.

Sir John Keane perceived that, though much might be lost, no further glory could be gained; so, sending back the Bombay army under General Wiltshire, he retired from the scene of his success by the Khyber Pass, not until he had more than once offended the dignity of the Envoy by a positive refusal to send troops without guns into the Cohistan, and given some pithy advice relative to the folly and insecurity of detaching them, and the necessity of being always in a state of preparation for whatever might occur. Sir Thomas Wiltshire, who accompanied the Bombay troops on their return to India, captured Kelat, where Mehrab Khan, its chief, was slain. For the policy of this act we must refer our readers to Mr Masson's journey to that city ('Kelat,' pages 382, 383, 394), where it appears that Mehrab Khan was cajoled and misunderstood, and that the death of so many brave men, on both sides, lies at the door of political ignorance. We know that General Wiltshire lamented that he was able to leave but one regiment to garrison that fortress when taken, and that he did express to those persons, whose duty it was to communicate with the government, his apprehensions as to their safety, and that of the small detachments which were now left to keep open the road from Curratchee to Cabul. Judge then of the wisdom of the measures which ensued. The officer commanding the regiment at Kelat was empowered to march with it to India; and Kelat, in the heart of the wildest country imaginable, inhabited by tribes of the Brahooes, now paying allegiance to Nusseer, the son of the slain Mehrab Khan, and burning with vengeance for the blood spilt in the storm of their capital, was left in charge of Lieutenant Loveday, with a party which did not amount to more than fifty men; and they were chiefly of the Mussulman faith, and consequently not unlikely to act but faintly when pressed by overwhelming numbers of their own creed. It is almost needless to add, that but a short time elapsed ere it was besieged and captured by Nusseer Khan. Lieut. Loveday was made prisoner, and subsequently fell a victim to the revenge of some Beloochees whom he is said to have insulted when in power. About this time also Mr M'Naughten had commenced that course of folly, which it is painful to refer to, more especially now that he is no longer living to inform us what could have induced him to act with such apparent infatuation.

The Cohistan, a district north of Cabul, and separated only from the Nomadic tribes of Cafiristhan by a single range of mountains, was occupied by our troops, and its turbulent and proverbially warlike people held in check by a small battalion raised for the service of the Shah, called the Goorka corps. Barracks were built for them in the vicinity of a tope or wood, from whence an enemy could fire on its garrison, and the water, on which it depended for existence, was in the wood instead of in the barracks. . . . . The fate of the gallant Goorka band who held it is too well known to require comment.

Mr Masson passed many years among the various tribes which inhabit those inhospitable regions, mixing in their families as one of themselves, living on their hospitality, and obtaining his scanty raiment, and even the little money which he ever carried with him, from them. We were once ourselves in his company without being made aware that he was an European until after his departure, which was a subject of considerable regret to us; but what is far more extraordinary, the natives of the countries in which he was travelling were frequently unwilling to believe his own assertion that he was a Feringhee.

"In the town of Shall, notwithstanding my own affirmations, confirmed by many of the inhabitants, that I was a Farang, or European, several believed that I was an Usbeck. The mulla, who officiated in the musjid where I was lodged, one day informed a large company with an air of great satisfaction that I was a Turk.

"At the same place a woman daily visited me, bringing me some trifling present of fruit, sweetmeat, &c., and craving my blessing. I could not surmise why she thought me qualified for the last, until I heard her tell another woman that I was the 'diwaneh' from Mastung."—Vol. i, p. 346.

Though never denying his country when it was necessary to avow openly from whence he came, he was at all times able to mix with his fellow travellers, on far different terms from those which persons who travel with the comforts and state considered necessary by Europeans have ever done previously, or perhaps will do again; and what is of far greater importance, he resided some years in Cabul, where he was the only European present, and associated with its inhabitants as one of themselves. His work will be found full of information, although he is not happy in his method of communicating it, nor are his pictures so coloured as to bring the subject graphically before the eyes of persons unaccustomed to the scenes of the East. This arises, perhaps, in great measure from the fact of his having dwelt so long in those countries, that his thoughts assume more naturally the forms of the East than those of Europe; and that he has lost

sight of the many shades of difference which exist between the habits of thought and springs of action which influence the nations of the East, and those which are the result of education and civilization in the West. To his long absence from, and little intercourse with his own countrymen, we are inclined also to attribute the extraordinary manner in which he chooses to spell the Persian and Hindostanee words with which his pages are profusely interspersed. But we leave all criticism on points of such minor importance. His works show the simplicity and hospitality with which he was received in places where the inhabitants were not in perpetual hostility among themselves, as they were in the wilder districts of Afghanistan, to which he afterwards penetrated, and which the insane ambition of some, and the ignorance of others, induced our government to invade.

"I had now become so completely convinced that I could freely range among the rude tribes and people of this part of the country (banks of the Indus) that I was careless about seeking for companions. I had, moreover, found that there was no necessity to conceal I was a Feringhee, but that, on the contrary, the avowal procured me better treatment. The inhabitants of the villages were orderly and peaceable, while they made it their duty to relieve the wants of the stranger and traveller."—Vol. i, p. 79.

Again, he says,—

"On reaching Lahore I had remaining half a rupee of the two rupees I had received from Rahmut Khan at Fazilpore; I had lived very well on the road, and had travelled three hundred and sixty miles."—Vol. i, p. 405.

And this is the tone in which he invariably speaks of the settled part of that country, where but a short time afterwards every rock bristled with matchlocks for our destruction. Not so, however, of the wilds which surround and separate Cabul, Candahar, and Quetta.

It is admitted, now that we are acquainted with both Afghanistan and Belochistan, that these countries can offer nothing to tempt our cupidity; their inhabitants respected and feared us, and would have listened to any overtures for the increase of trade, if made in a shape which they could comprehend, they would have accepted an intimate alliance on terms which would have cost neither Runjeet Singh nor ourselves anything; for we repeat, that the latter wished to cede Peshawar to Dost Mahomed's brothers, and would have been well pleased to have neighbours whom he could never fear, between him and the Hill tribes

What, then, induced us to enter Afghanistan? Was it a fear as humiliating as groundless of Russia and Persia, or the ambitious hopes of a few secretaries at Calcutta? or was it both combined?

Immediately after the occupation of the country, Sir W. M'Naughten overran it with his assistants, who were generally young men, connexions of his own or his friends, many of them possessed of good abilities and zeal, but all profoundly ignorant of the important duties they were about to undertake. Where no written law except the Koran exists, as is the case in these countries, it will be readily believed that the law of custom becomes more prominent, and importance is attached to trifling customs and observances, which are not known in more civilized countries; but what knew these young men, or their masters, of the customs of a people whose very names they could scarcely articulate? They knew, or thought they knew, what was right according to English modes of thinking, and this they were determined should be right wherever they had the power to make it so. But let us hear Sir Alexander Burnes' opinion on this matter, remembering that most of these men were his personal friends, and that no one from his position could be more intimately acquainted with their proceeding than he was:—

"It seems to me that, wherever our political officers are, collision follows—a native temporizes, a European officer fights. We are thus on the high road to denationalize Afghanistan, instead of contributing to its stability as a kingdom; we shall subvert all its institutions, and not succeed in fixing our own in their stead, for we are not labouring to do so."—(*Sir Alexander Burnes' Notes on the Consolidation of Afghanistan, dated April* 19, 1841.)

It is painful to dwell on the proceedings of the agents of government during the time which intervened between the first occupation of Cabul and the murder of Sir A. Burnes. In Upper Scinde the estates of some chiefs were resumed (Masson's 'Kelat,' p. 131), while others were required to prove their titles, which, though never previously disputed, were not easy to substantiate to the satisfaction of British agents. It is true they were subsequently restored, but not so the confidence in our integrity and the uprightness of our intentions, which, when once shaken and unsettled, through the ignorance of persons unacquainted with the customs of the country, could never be again restored.

Two Brahooi chiefs of importance, Mahmood Hassan (afterwards Vizier to the Khan of Kelat) and Raheen Dad (governor of the province of Shawl), who had surrendered themselves at the storm of Kelat, on condition they should have a free passport for themselves and their families, were sent to Sukkur as prisoners, and not released until it was found expedient to grant them their

liberty, on condition of their acting as mediators between us and some tribes then in arms against us.

Another chief, Beeja Khan, who belonged to the wild but chivalrous tribe of Murrees, was seized when he came to a conference with the political agent at Shikarpore, and detained a prisoner. We are aware that there may be, and hope that there is, a somewhat different version of the above stories, but we know that the correctness of the facts, as above stated, is insisted on by the natives themselves, and is current through the whole country, nor has any contradiction by the agents of the British government appeared publicly, either in England or in Afghanistan. Mr Masson was himself made a prisoner by the political agent in Shawl, on grounds which were only as absurd as they were unfounded.

It cannot be supposed that such a series of misgovernment and interference could go on long without producing immediate and disastrous consequences, and we subjoin an extract from the 'Bombay Times,' which gives at one view the result of our occupation of Scinde and Beloochistan up to the period when, at the suggestion of the Marquis Wellesley and the Duke of Wellington, Lord Ellenborough removed the political agents altogether, or placed them under the control of officers commanding the different divisions of the army — these officers, having at once perceived the difficulties, procrastinations, and vacillations which must result from divided councils and decisions, when old officers were obliged to refer to young subalterns, frequently taken from their own regiments and placed in immediate authority over them.

"In taking a cursory review of the campaign in Beloochistan, it will be found that from the time Sir Thomas Wiltshire returned to the plains, when everything was considered settled, our troops in numbers varying from 50 to 2,000 men, had been fifteen times engaged with the enemy, and four times unsuccessfully.

"The loss of the enemy on these various occasions must, so near as can be estimated, amount to not much under 3,000 and our casualties to about 300 men slain. We lost no fewer than twelve European officers. The climate of the countries in which those unhappy operations had been carried on, had, among our officers, been still more destructive of life than the sword of the enemy. There had died, chiefly from climate causes, within the period under our review — one brigadier, two majors, six captains, six lieutenants, and three doctors—eighteen in all. The death of Mr Bell was not perhaps attributable to climate.

"The destruction of beasts of burthen had, during the short but unhappy campaign, exceeded the worst apprehensions our most

disastrous experience could have led us to form. Of the 12,000 camels collected in August, 1841, scarce 3,000 could be produced in 1842.

"The results were as extraordinary, and still more mortifying than the expenditure of men and money by which they were achieved:—our rule seems to have been to fight first, and when we became tired of this, to inquire into what we had been fighting about. By a strange fatality, every quarrel in which Mr Bell engaged us we were compelled to proclaim, by our abandonment, unwise, unjust, and oppressive. The system was one of continual doing and undoing, of which the only memorials that were left were the heaps of slain who fell in battle, and the dilapidations of a heretofore flourishing country. A slight reference to what has been already related at large will illustrate this statement. In seeking tribute for Kelat we attacked Deyrat, and slew some sixty of its inhabitants, carrying away the chiefs as captives. We subsequently released the chiefs, and solicited their friendship, abandoning all claim to tribute, it being admitted that none was due. On the same grounds Kahan was taken possession of, and our troops shut up for six months in the fort, one detachment having meanwhile been destroyed and another defeated by the Murrees. We then left the country, abandoning all our claims against it, granting a free pardon to those who had handled us so roughly, and intreating the friendship of the chiefs on their own terms. Cutchee and Shawl were, in 1839, detached from Kelat. The one was annexed in 1841 and the other in 1842. We stripped the chiefs of the former province of their hereditary estates, because they had not made up their title-deeds according to our pleasure; and after six months' fighting with them, we restored the disputed property without making any question about titles at all. We claimed the customs of Las, which had long before been made over to the chief of Biela, and when an armed resistance was threatened we withdrew our claim. We attacked and destroyed Kujjuck, and then proclaimed that all the property which had been captured would be restored—their town being that of a *friendly* power, whose dominions it became necessary for a time to occupy.

"Finally we expelled Nusseer Khan from the throne of his father in 1839, and restored him in October, 1842. His claims on our gratitude being founded on the two years of war he had carried on against us, Major Outram having afterwards recommended that in the event of our retiring from Candahar we should grant him a subsidy of 15,000*l.* a year instead of assisting him with troops.

"The casualties we have already stated are far from light, but they are trivial in comparison to the damage we sustained from loss of character for truth, consistency, justice, and integrity."—*Bombay Times, June* 1843.

At this time Shah Shujah was nominally governing the kingdom of Cabul, and his sons were acting as viceroys at Candahar,

but in reality the government was neither Afghan nor English. When the Shah wished to carry into effect the decrees of an absolute sovereign, he was checked or prevented by Sir William M'Naughten, who, as a British minister having authority, could not admit of his doing wrong that good might come of it. It was soon no secret, that nothing could be done unless by the consent of Sir William, and consequently he was the person on whom all the intriguers in Afghanistan, and their name was "Legion," turned their eyes and their attention; mares'-nests and intrigues were found and invented for him, and disputes of all sorts were referred by the Shah to him, and by him back to the Shah. In fact, the government possessed the bad qualities of both Afghan and English customs, without the promptitude and intimate acquaintance with the people governed, which in some degree compensates for oriental injustice, or the justice and certainty which counterbalance the delays and procrastination of the English law. Often did the Shah prognosticate the result which he could not prevent or defer. All was in vain. Surrounded by persons whose only object was to flatter him, Sir William M'Naughten increased the number of his assistants, of the honesty of whose intentions he was justly satisfied, but whose unavoidable ignorance of Afghan customs was hurrying on the storm which overwhelmed him at the moment of his apparent success, and when a few days more would have removed him from the scene of his mismanagement.

At Candahar Mr Rawlinson, the political agent, a gentleman whose geographical researches and oriental acquirements are well known, was engaging in alliances with chiefs of different tribes, and lavishing the public money, in order to secure the friendship of men who could be depended on only until they had obtained from him the means of opposing us, and, strange as it may seem to our readers, the regiments in the Shah's service, though serving in the garrison of Candahar, where General Nott commanded the Company's troops, received their orders from him, and not from the general —so that if the latter found it necessary to send a force to a particular district, he was obliged to request Mr Rawlinson either to lend him the Shah's troops, or to perform the necessary duties in Candahar during the absence of the Company's troops. We will not dwell on the inconveniences which must and did result from such an *imperium in imperio*, but only observe that when the reins were taken by General Nott, who professed (probably with truth) to know nothing about Afghan affairs, and declared that he would fight whenever the Afghans pleased, but that no consideration should induce him to part with one farthing of the public money, we were successful in every way. The Afghans were

discomfited in the field, and had no purse on which to draw, in order to recruit and reassemble their beaten forces.

Shortly before the outbreak of the insurrection, Sir William M'Naughten sent three regiments away to Candahar *en route* to India, and was himself preparing to depart and assume the government of Bombay, to which he had been lately appointed. But the storm which had been so long brewing at length broke, and on the 2nd of November Sir Alexander Burnes and his brother were both murdered.

It is universally admitted by all present, that if active measures had been taken at this time, the insurrection might have been put down without difficulty; but now commenced those scenes of jealousy and imbecility between the civil and military authorities, which led to the destruction of near 16,000 of our army and its followers. Sir William said it was a trifling *emeute*, which the Shah's troops would soon quell, and the general acquiesced.

Encouraged by impunity, which they shrewdly enough attributed to its right cause, the Afghans grew bolder—day after day was spent in fruitless negotiations. We had skirmishes ill planned, and too often unsuccessful; and when Fortune herself invited us to victory, her advances were repulsed, to give time for conferences and councils of war, and communications with the hostile chiefs. Then follow instructions from Sir William M'Naughten, at which the general demurs; imbecility on imbecility, resulting from divided responsibility, which ended in the murder of the envoy, the destruction of a gallant army, and the capture of a few unfortunate ladies, which the Afghans considered to be their crowning triumph. Nor was vacillation and imbecility confined to the authorities at Cabul, for the government of India was equally paralysed with fear, and seemed to partake of the dread which the very name of Afghans (men of six cubits in height, with red beards reaching below the waist!) had for years inspired the effeminate natives of Bengal.

Sir Jasper Nicholls had, previously to the breaking out of the insurrection, entered a protest in the books of the Supreme Council, in which he stated that he could not consider the cantonment of troops at Cabul and Candahar to be otherwise than dangerous, and unmilitary from their isolated position; yet when the news of the outbreak, and death of Sir A. Burnes on the 2nd of November, reached him, which it must have done by the 16th or 18th of that month at latest, was he prepared to assist them? or, if he was prepared, did the government prevent his carrying his wishes into effect? We know not, but this we do know, that long previous to the 2nd of November there had

been desultory hints of the unsettled state of Cabul, contradicted, it is true, as often as given, but which would have induced a wary government to have been prepared for the worst; and lastly, had Brigadier Wild's force, instead of being sent up to Peshawar helter-skelter without guns, which they were to beg from the good offices of the Seiks—had this force been properly equipped, and sent off without delay, they might have reinforced Sale at Jellalabad before the 1st of January—they would then have pushed their outposts in perfect safety to Gundamuk, and Ukbar Khan would have held a very different language, when he knew that his outposts were almost within challenge of a force with which he could not hope to contend. Had he ever calculated upon a possibility of their attacking him during the winter, our own troops would have been inspired with fresh hope and spirits; and had the worst happened, a large portion would have been saved by the outposts at Gundamuk, and those fatal barriers in which so many of the gallant 44th regiment perished, could never have been erected in the Jugdulluk pass, for they were close to Gundamuk. *Diis aliter visum;* all was lost but our honour, and that, perhaps, was not altogether untarnished.

Lord Auckland marched what troops he could towards Ferozpore, and left them to await the decision of Lord Ellenborough, who decided that they should not advance.

Nott had endeavoured to send relief from Candahar to Ghuznee during the winter; but the sepoys were frost-bitten, and obliged to return, and Colonel Palmer, hopeless of relief, surrendered a fortress which might have been held against all Afghanistan, had he considered himself at liberty to adopt energetic measures at the commencement of the outbreak. Had he turned out of the city all Afghans but those on whom he could depend, and sent strong parties to collect forages and stores, which would have been readily, if not willingly given at that time, he would have been spared the humiliation of seeing the colours of his regiment in the hands of the enemy, and the torture to which he was himself submitted by those whom his mistaken forbearance allowed to remain within his defences. But the blame should not be laid at his door in particular, but rather on that divided responsibility which paralysed all whom it affected.

During the winter Nott was threatened and attacked repeatedly at or near Candahar, but feeling himself far removed and cut off from all communication with superior authority, he was obliged to assume, and probably did so willingly, that independent power which can alone ensure success in military operations. Determined and indifferent to all political considerations, the old gentleman held a city containing at first near 80,000

inhabitants, most of whom were hostile to us, and surrounded by the enemy, until August, 1842, when he advanced, and marched through the heart of the country, with drums beating and colours flying in defiance of all Afghanistan.

At Candahar, however, there was no vacillation; all Afghans were removed from the city, except those who could give some sort of security for their good behaviour. Eleven hundred men mounted guard daily, and whenever the enemy showed himself, the gates opened to pass out a stream of gallant men, whose confidence secured the victory it deserved. Once, however, the general allowed himself to be deceived, and had nearly paid the forfeit of his temerity with the loss of the city. A chief, named Ucktar Khan, from the Helmund, enticed him on to a considerable distance, having in the meantime prepared a night attack upon Candahar; the numbers of the enemy were immense, but the defence of the city by a very small force, chiefly invalids, did infinite credit to Colonel Lane, who deserved very different treatment at the hands of General Nott from an investigation into his conduct, which was instituted immediately after that general's return.*

In March, General England, who was taking stores and reinforcements to Candahar, met with a reverse, having come upon the enemy in an unexpected position; and this, though trifling in its consequences, and repaired in the following month, contributed to depress the spirits of Lord Ellenborough and his council. There was, however, if we mistake not, one (whose classical attainments are equalled only by his knowledge of the languages and intimate acquaintance with the customs of the East, and whose experience, both as a governor and in council, entitled his opinion to respect) who urged energetic measures by every argument in his power, offering at the same time to provide both stores and carriages, and suggesting other arrangements which would have insured success.

All was in vain, Pollock, whose army had been wasting time, health, and confidence on the plains of Peshawar and at Jellalabad, was ordered to be ready to retreat; and Nott, having unwillingly withdrawn his outposts from the road to Ghuznee, received orders to retreat simultaneously with Pollock, when the season admitted of his doing so.

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* The particular weakness of this general appears to have been a jealousy of his own officers and men, and an imagination that there was but a certain amount of glory in the whole, so that whatever was given to others must be taken away from himself. It was this which prevented his enjoying the confidence and attachment of his troops, which otherwise (from his invariable success) would have been unbounded.

Such was the state of utter hopelessness in which our affairs were plunged, when Lord Ellenborough received an answer to those communications which had made England mourn like "Rachel weeping for her children, and as one that would not be comforted."

That word of command, at whose sound the eagles of the empire had quailed, came booming over the ocean, and echoed through the mountains of Afghanistan. The vigour and confidence of the troops was instantaneously renewed. Nott and Pollock advanced from their respective positions; the former abandoning his base, and throwing himself, with the helpless followers attendant on an Indian army (carrying forty-two days' provision), into the heart of the enemy's country with-out a doubt respecting the future. The proceeding was a daring one, and its result has deprived us of the right to canvass its wisdom. But the fact of his success only increases our surprise at the previous reverses.

He arrived before Ghuznee with his troops nearly as fresh as when they left Candahar; and after a slight affair outside the walls, the city was evacuated.

Finding himself between two armies, rapidly approaching each other, and scarcely impeded by the desultory but harassing warfare to which they were alike exposed, Ukbar Khan left Cabul and fled to the hills, leaving the two generals, Nott and Pollock, to squabble with each other, and injure, by their childish jealousies, that cause to which all private feelings should have been subservient.

A refusal on the part of Nott to go to Bamian and recover the prisoners, enabled Pollock to entrust that duty to the gallant Sale, who soon returned with the captives, including his own wife and daughter. Their passage from one division of the army to the other was a triumph of the most interesting description. The ladies, dressed in Afghan costume, held up their children, and returned the greetings of the soldiers as they passed; the feelings of all parties were wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement, and the shouts with which they were received by their countrymen must have been heard distinctly within the walls of that city which so lately resounded only with the exultations of their captors.

The troops remained in camp at Cabul for nearly a month, and destroyed the Chè Chut Bazaar (so called from the six painted roofs by which it was covered in), where the head of Sir William M'Naughten had been exposed. This was a foolish exhibition of wrath, for the bazaar was the abode of merchants, and not of those who had directed the insult; but it may be

passed with light censure, in consideration of the forbearance which was shown in other matters by troops flushed with success, and burning to revenge the slaughter of their countrymen. During this interval General Pollock received information that Ameenoolah and fifteen other chiefs of importance were assembling their forces in the north, for the purpose of disputing with him the passage of the Coord Cabul and Khyber passes, and marched a division to meet them in the Cohistan, alike the stronghold and garden of the kingdom, where the spoils of our slaughtered countrymen had been placed in imagined security. Istaliff, whose position was considered impregnable, was stormed and captured, and, to the eternal honour of its captors, without that cruelty which has ever attended the forced surrender of an armed city, even in modern warfare. Women were protected and returned to the arms of their relations; and none but fighting men, who dared and expected the fate of war, were put to the sword.

Char-i-kar, whose inhabitants refused the decency of a grave to the bodies of the corps they had hunted down and massacred in detail, was burnt to the ground, all the inhabitants having fled on the approach of the victors.

After displaying the colours of England at the foot of the snowy mountains which separate the kingdom of Cabul from the wandering tribes who dwell in the unknown wastes of Kafiristan,* the division returned and joined the head-quarters. On the 10th of October the army commenced its march to India, passing with mixed grief and indignation over the corpses of thousands whose blood had not long since been as buoyant as their own, and who as confidently expected to gladden at the welcome of the loving and the loved—hopes which proved fallacious to many then living, as it had done to those whose pilgrimage was closed in the damp caves of the Coord Cabul.†

The dissensions or indifference of the two generals, or perhaps

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* Kafiristan means "the land of unbelievers." Its inhabitants are very fair, and much prized for the beauty of their women, who are frequently purchased for the harems of Cabul. The Kafirs claim descent from the army of Alexander.

† Having been killed during the season of intense frost, and subsequently exposed to the baking heat of the summer, which is as extreme as the cold in winter, the corpses retained their flesh, and some of them their clothing. The limbs which had been broken were twisted into every sort of horrid contortion, and the heaps which had fallen fighting as they stood, or crept together from the piercing cold, presented a spectacle of horror not to be described, and which continued at intervals until we reached Gundamuck.—*Extract from a Private Journal.*

both, prevented the retirement from bearing the stamp of a triumphal march. The passes of Afghanistan are, it is true, but indifferent roads through which to march a triumphal procession, but they were well known, and, if report speaks true, the rear was not always well cared for.

Be that as it may, it is certain the rear of the army, which was closed by a party from Nott's division, was sharply engaged up to the very instant when they reached the plains; and we have it from an old and distinguished Peninsular officer, that he had seldom seen more troublesome fellows than the inhabitants of the Khyber, for, he said, "they kept us awake all night, and never let us rest by day."

But the curtain had not fallen and removed from public anxiety the eventful scenes we have endeavoured to sketch, when Lord Ellenborough's extraordinary epistle made its appearance, addressed to "my friends and brethren," the kings and potentates of the land.

We will not pause to describe the return of the army to India —now considered "home" by those who lately viewed it only as an honourable exile—or tell how the worn soldiers stared from their sheepskins and patched coats when they encountered the blaze of lace and scarlet and the nodding plumes assembled to receive them at the triumphal arch; nor how many eager inquirers, who had pushed forward to learn the fate of a friend, slunk back in sadness on hearing that monosyllable which acts like a pedal on the heart and turns the sound of joy into discord. The evening closed this day as the morning had began it, in the usual course; but not until the contents of the governor-general's cellar had warmed the hearts of many to whom the taste of that "which gladdeneth man's heart" was almost a forgotten one.

But we must beg the attention of our readers for a few minutes to a subject on which ere long our attention may be fixed, as the point on which the existence of our vast empire in the East may eventually hinge. We mean the occupation of Scinde, and the extension of our boundary to the banks of the Indus.

Let us therefore once more refer to the map, and though our readers may at first sight imagine the natural boundary of India to be the straight and even course which the Indus pursues in its whole length from Attok to the sea, a distance exceeding 1,000 miles, we think, on a more careful examination, we shall be able to convince them that it is not so; the dotted space which extends from a short distance below Ferozpore, increasing in width as it approaches the sea, and containing the names of but very few towns, is a vast desert, in which there are certain oases, such as Jaysulmere, a Rajpoot city, and Omercote, a small fort,

where the Ameers of Hyderabad placed their treasures for security. The chief feature of this broad belt is perfect sterility, and a very partial supply of water, which is generally brackish, and often only to be procured by digging.

Now, supposing our frontier to be the Indus, and the unfortunate chief of Bhawulpore or his successor to have been swallowed up in that gulf of expediency which has overwhelmed the Ameers of Scinde and so many others, who, though they foresaw their fate, yet were unable to avoid it—supposing the Indus to be our boundary, and that we wished to strengthen or reinforce any portion of it, the troops destined for that purpose would have to cross this desert, or be sent to Ferozpore and floated down the Indus—an operation by no means easy, from the difficulty of procuring tonnage, and the length of time required to bring boats up the stream; and here it may be as well to state, that steamers have not been found to answer higher up the river than Sukker, and that river-boats occupy between three and four months on their passage from the sea to Ferozpore. If we suppose the reinforcement to be required at Sukker or Hyderabad, the difficulty of crossing the desert from any station in India is increased in proportion as the desert increases in width, which it continues to do until it is bounded by the district of Cutch and the sea. During the late war the government of India determined to try the practicability of passing this desert, and so far succeeded in their wishes, that a troop of horse artillery reached Sukker from Deesa in little more than six weeks; part of a cavalry regiment and small detachments have done the same; but these very experiments have satisfactorily proved the impossibility of marching any large body of troops across it, unless accompanied by a commissariat and supplies of water and forages of far greater magnitude than could be collected even in India.

If what we have said be correct—and our readers may easily convince themselves of the fact—we maintain that this desert, which bounds the Rajpoot protected states, and separates them from the Indus, is the natural boundary of India, screened by which, we might laugh at a threat of invasion; and we have the authority of Napoleon for asserting, that of all boundaries a desert is the safest and strongest.

But it may be said that a communication by sea is always open to us, and may be effected rapidly from Bombay; this is an assertion which requires proof. In the first place, the bars across the whole of the mouths of the Indus render the approach to it so unsafe, that ships invariably go to Curratchee, whence goods and merchandise are conveyed by land to Tatta, which is on the banks of the river, and about seventy miles distant from

the place of disembarkation. Moreover, from the end of May until the middle of September or beginning of October, the south-west monsoon blows with such violence that no ships can attempt the passage. Nor should it be forgotten that Kurratchee itself is situated in a plain so entirely devoid of forage of all sorts, that no cattle, particularly camels, can be retained there unless at an enormous expense; indeed, forage is frequently brought from Bombay for the few horses which belong to the infantry officers. The difficulty of moving troops from Kurratchee is therefore always considerable, particularly at the season of the monsoon, when the Indus and its canals are full, and the fords and passages across the latter known only to the Beloochees, who are by no means blind to the advantages which this season affords them.

So much for Scinde, considered only in the light of a natural boundary to our Indian possessions: let us now glance at the social habits of the people to whom this usurpation makes us "near neighbours and akin."

"Scinde may be known by four things, heat, dust, beggars, and tombs. (Page 52, Postans.) It is impossible to conceive anything so filthy as the interior of a Sindhian town: every inhabitant makes a common sewer of the front of his dwelling; the narrow passage scarcely admitting a laden camel is nearly blocked up with dung-heaps, on which recline in lazy ease packs of fat Pariah dogs, from whom the stranger, particularly a Christian (they are true Mussulmen, these dogs) need expect little mercy. Flies are so plentiful that the children's faces are nearly hidden by them, and it is utterly impracticable in a butcher's or grocer's shop to discern a particle of what is exposed for sale; add to these mere outlines crowded streets of filthy people, an intolerant stench, and a sun which would roast an egg, some faint idea may be formed of a Sindhian town or city. The inhabitants generally sleep on the roofs of their houses for coolness." —*Postans,** p. 33.

Of the people, Mr Masson tells us that on one of his journies previous to our invasion—

"Kalifa Iddiatula asserted that he never saw a Belaiti (Englishman) but his heart rejoiced."—Vol. ii, p. 24.

And when detained at Kurratchee by a mistake of a subordinate—

"The Ameers sent orders to expedite me with all honour to Hyderabad, and to allow me to incur no expense on the road. They also severely rebuked him for not permitting, in the first instance, a defenceless stranger to land who had, by his own account, neither

* Lieut. Postans acted for a considerable period as assistant political agent at Shicarpore, and his book, which is pleasantly written, contains the results of his experience during his residence there.

servants, arms, nor boxes. In justice to the Ameers of Scinde, it must be averred that however politically jealous of the European, they are not so deficient in common sense or humanity as to offer any interruption to the unprotected stranger whom chance or necessity may conduct to their territories. I passed freely through their country, and resided in perfect liberty and security at their capital. Their political jealousy of the European is owing to their fears of his power, and these fears are artfully kept alive by a few interested persons about them. It must be conceded that the ignorance and credulity of the Ameers render them easy dupes. It would surprise many to know that these rulers of a kingdom believe that a regiment of soldiers may be lodged in an ordinary box."—*Masson*, vol. ii, p. 9.

Mr Postans speaks of the rude hospitality and kind welcome shown on the occasion of ordinary visits (page 204), and tells us, at page 195, that

"The Talpoors (the Ameers of Scinde) do not appear to have ever been ambitious of foreign conquest, that they have generally ruled with a peaceable demeanour towards other states, and that internally the country under their rule has been singularly free from those revolutions and intestine tumults to which it was so long a prey."

At page 257, also, he says—

"The Biluchi military tribes, or those partaking in a system which secured them such decided advantages, were of course highly satisfied, and enjoyed the full benefit of a policy in which they were so immediately interested; but their condition was that of perfect barbarism and bigoted ignorance. The other classes of inhabitants, being sunk in a state of degraded apathy, were not capable of estimating any other objects than those of a mere animal existence, and though not treated with actual cruelty, were yet the sufferers of a selfish despotism, acting on their condition, though they knew not how."

The foregoing extracts demolish all excuse for interference in the affairs of Scinde on the plea that the people themselves wished it, for, however it may be urged that they are in a low state of civilization and not as happy as they might be, one thing is quite clear, that they did not want and will not allow us to interfere and make them so. Civilization is not a plant whose youth can be forced by unnatural means; and even if it could, we doubt if it would produce the benefits which result from wants produced by degrees, and satisfied in due proportion.

But what signify their wishes. As Ahab set his heart on Naboth's vineyard, so did Lord Ellenborough covet Scinde in spite of its deserts, dust, flies, and fevers, and he has gratified his heart's desire with a justice equalled only by that of the King of Samaria. The main and great object, we were told, as early as

1837, Lord Auckland being governor, was the opening of the Indus.

We agree with Mr Masson that neither the Indus nor the countries to the westward or northward of it were ever closed; but the duties on the Indus have been very high, if not exorbitant. The treaty which led to a modification of these duties was very beneficial; and doubtless, if the chiefs had been able to protect the caravans themselves, and secure them from the necessity of paying black mail, as they would have been in time, intercourse with the inland states would have been much facilitated; but when we consider that all demands from the westward of that desert which separates Afghanistan from Persia can be at once supplied by sea, *viâ* Bushire and Shiraz, and that those to the north of the Suliman range are actually supplied by Russia, and might receive whatever they will take from us, *viâ* the Ganges and Loodianah, how insignificant is the country which remains to draw its supplies from the Indus alone. Mr Postans estimates the population of Beloochistan at a million, who are spread over a country nearly as large as France, and a great portion of these are wandering tribes, whose consumption is infinitely small. Their wants have been, however, and always will be, supplied by the merchant of India, in return for which they send wool, a few horses, &c. Of Afghanistan the same may be said, and when it is remembered that Herat is seven hundred miles from Sukker, and but about nine hundred from Soumeanee, which is on the sea coast, and that the countries northward of it, which we talk of supplying, are inhabited by a people as wild as the wildest Afghans, we think it will be admitted that the trade of the Indus has been overrated. It will doubtless increase rapidly now, because the Afghans have some millions of our money, with which they can supply their present wants, which will create other, and in so doing produce ultimate good. The question, however, is not whether good will or will not result from our operations to the westward of the Indus, but whether the result will ever compensate for the money expended, the misery and disgrace endured, and the expenses about to be incurred by the occupation of Scinde.

Let us now refer to our relations with Scinde from the year 1830, when Lieutenant Burnes obtained, with some difficulty, permission to ascend the Indus with presents for Runjeet Singh. The Ameers distrusted his intentions; and on seeing his boats, an old man prophetically declared that the time was not distant when Scinde would be seized on and occupied by the English: for, said he, having once seen and surveyed the country (which terms he imagined to be

synonymous with Englishmen), they will covet it, and will not tarry long in gratifying their wish, either by fair means or foul. We find, from Mr Postans, page 293, that in the year 1832 Lord W. Bentinck, then governor-general of India, sent a mission under Colonel Pottinger to Scinde, for the purpose of establishing friendly relations. The first document, bearing date April 20, 1832, provides for a perpetual amicable alliance, which is to descend from generation to generation, "the contracting powers binding themselves not to look with covetousness on the possessions of the other." The Ameers granted certain immunities, but stipulated that "no description of military stores should be sent into or through their country, nor should armed boats be allowed to ascend or descend the Indus." In 1834 a commercial treaty, based on the former one, was concluded, in which the duties to be levied are established, and agreed to by both parties.

In 1835 Colonel Pottinger succeeded in obtaining permission to survey the sea coast of Scinde and the Delta of the Indus.

Notwithstanding the foregoing treaties, in 1838 Colonel Pottinger was sent to demand a passage for the army which, under Sir John Keane, was about to join the force proceeding to Cabul, and Lieutenant Postans tells us that—

"Intimately acquainted as the Ameers were with Colonel Pottinger, it seems extraordinary, and only to be accounted for by their childish distrust, that they did not feel fully satisfied, if not with our national good faith, at least with that gentleman's assurances!!"

They appear to have thrown obstacles in his way, and Lieut. Postans goes on to say—

"The conduct, in fact, of the Sindh Durbar on this occasion was flagrantly bad, if viewed after the promises they had so profusely given of friendship and assistance. The truth is, as we shall have occasion to mention, they disliked, from the first, our making a road through their territories, and only did not deny it at once when demanded, from the fear of incurring our displeasure."

"Small blame to them," as Paddy would say, for not being blind to the fact that we should treat them as we have always in India treated those who gave us an inch from either fear or generosity.

This being the case, Lieutenant Postans goes on to say "it became absolutely necessary to adopt a different course, and to demand as a right that which was refused as a favour."

Having decided on adopting this expedient without reference to its justice, troops were sent to seize Kurratchee; Hyderabad was threatened, Tatta occupied, and, having frightened the

unfortunate Ameers into conceding everything we wished, the army continued its march to Cabul. Commenting on these acts, Lieut. Postans says—

"Their distrust, jealousy, treachery, and false dealing with a liberal power, who met them on all occasions with consideration and forbearance, appear to have then, if ever, merited punishment, had there been the slightest inclination to inflict it!"

Bearing in mind the treaty of 1832, this is really amusing. But though disinclined to punish their jealousy and distrust, we make stipulations for the payment of a portion of twenty-three lacs of rupees, "to be defrayed to Shah Shujah in commutation of all arrears due to him," the sovereign who had long since forfeited all claim to allegiance, even from his own subjects; and by a new treaty, which, like that of 1832, is to last for ever, it is agreed, that in return for our valuable and everlasting friendship, a British force is to be stationed in Scinde; places are to be allowed for cantonments of an army, not intended to exceed 5,000 men; three of the Ameers are to pay 30,000*l.* sterling annually towards their expenses; and all tolls on boats passing up and down the river are abolished. The Ameers had ever found us agreeable and stanch friends, and we promise, moreover, to secure them against all other aggressors, so they could not refuse us such moderate requests. This treaty, bearing date March 11, 1839, and ratified by Lord Auckland, is binding on both parties and their successors for ever!

Lieutenant Postans comments on our generosity in guaranteeing the independence of the Ameers, forgetting that we kindly transferred their dependence and its consequent tribute to ourselves, but he concludes in a strain of greater justice by saying,

"They did not seek our alliance, though we did theirs, and that any promises or professions which a weaker power may make to a stronger, must be held as the result of an influence which does not admit of candid opinion. It is true we asked for little, and as professed friends they would have no just cause to deny our request, but as possessors of a country they had as much right to refuse us a passage through it, as an individual would have to refuse a thoroughfare through his estate. They were open to punishment for breach of promise, but the question may yet arise how far that promise was binding under the peculiar circumstances of the case. At least they openly declared they did not want our connexion, and that so far from considering it an advantage, they looked upon us as a pestilence in the land."

This is manly, and shows what Mr Postans' real opinion was and is.

Smarting under these treaties, it appears that the unfortunate

Ameers dispatched an envoy to the governor-general, in the hope that these hard conditions had been imposed by a subordinate, without the knowledge of the governor-general; but their Vakeel died before he reached his destination.

Lieut. Postans tells us that, during the troubles which occurred in Cutchie in 1840,

"Large bodies of troops were pushed through the Scindian territories in every direction, without the slightest interruption on the part of the Ameers, who, on the contrary, rendered us cordial assistance! Had the conduct of these chiefs been otherwise, our interests would have suffered severely."

The result of this honourable treatment on their part is, that we propose that they shall cede to us Shicarpore, one of their richest districts; but we will let Lieutenant Postans speak, as he is certainly not prejudiced in favour of the Ameers.

"During the same year, a transfer of the city of Shicarpore and adjoining lands, forming the 'Moghulli' district, to the British government, was agitated, in consequence of the idle delays in the cash payments of their tribute by the Ameers giving rise to discussion, and thus opening the door to a breach of amicable feeling."

Farther on he tells us—

"This measure was dictated by the kind consideration of the late governor-general of India in order to prevent the slightest cause of quarrel with chiefs who, he well knew, would, by their suspicious, short-sighted views, constantly lay themselves open to be visited for breach of their agreement."

Well might the unfortunate Ameers say, "Save us from our friends, and we will defend ourselves from enemies."

But the measure of their misfortunes was not yet full; and we will give it in the words of the author so often quoted. On the return of the troops from beyond the Afghan passes, a new treaty was proposed (to be, like the former ones, everlasting and unchangeable!)

"The conditions of which were unexpected, and to which they could not readily acquiesce. The new treaty thus presented to the Talpoor chiefs generally was considered to have for its ultimatum and in supercession of all former (immutable!) arrangements —though why * does not yet appear—the cession of the towns of

* The reason assigned by the government of India, though not given by Lieut. Postans, was, that a chief named Mahmood Shereeff, formerly employed by Mr Bell as Naib of Bagh, in Cutchie, and dispossessed for wholesale peculation, had been instigated by the Ameers to raise the standard of rebellion against us in Shawl and the Pisheen valley; and that when

Kurratchee, Tatta, Sukker, Bukker, and Roree, with a strip of land on each bank of the river. The abolition of all tolls and transit duties of every kind, throughout the Scindian territories (they had been given up previously only on the river), and the giving over to the chief of Bhawulpore the whole of the Khyrpoor territory eastward of the river, from Roree to Subzulkote, including those places, on condition of his also annulling all imposts on the trade of the river through his territories. It will be seen that these measures were not calculated to be palatable to the Scindian chief."

We should entirely agree with Lieutenant Postans in the conclusion he arrives at. He adds—

"Little time was permitted to the Ameers to discuss the merits of the new propositions, for a body of troops under the gallant Sir Charles Napier was in the field, and a march on the capital was intimated, in case of any delay."

But among the propositions was another which was scarcely less offensive to Beloochee pride, viz. the transfer of the rais-ship or chiefdom from Meer Rustom, an octogenarian, who was highly respected by all the Belooch families, to Ali Murad, a younger brother, who was disliked and suspected as a friend and supporter of the Feringees, in which arrangement Lieutenant Postans tells us "the Jaghindars of the whole family of Khyrpoor were of course virtually interested."

Numerous were the interests affected by this arrangement, and general the disgust evinced at the destruction of the Shicargahs or hunting grounds; but Lord E. had decided on another everlasting treaty, and his fiat was like that of the Medes and Persians, which changeth not, and accordingly Major Outram proceeded to Hyderabad, and induced the Ameers to sign a treaty submitting even to these objectionable terms. But though the Ameers were ready to submit, their people were not; and, to their eternal honour be it said, the Ameers sent to Major Outram to request him to depart, as they would be unable to protect him. He declined their advice and remained, unnecessarily as we conceive, until he was forced to abandon his position, which it was impossible he could hold with a force which consisted of only a company of Europeans and a few sepoys. He retired, owing much of his safety to the forbearance of the Ameers, if not of their people;

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the said Mahmood Shereeff was captured, letters to that effect were found on his person, sealed with the official signet of the Ameers.

The Ameers declared the letters to have been forged, and denied all knowledge of them. They requested to see them, which was refused, and at last reminded Major Outram that but a short time had elapsed since he (Major Outram) had requested them to punish a man for forging his own official seal. All was in vain, the fiat had gone out from Ferozpore, and their doom was fixed.

and the Belooches, infuriated by injuries and convinced that they had nothing to lose, prepared to meet and annihilate the small force which was approaching to oppose them.

Little did they know the man who commanded the troops which they were about to contend with. The energies of his mind were only equalled by his practical knowledge and experience in the art of war. 'Scarcely had he assumed command ere the army received a new impulse, and took the field with a confidence and vigour which it imbibed from the character of its chief. Untiring, though ailing in health, unencumbered with luxuries, and heedless of a climate which subdues the strongest, he appeared ubiquitous. Often, when unable to ride on horseback, he was conveyed on a camel to that part of the line of march where he considered his presence might be required; and "the sight of old Fagan's ugly mug" confirmed and rejoiced the hearts of all who saw it. His success has been extraordinary, but the man is more so. Opposed to a countless host of infuriated Belooches, as savage but more sagacious than the Indians of North America, and like them acquainted with every pass and stronghold of their country, the probabilities of success were against him; but it was then, when the existence of his whole army depended on the ability of their general, that we recognise the skill and intrepidity of the veteran, whose experience was bought in the severest schools of the Peninsula. Not less careful than confident, he alarmed his enemy and forced him to display his strength, tempted him from his position in the Shicargahs, and then, heedless of a raking fire while he was disposing his force to the utmost advantage, he completed his arrangements and made those fierce and overwhelming attacks which enabled him to seize on Victory ere she had time to escape him. Nor was the heart of the conqueror lifted up by success. We find him seeking out all who deserved his commendations, and bestowing his praises with a liberality which proved that he knew how to win hearts as well as battles, and feared no diminution of that glory and admiration which is his own both by conquest and universal consent.

We should say there is no person in her Majesty's service who better deserves what he once said of another, viz.: that he is *sans peur et sans reproche.*

But we must not allow ourselves to be blinded by our admiration of the gallant chief above alluded to, or dazzled by the gleam of sunshine which his victories have cast across a scene otherwise so dark. . . . . The cause remains the same. We have crossed that natural boundary which separates India from the people of the west, and have placed ourselves in

close and immediate contact with a wild and independent people whom we have taught both to hate and to fear us. . . . We have interfered with their customs, dethroned their sovereigns, and seized their possessions; and it remains for time to show whether or not we may yet receive from the despair of an outraged people that retribution which is but the due reward of a series of acts begun in deceit and continued with violence and injustice.

Events of the utmost importance have followed in rapid succession since the foregoing was written; but this is not the place for more than the most cursory remarks upon them. With regard to Scinde we may observe, that its final annexation to the British territories has taken place without producing the happy effects predicted. The country is at present tranquil, but whether its tranquillity is of a permanent nature, or only a lull, during which the fierce and injured inhabitants of the bordering states are nursing their wrath, and preparing a storm more violent than any we have yet felt, remains to be proved. Trade has not increased in any perceptible degree, nor is it likely to do so. One-third of the ten thousand men whose duty it is to occupy and defend the country are confined to the hospitals, several regiments, including one of her Majesty's (the 28th), have been removed in a state of inefficiency from death and disease, and several native corps mutinied when they learned that they were destined to serve in a land "where they who enter leave all hope behind."

The Court of Gwalior was one of those at which the Indian Government maintained a resident, whose duty it is to interfere only when the court at which he resides meditates measures injurious to his employers. From time immemorial, however, these gentlemen have meddled in the interior economy and management of the states in which they reside, and made themselves arbiters in disputes between the princes to whom they are deputed and their subjects. The control thus exercised cannot fail to prove galling and irksome, and often induces the faithful ally on whom it is imposed to watch eagerly for an opportunity of shaking it off, thus affording, when his intention is discovered, a pretext for invasion on the score of treachery and deceit.

At Gwalior even this pretext was wanting; disturbances relative to the retention or dismissal of a minister took place; the British resident supported the views of one party, and, after various negotiations, retired from his post, accompanied by his *protegé*. Lord Ellenborough, who had previously assembled an

army for the purpose of watching the Punjab, on which he had cast a wistful eye, advanced with rapid strides to the frontiers of the devoted state; here he was met by a deputation offering submission to all his demands. He received them kindly, but, on a plea that they only sought delay, the army continued to advance into the heart of the country, whose warlike inhabitants girded up their loins and determined not to surrender to the "hated Feringees" without a last and a desperate struggle. They were not successful, but we see little cause for congratulation in their defeat. Their numbers were by no means disproportionate to ours, and our loss has been severe. The natives of India may now for the first time reasonably believe that success is not impossible to their arms, if it is fought for manfully and with sufficient force.

And what have we gained in return?—payment of our expenses, the establishment of a subsidiary force in the Mahrattah state, and the recal of Lord Ellenborough. Valuable as the latter advantage may be, we imagine that it was inevitable, even without his last exploit. He had long acted in defiance of the opinions of those whose experience could alone enable them to judge of the wisdom of his measures; and, although the Duke of Wellington has characterized his recal as an act of extreme indiscretion on the part of the Court of Directors, we do not doubt that the reasons which have induced that body (three-fourths of whom hold Conservative opinions) to act in direct opposition to her Majesty's Government will be found valid, nor are we the less inclined to this opinion from the fact that the First Lord of the Treasury has positively forbidden their organ in the House of Commons to open his lips on the subject.

One subject of congratulation, however, remains, viz., the appointment of an officer to the post of Governor-General who requires no new victories over a prostrate people to establish his fame, and whose experience and firmness of character afford, we trust, the promise of a happy dawn to millions, whose eyes will now be fixed upon him as the arbiter of their happiness or misery.

B. G.

*Note.* Since the above was written, the 'Diary of the Rev. J. N. Allen,' who accompanied General Nott's force, has appeared. We cannot always agree with the reverend gentleman's opinions on military matters, though he tells us he was "a fearless spectator" in bloody scenes. His work is, however, calculated to give entire satisfaction to the aged Persian, who threw aside the autobiography of Shah Shujah in disgust, saying it was nothing but a statement of facts, and contained no praises of the Almighty.

ART. X.—1. *Address of the City Solicitor at the London Tavern, as reported in the 'Morning Herald' of Dec. 12, 1843, and the 'Morning Chronicle' of Dec. 14 and Dec. 20, 1843.*

2. *Report of the Commissioner of the City Police Force, for the Year* 1843.

THE readers of the 'Westminster Review' need not be reminded that we last year published in our May number an elaborate statistical and financial paper, entitled 'The Corporation of London and Municipal Reform.' The immediate object of that paper was to raise the subject from apparent local insignificance to its proper rank as a public question,—one of really grave importance, both as affecting a large section of the community and the general principles of home administration.

With this view we entered into a statement of the aggregate income of the various corporate and parochial bodies sharing the local government of the City, of which the Corporation of London is the chief representative, showing a gross amount of wasteful expenditure of which few or none, even among the best informed on the subject, had before any adequate conception.

In doing this, we were fully prepared for the charge of "wilful exaggeration" and "extravagant misrepresentation." It was unavoidable that this should be the result of the formidable array of figures we placed before the reader.

We stated the question of municipal reform for the City of London to be one involving the protection and proper application of a local revenue amounting to one million sterling per annum. Had we said three hundred thousand pounds *less*, we should still have been accused of over-stating the case.*

The question was presented in a form new to the public, and all new and startling truths are at first received with incredulity. They make their way in the end only by the attention they excite; but in this case, it was not a little that would arouse legislators or the public from the apathy with which all abuses are regarded rendered familiar by long usage.

There are many reasons why the question should have been discussed in the way we treated it, that is, as a whole, instead of confining ourselves, as others have done, to some one or other of its fragmentary parts.

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* Lord Brougham did not escape on this account, for on referring to his speech in the House of Lords, we find he stated the local revenues of the City at only 620,000*l.*

In the first place, the public is like a bad housekeeper, who listens to a remonstrance upon the waste in his kitchen without any serious emotion; but calculate for him the aggregate waste in his kitchen, parlour, pantry, cellar, and every branch of his household; show him that without a general retrenchment in his establishment expenses he is on the high road ro ruin, and he will, perhaps, then bestir himself to retrieve his affairs.

In the next place, the object to be attained—the improvement of the municipal institutions of the City—cannot be effected by considering any one of them separately. It is an important fact to bear in mind, that the various corporate and parochial authorities of the City administer vast trust estates —larger than are held by any other city in the world—and measures of reform should be framed so as not to endanger, but on the contrary to afford increased protection to those trusts.

This important point was overlooked in the instance of two recent reforms which have materially interfered with the constitution of the trading companies, and the protection of the property held by them, commonly supposed to amount to about 250,000*l*. per annum, exclusive of *charity* trusts. We refer to the parliamentary reform of 1832, which enabled non-liverymen to vote, and to a resolution of the Court of Common Council, which allowed non-freemen to take up their freedom in the City without becoming free of the trading companies. Both these reforms have diminished the number of freemen and liverymen belonging to the trading companies; and as the richer companies evince no remarkable anxiety to enlarge the circle of participators in the good things they enjoy, and have the power to raise indefinitely the fines of admission, the charity estates held by these companies have obviously less protection than before; and all other property held by them, but for their public spirit and the virtues of self-sacrifice, of which we are happy to receive assurances, would probably descend to the children or relations of the present masters and wardens as a family inheritance.

The same question would arise in discussing the reforms called for, either in the constitution of the five royal hospitals with an income of 128,000*l*., or the City of London Corporation. Both are linked together, the Court of Aldermen and forty-eight members of the Court of Common Council being Governors of the hospitals, *ex officio*.

Before any portion of the one hundred and ten parishes of the City can be consolidated, or other changes made in their organi-

zation, the mode in which parochial charity estates are held and administered requires to be known, and the relation in which the parishes stand to the City unions and the City Corporation should be clearly understood. And so with the improvement of the Port of London and the conservancy of the river;—any new legislation on the subject would be preposterous without modifying the privileges of the Trinity House as well as those of the London Corporation, and defining, besides, the prerogatives of the Crown.

The subject of municipal reform for the City of London is, therefore, one of some complexity. It is not a case for bit-and-bit reform; and perhaps another Commission of Inquiry, better constituted than the last, with the aid of the highest judicial authorities, would be required to prepare the necessary measures. Upon this head we will not enlarge; our present design is simply to substantiate our former statements by a brief notice of the mode in which they have been attacked, and by a few words of explanation.

It is, we presume, generally known that the article upon the Corporation of London and Municipal Reform was made, in December last, the subject of a long address at the London Tavern from the City Solicitor, formally sanctioned by the Lord Mayor and the Court of Common Council. The object of that address, which occupied three days in the delivery, was two-fold: first, to enable the City Solicitor to clear himself from the imputation of personal inconsistency; and next, to meet the statements of the 'Westminster Review' with a "triumphant refutation."

This address had been long in preparation. Part of the materials had been collected before the article in the 'Westminster Review' had appeared—the speech of Lord Brougham on the same subject having been the first intended object of attack; and it was this circumstance alone, contrasting as it does with Mr Pearson's former advocacy of Corporation reform, that led to our very brief and incidental allusion to the City Solicitor, and the principles he supported before his accession to office.

The City Solicitor declined the offer of discussing the question through the medium of our own pages, but his address was intended for publication and general circulation. Mr Gurney, the parliamentary short-hand writer, with a staff of assistants, were engaged to take down every word, and prepare a verbatim copy. Mr Travers, chairman of the meeting, announced his intention to subscribe towards the expenses; and after the delivery of the address, on the 23rd of December, appeared a

letter in the 'Morning Chronicle' from Mr Pearson, in which he said "a full report of my address will be published in a fortnight."

Six months have elapsed, and the address has not appeared. The intention of printing a *verbatim* copy has been given up; and indeed it was perfectly clear from the first that no sane friend of the City Solicitor would advise the printing of a crude mass of personal invective and empty declamation, without so much suppression and so much revision of unsupported assertions as would entirely change the character of the original document as it left the hands of Mr Gurney. The serious difficulty of this task is the only adequate reason that can be assigned for the long delay; and we may now fairly assume that whatever fragments of Mr Pearson's speech at the London Tavern may yet issue from the press, a full report of the address will never be published.*

A defence of City administration, thus impotent and self-condemned, we should not be called upon to notice had it not led to one result as unlooked for, as to many it must have seemed unaccountable, an Apology for the Corporation of London,—a very unmerited animadversion upon the 'Westminster Review,'—and a vindication of Mr Pearson's integrity and consistency as a public man—from Mr John Travers, the standing chairman for the Reform interest at City parliamentary elections.

Mr John Travers is the leading partner in a wholesale house of high standing, and a gentleman of kind and amiable disposition. Of the clearness of his judgment it will not become us to speak, since he has impugned our own. To Mr Travers, more perhaps than any other individual, Lord John Russell is indebted for his present position (a false one, we think) as a representative for the City; and when we condemn the late Whig Government for having neglected to reform the Corporation of London, we are bound to remember that any opinion they could form of the urgency of such a measure, or of its probable success, necessarily depended upon the zeal or lukewarmness in the cause of men like Mr Travers, of some local reputation, and not at that time supposed to be under the bias of corporate influence. We will not, however, speak of what

* In the last number of the 'Westminster Review' we announced that the address would appear in a few days. This was done upon the authority of a letter from Mr Pearson, dated February 19, in which he says, "It (the address) is now in the printer's hands, and will, I expect, be printed in the course of the next or the ensuing week;" but this promise, like the former, has not been kept.

Mr Travers may have done, or neglected to do, to promote the interest of his fellow-citizens on questions not involved in the great political and party struggles in which he has borne an active part. We have but one duty to perform—to defend as we may the facts upon which he has endeavoured to throw discredit, and to show that even the opinions of Mr Travers are but feeble authority against the overpowering evidence of truth.

We should take no shame to ourselves if, in an account of such magnitude as that of City local expenditure—with no slight impediments to overcome in obtaining the necessary data, a person in the position of the City Solicitor, with unlimited means of access, not only to every document of the Corporation of London, but with friendly assistance from every quarter interested in the maintenance of the present system, should have succeeded in detecting many errors, and some even of serious amount. We had to deal first with a body of men who annually pass a resolution in the shape of a standing order (passed again this year) that no officer of the Corporation shall show any of its books or papers to any persons not members of the Corporation without leave or license of the Court,—and among parochial authorities, with some like Mr Alderman Gibbs, priding themselves upon their irresponsibility, and who would rather at any time give up a tooth than produce an account.

But even with free access to official returns, we knew beforehand, from previous statistical researches, that absolute accuracy was unattainable. The annual accounts of the parochial unions are made up to the 25th of March; parish accounts generally to Christmas. The City Corporation accounts presented to parliament are made up at all seasons of the year;—the account of paving and lighting to September 29; the account of mooring chains to July 25; Bridge House Estates to August 14; City police to December 31.

Even in returns prepared by government offices, the statistical inquirer will find extraordinary discrepancies. For example, we stated, from various sources of authority, the number of parishes in the City at one hundred and *twelve;* but the last population returns say one hundred and *ten*—including, with the inns of court, a population of 125,008. The returns of the Poor Law Commissioners give only one hundred and *nine* parishes, as included in the three City unions, and yet a population of 129,249; the districts compared not being of *precisely* commensurate extent. We have often spent many hours over similar points of difference without being always able to arrive at a solution of the difficulty.

With all these disadvantages we submitted our two accounts

of the local expenditure of the City of London and the parish of Marylebone to a scrutinizing audit of somewhat unusual severity, —and what was the result?

The first account—that of the local expenditure of the City of London—amounted to 984,473*l.* 14s. 11d. In this the City Solicitor discovered an error in one of the items—the trophy tax. It was stated at 766*l.* 13s. 4d., the accurate amount at the time the Corporation Commissioners of Inquiry were sitting; but the average expenditure of eight years—from 1832 to 1839 —is but 372*l.* 13s. 5d. In the account for the parish of Marylebone we had deducted the amount of burial fees, while we had *added* them in the case of the City. Both items, and perhaps that also of "pew rents" (although the latter were strictly correct), would have been better omitted altogether, as immaterial to the argument.

These were all the *bonâ fide* discoveries of the City Solicitor, although he made many in imagination which had no existence; and by a bold style of declamation, and ingenious special pleading, appears to have impressed an admiring auditory with the belief that the whole statement was full of the most 'lamentable errors.'

We shall not follow the City Solicitor through all the sophistries which enabled him to obtain this hollow and temporary advantage. We will briefly re-state the principal facts and figures, and show why they are irrefragable.

The vast Trust Estates held in the City form the most striking feature of the case.

CHARITY FUNDS AND TRUST ESTATES FOR GENERAL PURPOSES HELD IN THE CITY OF LONDON.

| | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chartered Companies | | | | 85,685 | 18 | 8 | | | |
| Parochial Charities | | | | 38,703 | 8 | 6 | | | |
| THE CORPORATION OF LONDON. | | | | | | | | | |
| City Estates | 62,869 | 3 | 6¼ | | | | | | |
| „ Irish | 7,982 | 4 | 4¼ | | | | | | |
| Bridge-House Estates | 36,793 | 11 | 8½ | | | | | | |
| Various Charity Estates | 3,298 | 9 | 7 | | | | | | |
| | | | | 110,943 | 9 | 2¼ | | | |
| CITY ROYAL HOSPITALS. | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. St Bartholomew's Hospital | 30,132 | 9 | 8 | | | | | | |
| 2. Christ's Hospital | 49,215 | 5 | 4 | | | | | | |
| 3. Bridewell Hospital | 8,634 | 5 | 0 | | | | | | |
| 4. Bethlem Hospital | 15,817 | 19 | 3 | | | | | | |
| 5. St Thomas's Hospital | 24,963 | 16 | 2 | | | | | | |
| | | | | 128,763 | 15 | 5 | | | |
| | | | | | | | 364,096 | 11 | 9¼ |

The City Solicitor did not venture to deny the correctness of the above. The figures are taken from the official digest of the

Charity Commissioners' Reports, and the account of "City Cash" for the year 1841. Here, at least, large as is the amount, there is no exaggeration. A very slight examination will show that the amount is even understated. It has always been a defect in the constitution of Commissions of inquiry that they have never been entrusted with adequate powers to effect their object. By an indirect process in Chancery, the Charity Commissioners could obtain an account when other means failed; but they were clearly not in a position to follow up every case in which concealment might be suspected with a rigid investigation or a suit in equity; and hence, in many instances, their limited authority was openly set at defiance. It was defied, for example, in the case of the little parish of St Stephen, Walbrook. In the digest of the Commissioners' Reports, the charity funds held by this parish are said to be *nil*, but the parish estates in the hands of Mr Alderman Gibbs (now the sole trustee), are known to amount to 800*l*. per annum. At the instance of the Charity Commissioners, a suit was commenced in 1829 against Alderman Gibbs and James Pelly Atkins (son of the late Alderman Atkins), but from various causes was allowed to drop. The same suit, however, has now been taken up (with the permission of the present Attorney-General) by one of the parishioners; and the public spirit of the party alluded to, Mr Rock, cannot be rated too highly, when we consider the ruinous expenses in which, in all similar cases, a private prosecutor is sought to be involved.

Mr Alderman Gibbs has put in a reply to Mr Rock's petition, extending to thirty skins, or nine hundred folios, for a mere copy of which Mr Rock has had to pay 35*l*. While this is law in England; while a magistrate of the City of London can set, with impunity, the example of refusing to account, for twenty years, and find men calling themselves reformers to countenance him in so doing, on the plea of mere infirmity of temper, is it too much to suppose that among one hundred and nine parishes and eighty trading companies, there are other trustees of public money acting upon the same principles as Mr Alderman Gibbs, and perhaps with somewhat less honesty?*

We do not hesitate to express a conviction that the Trust Estates of the City of London, available for public objects, amount to a sum greatly exceeding what we have stated, and perhaps, in the hands of careful stewards, might be made to produce 500,000*l*. per annum.

Take the sum as we have given it, and see if the argument applies. Three hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds per

* In the 'Times' of Sept. 29, 1843, is an account of the embezzlement of 6,183*l*. 7s. 9d., by a late receiver of St Thomas's Hospital.

annum, it is not denied, are now realized by Trust Estates held in the City of London, designed for the relief of the poor, the cure of the sick and insane, the promotion of education and religion, and for other municipal objects, and this without including such an exceptional case as the endowments of St Paul's Cathedral.

What is done with the money?

Supposing these funds in the three per cents (and a large proportion is so invested, while the whole may be considered first-class property well secured), the sum now realized would represent a capital of twelve millions sterling!

Let us call it ten millions sterling, and imagine this to be the amount of a government grant to the people of Birmingham or Manchester for the objects we have described—the relief of the poor, cure of the sick, moral and religious instruction, and general purposes. Imagine the "high public officers" of Birmingham and Manchester to have fairly got possession of the money, and let us ask one question of City rate payers and English statesmen: What would be said if, after the application of these more than princely revenues, it was discovered that the people of Birmingham or Manchester were more heavily burthened with local rates than any towns of corresponding extent and population throughout the United Kingdom? Yet such has been the result in the City of London; and we leave the reader to draw his own conclusion.

There is no other case in the country, there is no such instance besides in the whole world, as a population of 125,000, burthened with local rates to the amount of 220,000*l.* (upon the lowest estimate), with fiscal exactions in every conceivable shape of annoyance, and yet holding, chiefly for their own benefit, Trust Estates to the extent of 364,000*l.* per annum.

Let every fair allowance be made for the benefit designed for other than citizens by some of these endowments. The City hospitals, it is said, do not require a patient to be a citizen before they admit a man with a broken leg; neither, it might be replied, do hospitals out of the City refuse to admit citizens when requiring immediate surgical assistance in similar circumstances. There are, however, cases in which the City confers greater advantages by its charities than it receives, and all such should be taken into the account. Still, we ask, is there any possible explanation of the problem, but that arising from a complicated system of costly government and wasteful expenditure?

The inaugural procession and dinner of the Lord Mayor costs the citizens, every 9th of November, 2,000*l.*, and the City Solicitor, in commenting upon the tureens of turtle soup and other provisions of the entertainment, apologized for it on the ground

that the cost per head was really insignificant, as compared with the expense of a dinner party at his own table. There is another mode of considering the cost: 2,000*l*, spent in one day in idle pageantry and vulgar ostentation, and a poor stranger, penniless and without a friend in the metropolis, dying with an incurable disease, carried out of St Bartholomew's hospital by the servants of that institution, and left in the public street, to perish or excite the commiseration of passengers by his sufferings, because all the wealth of the wealthy City of London is insufficient to provide one hospital ward in which an incurable patient may end his last hours in peace, without hindering the reception of patients for whom there may be hope of recovery.*

There are few things more strange than the self-complacent credulity of the poorer class of freemen in the City, who, notwithstanding a visit every week in the year from some rate or tax collector, and the too evident fact that whoever may profit by the existing system *they* do not, but remain poor, yet allow themselves to be deluded into the belief that they are privileged and protected beings, and that their interest is in some way or other identified with that of the ruling body. They find themselves, without at all comprehending the matter, shut out from the enjoyment of one of the richest inheritances ever known to have descended from ancient times,—bequeathed by their own ancestors. They see the presentations to schools which should educate their children engrossed exclusively by the dependents of rich men, and the patronage often sold before their eyes to the highest bidder. When sick they find themselves so cared for, that if admitted into one of their own hospitals it is only as a pauper, chargeable to the parish at the rate of nine pence per day. We say *if* admitted, and put it hypothetically, for numerous are the cases which hospital regulations exclude, and hence the subscriptions of benevolent men to City dispensaries and free hospitals in Greville street. They see the funds bequeathed for the relief of the poor rendered wholly inefficient; 90,000*l*. per annum collected in poor's rates, and yet the public called upon to support good Samaritan societies, or institutions like that in Play-house yard for the nightly reception of the destitute. On the broad earth there is no class of men who have more reason to complain of the mal-administration by which they have been defrauded of just rights, and yet these very men boast of City charters as the sole bulwarks of liberty, that we are told are yet left to the people in these days of "centralization."

* We refer to the case of John Brown before related, dismissed from the hospital, and received into the workhouse of the West London Union in June 1838, and immediately attended by Dr Lynch.

It is not too much to assume that fifty years of wise and economical administration of the Trust Estates of the City would have by this time entirely obviated the necessity of collecting a single shilling in local rates. What is their present amount? We have before published a table for 1841, we now give one for the following year.

EXPENDITURE of LOCAL RATES in the CITY of LONDON, for the Year 1842.

| | | £. s. d. |
|---|---|---|
| POLICE: | | |
| Total expended - - - - - - - | 41,351 4 3 | |
| *Paid by the Corporation* - - - - - | 12,309 8 10 | |
| | | 29,041 15 5 |
| POOR | | |
| of the City of London Union - - - - | 52,722 0 0 | |
| „ „ East London „ - - - - | 16,213 0 0 | |
| „ „ West „ „ - - - - | 15,103 0 0 | |
| Proportion of Poor rate expended separately by the parishes (1843) - - - - - | 6,734 0 0 | |
| | | 90,772 0 0 |
| SEWERS - - - - - - - - - - - - - | | 12,991 17 6 |
| From the Consolidated Rate: | | |
| LIGHTING - - - - - - - - | 10,626 3 6 | |
| PAVING - - - - - - - - | 17,409 5 11 | |
| CLEANSING - - - - - - - - | 3,633 17 0 | |
| Sundry artificer's work for the above - | 791 17 0 | |
| | | 32,461 3 5 |
| Other charges from the Consolidated Rate: | | |
| Salaries to officers - - - - - - | 2,140 11 0 | |
| Stationery and sundries - - - - - | 1,320 1 2 | |
| Life annuities, &c. - - - - - - | 2,747 0 0 | |
| Widening streets - - - - - - | 2,582 19 0 | |
| Law expenses - - - - - - - | 693 12 0 | |
| | | 9,484 3 2 |
| WARD RATE, out of which the Chamberlain has expended 7,595*l.* 3s. 8d. in the years 1840, 1841, and 1842, one-third - - - - - - - - | | 2,531 14 6 |
| | | 177,282 14 0 |
| (The above are given from Parliamentary Returns, annually presented; the following must be regarded as an approximate estimate only, no annual returns being published.) | | |
| TITHES AND CHURCH RATES of eighty-two parishes, according to the returns of 1833 (No. 757) - - - - - - - - - - - | | 38,680 14 3 |
| Twenty-eight parishes omitted, say - - - - - - - | | 12,500 0 0 |
| Trophy tax, average of eight years, 1832 to 1839 - - - | | 372 13 5 |
| Street watering and other voluntary rates, as for the Inns of court, &c., say - - - - - - - - - - - - | | 3,000 0 0 |
| | | 231,836 1 8 |

The City Solicitor did not fail to point out that the expenditure of the City Commissioners for the sewers and the consoli-

dated rate was less in 1842 by 20,000*l.* than in 1841. There is no reason the fact should be withheld, and we may add that by placing the sum contributed by the Corporation to the police (11,007,192*l.*) among the rates, and by deducting it from the Trust Estates, we made in our former statement the Trust Estates of the City appear less, and the local rates more than their exact amount, by the same sum. We have now further reduced the former statement by omitting the item of 8,400*l.* for Easter offerings, burial and registration fees, as an immaterial element of the inquiry. 230,000*l.* in local rates, and yet 364,000*l.* per annum in Trust Estates for the same class of objects, are sums sufficiently large to show that something must be wrong in City administration, and for the present we need not pursue this part of the subject into the details of the indirect local taxation of the City, from which other revenues are derived.

We will now simply enable the reader to compare the above expenditure with that of the Parish of Marylebone for the same year, as we did in the former instance for the year 1841.

Expenditure of the Parish of Marylebone, for the Year 1842, from Local Rates and other sources of income.

| | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| County rate | | | | 14,200 | 7 | 3 |
| Police | 27,049 | 18 | 8 | | | |
| One-fourth paid by Treasury | 6,762 | 9 | 8 | | | |
| | 20,287 | 9 | 0 | | | |
| Superannuated Watchmen | 20 | 14 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | 20,308 | 3 | 0 |
| The Poor | | | | 45,400 | 0 | 0 |
| Lighting | 10,494 | 15 | 6 | | | |
| Paving | 17,077 | 8 | 10 | | | |
| Cleansing | 4,055 | 1 | 9 | | | |
| | | | | 31,627 | 6 | 1 |
| Sewers rate (as assessed by the Westminster Commissioners) | | | | 2,377 | 6 | 0 |
| Street watering | | | | 2,303 | 15 | 6 |
| Clergy and establishment expenses of seven churches | | | | 12,090 | 6 | 11 |
| Registration | | | | 540 | 6 | 0 |
| Rate collectors' commission | | | | 1,797 | 12 | 8 |
| Stationery, printing, and collectors' receipt stamps | | | | 688 | 7 | 6 |
| Interest and annuities for borrowed money | | | | 6,966 | 11 | 0 |
| Law charges | | | | 933 | 19 | 0 |
| Naming streets, &c. | | | | 74 | 6 | 0 |
| Repairs, rents, and sundries | | | | 631 | 1 | 3 |
| Salaries of court officers | | | | 2,230 | 11 | 0 |
| £ | | | | 142,169 | 19 | 2 |
| Bonds paid off and loans returned | | | | 6,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Balance in treasurer's hands - £6,387. | | | | | | |

The following is a corresponding account of the Income of the Parish of Marylebone during a period of four years :—

## INCOME
### OF THE
## PARISH OF MARYLEBONE.

| Whence arising. | 1840. | | | 1841. | | | 1842. | | | 1843. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
| Rates collected by the Vestry, including police, county, paving, cleansing, watering, and poors' rate, with old arrears - - - | 122,071 | 13 | 7 | 126,912 | 13 | 7 | 126,710 | 13 | 10 | 126,010 | 14 | 10 |
| Sewers' rate, collected by the Westminster Commissioners* - - | 1,761 | 7 | 11 | 10,687 | 18 | 5 | 2,377 | 6 | 0 | 8,478 | 1 | 4 |
| Fines and paving compositions - | 1,949 | 19 | 5 | 1,555 | 13 | 6 | 1,533 | 6 | 11 | 1,757 | 5 | 9 |
| Rents - - - - - - - | 471 | 2 | 3 | 666 | 5 | 6 | 451 | 8 | 0 | 663 | 4 | 7 |
| Breeze, ashes, and other materials sold - - - - - - - | 4,096 | 3 | 2 | 3,970 | 5 | 4 | 2,950 | 5 | 8 | 2,114 | 3 | 11 |
| Payments from parishes on the south side of Oxford street - - - | 201 | 2 | 4 | 201 | 3 | 4 | 204 | 3 | 4 | 204 | 3 | 4 |
| Burial fees - - - - - - | 1,538 | 6 | 3 | 1,407 | 17 | 4 | 1,336 | 12 | 7 | 1,235 | 6 | 0 |
| Pew rents - - - - - - | 4,930 | 7 | 10 | 4,838 | 11 | 5 | 1,944 | 2 | 5 | 4,772 | 10 | 4 |
| £ | 137,023 | 2 | 9 | 150,243 | 8 | 5 | 140,507 | 18 | 9 | 145,235 | 10 | 1 |

Several items in the above account, as, for instance, that of "breeze and ashes" and "pew rents," are not, of course, to be considered local burthens. Pew rents are voluntary payments; but in Marylebone they are applied in aid of church rates, and reduce their amount, to the great relief of Dissenters in that district. No tithes are collected in Marylebone. The Easter offerings claimed are 1s. for each house once in three years. Marylebone has few or no charitable endowments. The whole of the charity trusts of the county of Middlesex, as reported by the Commissioners, amount annually but to 31,440*l.* 16s. 11d.

Any one may verify the above statement with but little trouble, as the accounts for Marylebone are published half-yearly, and include a summary of the whole burdens of the parish, excepting the sewers rate, which is collected by the Westminster Commissioners; from the nature of the case it is impossible to give a statement of the income of the city for a similar period. There are no accurate returns of the large sums collected in

* These figures represent the amount assessed by the Westminster Commissioners, of which between 98 and 99 per cent. was collected.

tithes and church rates, and various other items, and but one return of the income derived from charity estates.

It cannot be said with the slightest deference to truth (although the assertion has been frequently made), that our object in this comparison is to reform the City upon some continental plan of "centralizing despotism." The local government of Marylebone is a representative institution, not certainly framed upon the best conceivable model, but in every sense of the word much more a representative institution than the Corporation of London. The constitution of the vestry of Marylebone is wholly democratic; every rate payer has a vote, and the elections are annual, with vote by ballot.

It is impossible to draw a fairer parallel, for the area of Marylebone is more than twice the extent of the City, and the population greater.

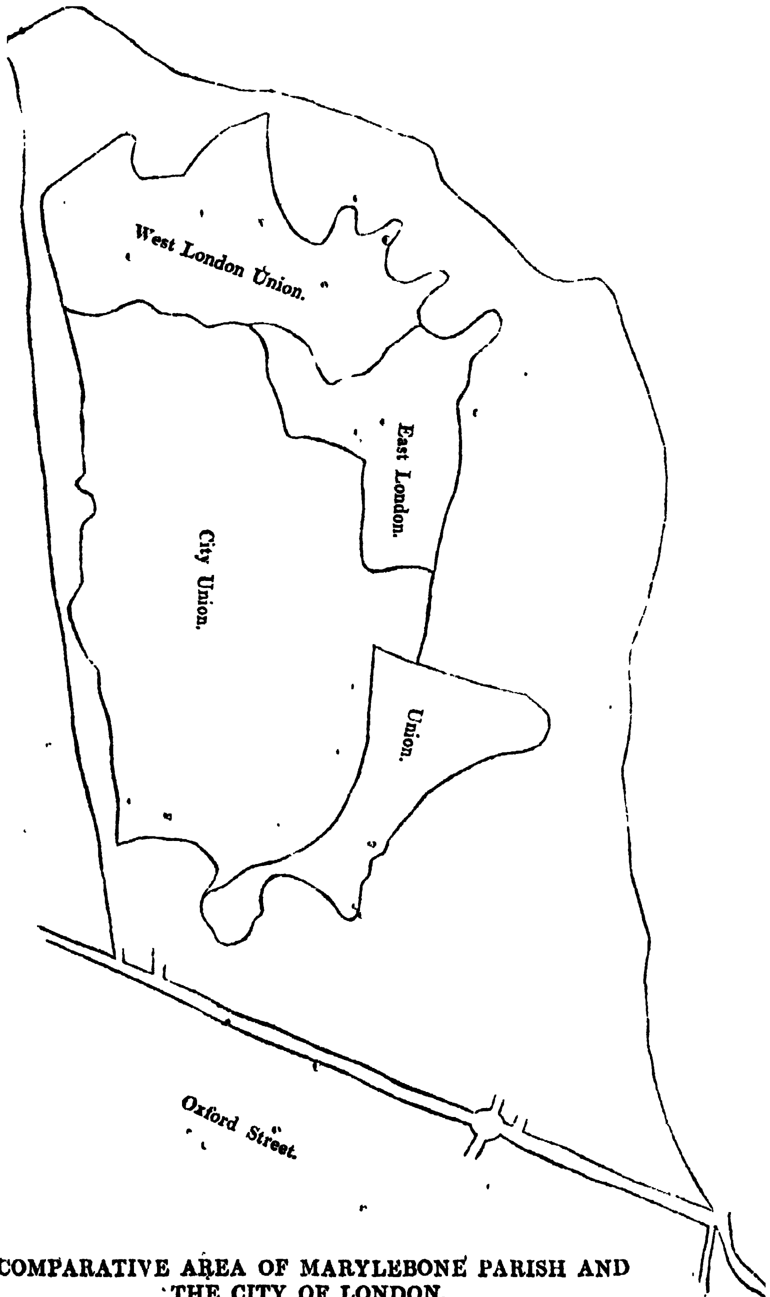
COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF THE CITY OF LONDON

AND THE

PARISH OF MARYLEBONE.

| District. | Population. | Number of Inhabited Houses. | Area according to Rickman. | Local rates. | Rental to the Police Rate. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| City of London:<br>97 parishes Within the Walls - - - 54,626<br>13 parishes Without the Walls - - - 68,682<br>13 ex. parochial inns of court - - - 1,700<br>——<br>123 | 125,008 | 16,080 | 600 acres | (approximate) estimate. £225,000 average of 4 yrs (1840 to 1843). | £1,020,000 |
| Marylebone (Parish):<br>(The borough of Marylebone includes the parishes of Marylebone, Paddington, and Pancras, comprising a population of 293,100.) | 138,164 | 14,169 | 1490 " | £131,250 | 783,204 |

The difference between the area of Marylebone and the City will perhaps best be understood by the following diagram.




COMPARATIVE AREA OF MARYLEBONE PARISH AND THE CITY OF LONDON.

The outer lines show the extent of the one Parish of Marylebone, and the inner lines that of the City of London, as divided into three parochial Unions.

With this diagram before us there is fair ground for the assumption that the local charges for paving, lighting, cleansing, watching, &c., ought to be considerably less in the City than in Marylebone. The contrary rule we need hardly say prevails; and yet, very much to our surprise, an attempt has been made to set aside the evidence of facts and figures upon one point by a process of reasoning, we know not how to describe, but which has certainly the merit of some novelty and ingenuity.

In the last Report upon the city police, the Commissioner, Mr D. W. Harvey, has these observations:—

"As the cost of the city police, especially when contrasted with similar appointments, is also made the subject of animadversion, it is desirable that the public, and especially the rate payers, should be disabused in this respect. The total cost of the city police (including some serious items which it is hardly fair to place to our annual expenditure) is 41,351*l*., which including commissioner, officers, and men (543 in all), is 76*l*. per head,—while the cost of the Marylebone police (181 men) exceeds 112*l*. per head. If the force of the city police were restricted to the number originally proposed (300) when the amalgamation of forces was under consideration, the total cost would be many thousands per annum less than at present, so that in fact we have nearly double the strength at a far less average charge than what is imposed upon the important district of the metropolis just named."

This paragraph, as it stands, conveys a very different meaning to that which we presume was intended to be expressed. The inference to which it seems to lead is altogether erroneous, and the public were immediately set right upon the subject by a correspondent of the 'Times.'

"By a comparison of the number of persons employed in the metropolitan police (4,685) with the total expenditure for 1843, 289,322*l*., the cost per head is 61*l*.; the same comparison of the number employed in the City police (543) with the expenditure, exhibits a cost per head of 76*l*., being 15*l*. more for each man in the City of London than the metropolitan district; making an extra charge yearly to the City of 8,145*l*. above what the metropolitan police would cost them, and a yearly saving to the metropolitan police district of 70,275*l*., as compared with the charge of the City police."—*Times, March* 7, 1844.

Mr Harvey no doubt intended to say that the cost of the Marylebone police *to the rate-payers of Marylebone* is 112*l*.

per head upon the number employed, and to produce this result he divides 20,272*l*., the amount of the Marylebone police rate, by 181; but here also he is wrong, and wrong both in the fact itself, and the use made of it.

The only authorities that we can hear of for the figures 181 are the report of a local committee, of which Mr Tufnell was chairman,—a report founded upon very loose and inaccurate data, and a petition presented by that gentleman to the House of Commons. That report and petition having led to official inquiries into the subject, we now know that the average number of police employed in Marylebone parish, instead of 181, is nearer 300 The number at the time the subject was brought under discussion (April, 1844) was 266, while on special occasions additional police are always sent into the parish, and the number is sometimes more than doubled.*

This, as we have before explained, is one of the great advan-

* The number of Police on day and night duty in the Parish of Saint Marylebone, 13th April, 1844, was as follows:—

| | MEN. |
|---|---|
| The D Division supplied, of all ranks . . . . | 165 |
| " C " " " . . . . . | 11† |
| " E " " " . . . . | 44 |
| " S " " " . . . . . | 46 |
| Total . . . . | 266 |

The A Division furnishes occasional patrols to the above Divisions, who do duty in Marylebone parish.

On any public occasion or annual exhibition extra police are furnished to the parish; for instance:—

The Prize-Cattle Show: to which twenty selected men are appointed from the force, to keep order and prevent robberies.

The Botanical Gardens, at the Exhibition of Flowers, receive similar aid.

At the elections in 1837 and 1841 fifty men were sent into the parish from the S Division on each occasion; and from the E Division twenty-six men daily on the nomination and election days, and seventy-nine men on the declaration day; making a total of one hundred and eighty-one men from both divisions.

At the Chartist meetings in the month of August, 1842, the following divisions furnished men to preserve the peace in Marylebone parish.

| Division | | Men | |
|---|---|---|---|
| T Division | . . | 80 | at Paddington station, to assist in Marylebone if needed |
| V " | . . | 30 | |
| N " | . . | 100 | at Harcourt-street station |
| E " | . . | 80 | at Marylebone lane |
| G " | . . | 100 | |
| S " | . . | 5 | mounted men |
| T " | . . | 5 | |
| | | 400 | |

† The eleven men from the C Division do duty in Oxford street, opposite to that portion of it belonging to Marylebone parish, and occasionally have to act there.

tages of a consolidated force over the old watch. Without leaving any district unprotected, a sufficient number of police can always be detached from the main body to move to the spot where their presence is most required. The city police act upon the same rule, but confine it to their own limited area. On the day of the Lord Mayor's show we find more of the city police in the line of procession than in streets comparatively deserted, but what would Mr Harvey have said to the 'Westminster Review,' if, after pointing to the fact that the inhabitants of the quiet ward of Broad street contribute 2,147*l.* to the city police rate, we had adopted his own mode of reasoning, and told the public that the city police cost the people of Broad street 200*l.* per head, because there are occasions when ten policemen cannot be found on duty in the whole ward.

The people of Broad street are well aware that the safety of their property depends quite as much upon the protection of the surrounding districts as upon that of their own immediate neighbourhood. They do not ask that a thief shall be apprehended only at their own doors, and not in Cheapside. They would prefer that every thief should be caught before he could penetrate into the ward; and upon the same ground, every reasonable man in Marylebone is content to pay, not merely for the police of Marylebone, but something towards the expense of watching (in part for his own benefit) the suburban districts, for which an adequate sum could not otherwise be raised. This expense is greater than it need be, because the City of London does not contribute one single shilling towards the object.

The cost of the metropolitan police is greatly increased by the river division of the force, with which the old Thames police have been incorporated. The City of London would be exposed to depredation along the whole line of its river boundary were there no police on the river, and yet it bears no portion whatever of the expense. But this is not all, and even the preceding diagram gives no adequate idea of the extremely limited area protected by the city police. In the first place, a very considerable portion of the ground is occupied by the twenty-three inns of court, enclosed on all sides, and protected by watchmen of their own. The outer and inner Temple, for example, although liable to the police rate, exclude the city police, and employ watchmen of their own.* So do the parishes of St Bartholomew the Great and St Bartholomew the Less, Ely place, and similar localities, shut in at night with gates. So do the Bank of England and the East India House, buildings covering no inconsiderable space;

* About twenty—chiefly Scotchmen.

and few of the private and joint stock banks commit their premises at night to the exclusive vigilance of the city police.

There are other reasons why the duty of watching the city might be comparatively easy, were it not for the present system of isolated and independent organization. The houses being crowded, a single gas light will expose a burglar to much greater chances of observation than in Marylebone. In the city there are few open areas by means of which a thief may effect an entry in the basement; the shops and warehouses are filled with merchandise, not so easily convertible as articles of gold and silver plate, and these (the most coveted by burglars) are found chiefly in houses at the west end.

The argument is not at all weakened by the fact that the day population of the city is much greater than the night population. Burglaries are only committed at night; and the natural disposition of pickpockets is to resort to theatres and other public places of amusement; especially *fashionable* places of resort, none of which are in the city. On a Sunday, when the city is deserted, and the citizens are found chiefly in the parks—or on a Whit Monday, when some thousands of them are at Greenwich in the morning, and at theatres in the evening, they have no protection from Mr Harvey. One step beyond Temple bar, and he abandons them to their fate—that is, to the care of the Metropolitan Police Commissioners.

Mr Harvey alludes to the comparatively small amount of property stolen in the city, as far as it can be ascertained from commitments—a test which proves nothing; but there is no one test of comparison that will show the city police to be more efficient than the force of the Metropolitan Police Commissioners. Out of the city the amount of property stolen is less, and what is more to the purpose, the proportion of it recovered by the police is rather greater than in the city.

FELONIES committed in the METROPOLIS during the YEAR 1843.

| District. | Amount of Stolen Property. | Number of Felonies. | Population. | Proportion of Felonies to the Population. | Loss per head by property stolen and not recovered. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| City Police District - - | £ First loss, 8,353; Recovered 1,407; £ 6,946 | 1,229 | 125,008 | 1 in 102 | s. 1 d. 1 |
| Metropolitan Police District - | £ First loss 28,284; Recovered 5,419; 22,865 | 12,683 | 2,032,458 | 1 in 160 | 0 2¾ |

We have prepared this table from the criminal returns of the metropolitan police (statistical documents of great value, from

the minuteness of the information they afford and their excellent classification)* and the late report of the City Commissioner.

We see in the latter that Mr Harvey complains of the daily influx of evil disposed persons, who come into the city "to seize what is unguarded, and to trepan the unwary." In the name of wonder, to what other place would he have them go? For many miles in and round the metropolis it is the only spot where they can escape the unpleasant intensity of a gaze fixed upon them from 4,685 pair of eyes. We once visited the House of Correction at Brixton, and found ourselves in a yard where all the juvenile delinquents sentenced to the treadmill were drawn up against a wall, while a division of the metropolitan police marched by *and looked in their faces.* The object was, that when suspicious characters were seen prowling about the streets they might be known. What was the practical moral of this Brixton lesson to the parties it instructed?—"When we leave Brixton we must rob in the city."

We will not pursue the argument, but sum it up in a few words. The City Corporation had the opportunity of reducing the burden of the old watch to 24,000*l.* when the amalgamation of the force was proposed; they might at the same time (if they had confined their opposition to that point), have secured a popular element in the new police system by getting the Lord Mayor, for the time being, made an *ex officio* commissioner of police for objects connected exclusively with the interests of the city. *They have thrown away* 20,000*l. per annum of the money of their fellow-citizens,* and what have they gained in return?—A system which offers only the lowest minimum of security for person and property—a system which renders the city a common centre and place of refuge to all the thieves of the metropolis, who become inconveniently known to the authorities in Scotland yard;—a system, which by the protection it thus affords to those who, with the tact of country gipsies, know better than to rob near home, offers a direct encouragement to crime, and is undoubtedly a cause of the increase of criminal commitments in the metropolis. As to the amount of co-operation between the two forces, the true indication of its character and extent is the *esprit du corps* of Mr Harvey's report. As far as accord may be required for police objects between the Court of Aldermen and the City Commissioner, everybody is aware that the City of London Corporation is a house divided against itself.

The moral evils arising out of a bad police system are scarcely second to those of an abuse of public charity. We observe that the Mendicity Society and the City Commissioner

* It is much to be regretted that corresponding returns are not prepared annually by the City.

of Police are both agreed upon the encouragement given to vagrancy by such institutions as that of Playhouse yard, and generally by indiscriminate relief; and there is but one step from vagrancy to crime. We would again, therefore, call attention to the progress of pauperism in the City of London Union under the influence and practical direction of their chairman, Mr Alderman Gibbs.

Expenditure of Poors-rates in the Three City Unions.

| | City of London Union. Parishes 98 Population 55,967 | East London Union. Parishes 4 Population 39,655 | West London Union. Parishes 7 Population 33,627 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | £. | £. | £. |
| Average of the years 1834, 1835, and 1836, before the parishes were united . . . | 59,941 | 19,233 | 17,522 |
| After the union | | | |
| 1839 . . . . . | 42,739 | 15,824 | 11,683 |
| 1840 . . . . | 44,952 | 14,883 | 13,931 |
| 1841 . . . . . | 47,292 | 14,993 | 14,402 |
| 1842 . . . . | 52,722 | 16,213 | 15,103 |
| 1843 . . . | 55,693 | 16,783 | 14.524 |

It will be seen from this table of the expenditure during the last four years, that poor rates in the city will soon exceed the amount collected under the old system. Already the amount is nearly the same,* and the new law is practically a failure.

We know not a more extraordinary phenomenon than that a man who has become so proverbial as Mr Alderman Gibbs as the champion of irresponsibility should be allowed, up to the present moment, to beard the public, his parishioners, the highly-talented and respected rector of St Stephen's, and the poor-law commissioners, and to keep principally in his own hands the patronage connected with an expenditure of 55,000*l.* per annum, of which 30,000*l.* is given in out-door relief. The case is one, however, which should be explained, because it enables us to answer the question more than once put to us, What has the administration of poor rates to do with the Corporation of London?

* Besides the poors rate administered by the three unions, about 6,000*l.* is expended separately by the parishes.

The parishioners of St Martin Ludgate have petitioned that they may be taken out of the union, finding that their poor rates have risen to 18s. 10¾d. per head of the population of their parish, while in the East London Union they are only 7s. 10d.—See the 'Chronicle' of Jan. 26, 1844.

Mr Gibbs is alderman for one of the rotten wards of the city (Walbrook) containing but two hundred and sixty-six houses; and as alderman for life he cannot be displaced. He is elected guardian for the parish of St Stephen (containing fifty-six houses), by the ownership clause of the poor-law amendment bill (a clause of very questionable propriety although in some instances it has worked well), which gives six votes for one to those who hold six times the most property in the parish, whether as trustees or freeholders, and these are now Mr Atkins and other personal friends of Mr Alderman Gibbs. As a magistrate, he is able to assist the Union in various emergencies, and becomes, therefore, the most eligible candidate for the chair. As chairman, he has a double vote, the most influence over all the patronage of the Union, and hence, with good business habits and some suavity of temper, he easily acquires, in an unwieldy Board of one hundred and eleven members, a party sufficient to maintain his position.*

Mr Alderman Gibbs is not a man to offend against the conventionalities of private life, but if we consider him as an administrator of public funds, a magistrate to protect and punish, one whose especial duty it is to caution apprentices and others brought before him against the beginning of those irregularities in accounts which often end in breach of trust—where, as reformers, should we seek for terms sufficiently strong to characterize an example and principles which are a scandal to the age? Let us seek the appropriate sentiment in the *Morning Chronicle* of Dec. 25, 1843:—

"Moved by Mr John Travers, and seconded by Mr Wilcocks, and resolved unanimously—

"That the thanks of this wardmote be presented to the Worshipful Michael Gibbs, Esq., alderman of the said ward, *for his able and efficient performance of the duties of a magistrate of this city*, and for his kind and impartial conduct in presiding over this wardmote."

The City Solicitor defended the expenditure of the City of London Union; and indeed, for every other abuse in the City, noticed in our pages, he had explanations or apologies to offer, or a justification; but while he hesitates, and very naturally, to present them in print, we will only briefly notice one or two misrepresentations of the facts and figures of our former article, which his skill as an advocate enabled him to turn to successful account with some well-meaning men who gave themselves no trouble to investigate our statement for themselves. He showed that in

* The secretary of the Margate Bathing Infirmary—the affairs of which have made some noise—is Mr Paul, who, through his friend the treasurer, Mr Alderman Gibbs, is also one of the clerks of the City of London Union and registrar of marriages.

one of our items the figures we had given—15,191*l.*—made the cost of the police of Marylebone for 1841 less by 5,000*l.* than the average, and this was called "deliberate falsification." There was, however, no error, and no desire or intention to understate the burdens of Marylebone. We were not giving an average of years, but an account of actual money paid in the year 1841. It so happened that the sum paid to the police by the parish was *less* than usual in 1841, by about the same sum that the sewers' rate was *more* than usual that year. The arrears owing, if mentioned, would only have perplexed the argument. There were corresponding arrears owing in the city, which we equally omitted.*

The charge made against the Revenue Committee of 1835, and Mr Williams, the member for Coventry, was wholly unwarranted. The several items of their report upon the expenses of the mayoralty were given upon the authority of returns made by the officers of the Court, the originals of which were immediately copied and carefully authenticated by Mr Williams. The authority for the estimated rental of the Mansion House (four per cent. upon the value of the ground and seven per cent. upon the outlay), was the late Mr William Montague (Clerk of the City works).† No one item relating to the fees or duties of the officers of the Court was introduced into the 'Report' without a corresponding return; the Committee merely placed the items in a column and added them together. Mr C. Pearson, we

* The arrears of police rate owing by parishes in the city for 1842 were on the 31st of December, 4,072*l.* 6s. 10d. (see P. R. 492.) The following table shows the arrears of Marylebone:—

METROPOLITAN POLICE—PARISH OF MARYLEBONE.

| | Warrants Issued. | | | | | | Amounts Received. | | | | | | Amounts Outstanding. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Years. | ¾th Marylebone. | | | ¼th Treasury. | | | From Marylebone. | | | From the Treasury. | | | Marylebone. | | | Treasury. | | |
| | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
| 1839 - | 19,580 | 2 | 0 | 6526 | 14 | 0 | 19,580 | 2 | 0 | 6490 | 19 | 8 | .. | .. | .. | 3263 | 7 | 0 |
| 1840 - | 20,210 | 14 | 0 | 6736 | 18 | 0 | 20,210 | 14 | 0 | 6631 | 17 | 0 | .. | .. | .. | 3368 | 9 | 0 |
| 1841 - | 20,382 | 0 | 0 | 6794 | 0 | 0 | 15,191 | 0 | 0 | 6765 | 9 | 0 | 5191 | 0 | 0 | 3397 | 0 | 0 |
| 1842 - | 20,192 | 18 | 0 | 6730 | 19 | 4 | 20,287 | 9 | 0 | 6762 | 9 | 8 | 5096 | 9 | 0 | 3365 | 9 | 8 |
| 1843 - | 20,638 | 8 | 0 | 6879 | 9 | 4 | 20,415 | 13 | 0. | 6805 | 4 | 4 | 5319 | 4 | 0 | 3439 | 14 | 8 |

† Report of the Clerk of Works on the per centage on the value of ground and building expenditure in relation to the Mansion House:—

To the Worshipful the Committee to inquire into the Salaries, Fees, &c. of the Officers of the Corporation.

GENTLEMEN,—Understanding it is your desire that I should state in writing the information I gave to the Committee, when I had the honour of attending them, on the customary allowances by way of rental on the value of ground and expenditure for building, I beg leave to report that the general allowance is considered four per cent. on the value of ground, and seven per cent. on building expenditure. I have also further to report, that I am of opinion the annual

are informed, had been, at his own request, made an honorary member of the Revenue Committee, but did not act. He was at that time seeking to win "golden opinions from all kinds of men," and he gained them from many by attacking the credit of the documents which might otherwise have led to the extensive reforms he had himself advocated in former times;* reforms much more extensive than the Corporation have yet been induced to effect, either from the progress of opinion in their own body or the pressure from without.†

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value of the coachhouse and stables occupied by the Lord Mayor at the City Mews is 50*l.*

It having also been intimated to me that my opinion is required as to the annual value of the state coach and the state barge, I beg leave respectfully to state that they are subjects with which, in point of value, I am totally unacquainted.

I remain, Gentlemen,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

WILLIAM MONTAGUE,

Clerk of the City's Works.

Office of Works, Guildhall, June 13, 1835.

* The following is extracted from the minutes of the Court of Common Council:—

"*Notice of motion by Mr Charles Pearson, February* 11, 1830.—That it is just and expedient, in consequence of the increased value of the circulating medium, to reduce the allowance made to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor and the several Committees of this Court; and also such of the salaries and gratuities of the officers of the Corporation as have been raised since the year 1797, and whose duties and services have not been increased in proportion to the appreciation of the currency in which they are paid; and that it is further expedient, at the present period of general distress, to apply the savings to be effected by such reductions in aid of the rates now imposed upon the inhabitant householders of this city."

† The members of the Corporation have sought to shelter themselves from the facts and figures of the 'Westminster Review,' by encouraging the City Solicitor to treat them as merely incidental to a private quarrel. We have no private quarrel with Mr Pearson, with whom we have never interchanged a word in our lives. He has chosen to call the writer of the article an "anonymous slanderer;" but slander is falsehood, and falsehood usually confined to private conduct. Our observations related exclusively to the public conduct of public men, and, as far as Mr Pearson was concerned, to facts notorious to every householder of the city. The constructive imputation of inconsistency may have appeared uncharitable; but it was not in the nature of slander, and it was not made anonymously. From the number of *proofs* of our article sent round in all quarters for correction, the name of the author was known to half the members of the Common Council before it was published; and Mr Richard Taylor, one of the Common Council, had written permission (in a correspondence to which Mr Pearson referred) to mention the name to every person it might concern. After the article was reprinted by subscription, Mr Pearson applied to us for the names of all the subscribers to the fund, the managing committee, and even for a list of all the subscribers to the 'Westminster Review.' This we were not at liberty to give; and the latter, we need hardly say, was quite out of our power.

When the City Solicitor stated, at the Mansion-House dinner (see the 'Times' of October 23), that the statements thus put forward were made by

The expense of the mayoralty, *including capital sunk and lost*, is fairly represented by the figures of the Revenue Committee, 25,034*l.* The present annual expense is fairly represented by the figures we gave, 20,000*l.* It may, as the City Solicitor tells us, be somewhat less in 1850, when certain offices fall in (not now saleable), if new appointments be not made; but we shall be much surprised if the whole system lasts so long.

We have before shown (No. 80, p. 301) that there was no ground whatever for the assertion that we had charged the City Solicitor with deriving an "enormous income from persecuting the poor." His nett income, he tells us, as returned to the Income Tax Commissioners, is 2,100*l.*; the *gross* emoluments, therefore, arising from the office and the business of the various committees connected with it were probably understated in the 'Westminster Review' as "somewhat less than 3,000*l.*"

The argument was not directed against his emoluments individually, but against the aggregate expenditure of the City for various legal offices, and enormous "disbursements" for law charges.

Offence was taken at the expression, "Where the bill of the City Solicitor would end if all his charges under the head of each account were given, *we know not.*" As the Corporation does not trouble itself to obtain a return of the aggregate cost of all the law suits in which its various committees are engaged, we can only repeat the phrase, and say what the amount is *we know not*; but here is a return of the nature and number of causes in which the Corporation was concerned on the 24th of February, 1842.

| | |
|---|---|
| House of Lords - - - | 1 |
| Court of Appeal - - - | 1 |
| Court of Chancery - - - | 5 |
| Equity Court of Exchequer - | 6 |
| Court of Queen's Bench - - | 10 |
| Court of Common Pleas - - | 6 |
| Guildhall Sessions - - - | 4 |
| Surrey Sessions - - - | 2 |
| Kent Sessions - - - | 2 |
| The Mayor's Court - - | 1 |
| | 38 |

men "who did not believe their own assertions," and further, that the Lord Mayor's allowance was "insufficient" for the objects of a becoming hospitality, it was thought advisable to reprint and circulate Mr Pearson's own letter to the papers in 1830, complaining of the amount of that very allowance. That any one of Mr Pearson's observations, at the dinner alluded to, should, under such circumstances, have been called "a bold, mendacious assertion," will therefore excite no surprise. The phrase was a harsh one, but the City Solicitor is surely more than a match for his opponents in the use of hard words, and needed not to have appealed to public sympathy on that head.

## SOLICITOR'S STATEMENT OF CAUSES.

Mr Solicitor did this day (24th February, 1842), pursuant to the 32nd Standing Order, lay before the Court a Statement of Causes and Prosecutions directed by the several branches of the Corporation, and other material business before him, with the present state of such Causes, Prosecutions, and other business.

Read, and ordered to be printed in the Minutes of Proceedings sent to every Member of this Court; and the same is as follows:—

| Title of Causes. | In what Court. | In what Stage. | By whom ordered. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Skinners' Company *v.* Irish Society and Corporation of London | House of Lords | Appeal stands for hearing | Court of Common Council. |
| Irish Society *v.* the Bishop of Derry | The Court of Appeal | For argument on Bill of Exceptions | Irish Society. |
| The Mayor, &c. ats. Pomfret | Chancery | Proceedings in Masters Office | City Lands Committee |
| ,, ats. Reynolds | ,, | Answer filed | ,, |
| ,, *v.* Crawshay | ,, | Bill filed | ,, |
| Ex parte Mayor, &c. of London | ,, | Proceedings in Masters Office | ,, |
| The like | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| The Mayor, &c. ats. Parkins & Wife | Exchequer (Equity) | Answer filed | ,, |
| ,, *v.* Combe | ,, | ,, | Coal and Corn Committee |
| Combe *v.* Mayor, &c. of London Porterage | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| Combe *v.* Mayor, &c. of London Metage | ,, | Bill amended | ,, |
| The Mayor, &c. *v.* Wood | ,, | Answer filed | ,, |
| Exparte the Mayor, &c. of London | ,, | Proceedings in Masters Office | Police Committee. |
| The Mayor, &c. *v.* Sheriff | Queen's Bench | Verdict for Plaintiff to be turned into a special case | Coal and Corn Committee |
| The Queen *v.* Fry and others | ,, | Defendants to be called up for judgment | Court of Aldermen |
| ,, *v.* Myer Albert | ,, | The like | Mr Alderman Lucas |
| ,, *v.* Stowell | ,, | The like | Court of Aldermen |
| ,, *v.* Hutchinson and others | ,, | Issue joined | ,, |
| ,, *v.* Lucey | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| ,, *v.* Flowers | ,, | Cause referred | ,, |
| Doe demise Mayor, &c. *v.* Roe | ,, | Declaration served | Blackfriars bridge Comp. |
| Shaw, Bart. *v.* Bennet | ,, | Process issued | Court of Aldermen. |
| The Mayor, &c. *v.* Osborn | ,, | ,, | City Lands Committee. |
| ,, ats. Warburton | Common Pleas. | Declaration delivered | London bridge Committee |
| ,, *v.* Pewterers' Comp. | ,, | For trial | City Lands Committee. |
| Quested ats. Hampton | ,, | Writ served | General Purposes Comp |
| Sandell *v.* Holmes | ,, | Pleaded | Court of Aldermen. |
| McLean and another, ats. Harris | ,, | Costs to be taxed | ,, |
| McLean ats. Harris | ,, | Writ served | ,, |
| The Queen *v.* Peat | Guildhall Sessions | For trial | ,, |
| ,, *v.* Smith and another | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| ,, *v.* Turk and others | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| ,, *v.* Johnson and another | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| ,, *v.* Jarvis | Surrey Sessions. | ,, | Navigation Committee. |
| ,, *v.* Juer and Jarvis | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| Hobbs *v.* Sheriff | Kent Sessions. | Appeal respited | Coal and Corn Committee. |
| ,, *v.* Whitehead | ,, | ,, | ,, |
| Shaw, Bart. *v.* Dale | The Mayor's Court | Process issued | General Purposes Comp. |

When speaking of the amount of Trust Estates in the City, we asked—*What is done with the money?* We now see what is done with some portion of it; but let us ask another question. Suppose some of the above suits to continue long enough to exhaust entirely the funds by which they are now supported, how long will it be before the solicitors employed by the respective parties persuade their principals to abandon an unprofitable contention about the privileges of City, or Company, and adjust their differences by an appeal to the Legislature, and by supporting some simple and comprehensive measure of municipal reform?

The subject is one to which we shall return, and we will not, therefore, now discuss questions which might be raised in disinterested quarters, and have in some cases been started to incidental items in our aggregate account of the City Income, such as the precise amount of freedom and livery fines paid to the trading companies. For any possible errors arising from such a source let the reader strike off ten, twenty, or if he please, fifty thousand pounds; upon no possible mode of honest computation can the aggregate income of the City of London, as given in the following condensed summary, be reduced in amount.

Corporate and Parochial Income of the City of London for Public Objects.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Trust Estates—for the relief of the poor, cure of the sick, education, religion, and general purposes | 360,000 |
| Local rates (for 1842) | 230,000 |
| Coal and metage duties—Street and market tolls (corresponding with the justly obnoxious "Octroi" system of the continent.) | 200,000 |
| Freedom and livery fines, fees and other charges for corporate and trading privileges | 50,000 |
| Port of London and conservancy of the river | 60,000 |
| | £900,000 |

That much of this income is so fixed in its application, by act of parliament, by charters, or by the will of testators, that its destination cannot be changed, we never denied; but surely it is time for the Legislature to inquire whether these vast public revenues are adequately secured, and with whom now rests the patronage they confer.

W. E. H.†

† As the name of the writer of the foregoing has been brought somewhat prominently before the public, although very unnecessarily, and has not unfrequently been confounded with that of individuals to whom he is not even personally known, it may be desirable to explain that Mr Edward Hickson, of the Court of Common Council, and the writer, are different parties, and in no way related. Mr William Edward Hickson was formerly a

*** In the reprint of the article on the 'Corporation of London and Municipal Reform' there occur the following

ERRATA.

Page 26.—"8s. per bushel" should read "8s. per score bushels," and "4s. per bushel," "4s. per score bushels."

" 53—In the sixth item of the account given at the top, four commas („ „) have been omitted under the words "for disbursements."

" 58.—There is an error of addition:—"the remaining *forty* parishes" should have been "the remaining *thirty* parishes."

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ART. XI.—1. *An Inquiry into the Currency Principle; the Connexion of the Currency with Prices, and the Expediency of a Separation of Issue from Banking.* By Thomas Tooke, Esq., F.R.S. Longman, 1844.

2. *An Inquiry into the Practical Working of the Proposed Arrangements for the Renewal of the Charter of the Bank of England, and the Regulation of the Currency. With a Refutation of the Fallacies advanced by Mr Tooke.* By R. Torrens, Esq., F.R.S. Smith, Elder, and Co., 1844.

MR TOOKE is known to all who are conversant with the discussions of the last twenty-five years on commercial topics, as an authority, on all such subjects, of the highest order. Beyond, perhaps, any other man, he brings to the consideration of mercantile phenomena an intimate practical knowledge of the elements upon which they depend, combined with habits of reflecting, or, to give the operation its proper name, of theorizing, which qualify him to discriminate and analyse the influences of those various elements. Owing to this union of qualifications, those who are interested in such inquiries have found in his various publications (and particularly in the 'History of Prices,' which is a summary of them all) a scientific explanation of those complex and apparently anomalous phenomena of prices, which the commercial history of the last half century presents in so great abundance, and which, until shown by him to be exemplifications of those very principles and laws with which they seemed to conflict, were perplexing even to those who best understood the subject, and often dangerously

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partner in a wholesale firm of the same name, but has long ceased to engage in mercantile pursuits, and is only connected with the City as an owner of house property.

misleading to those who did not. The opinions, therefore, of Mr Tooke upon the questions raised by the new ministerial scheme for the reform of the currency are entitled to an attentive, and, from all who are capable of appreciating what he has previously written, a respectful hearing.*

In the first of the pamphlets named at the commencement of this article, Mr Tooke has taken the field against the system of doctrines on which the ministerial measure is founded, and which derives its commonest designation from the names of two of its most distinguished supporters—Mr Jones Loyd and Mr Norman. To represent the other side of the dispute, we have prefixed the latest pamphlet of the indefatigable Colonel Torrens, who was, we believe, the first promulgator of the theory in question, and who has come forward as its champion against "the fallacies advanced by Mr Tooke."

For any influence which further discussion can have upon the decision of parliament, it is evidently useless. Parliament has made up its mind. The measure of Sir R. Peel has been received with approbation by nearly all, in parliament and the press, by whom any opinion has been expressed on it; and with acquiescence, if not satisfaction, by the public. There is not the smallest chance of its undergoing material alteration in its way through either house. That the attention, therefore, of thinkers should be directed to the views contained in Mr Tooke's pamphlet, is of importance rather as a matter of abstract discussion, essential to the right understanding of commercial phenomena, than with a view to any direct practical result. The question has ceased to be a practical one, and cannot again become so for ten years to come. But it involves highly important questions of theory; the practical bearing of which, as of all theories, far transcends the limits of any single application.

What was affirmed by Cicero of all things with which philosophy is conversant, may be asserted without scruple of the subject of currency—that there is no opinion so absurd as not

* We should have deemed it superfluous to re-assert Mr Tooke's claims to attention, if we were addressing only persons in some degree conversant with the subject; but others may have received an erroneous impression from a flippant attack, continued through two numbers of a weekly paper somewhat extensively read. The assailant, who appears to think that strong writing consists in contemptuous language, has not deemed it necessary to prove himself a competent judge, by either answering or showing that he understands any one of Mr Tooke's arguments or statements.

to have been maintained by some person of reputation. There even appears to be on this subject a peculiar tenacity of error —a perpetual principle of resuscitation in slain absurdity. There are at this day numerous persons who can read and write, and some who think themselves oracles of wisdom, who see no harm in emancipating a paper currency from the restraint of convertibility, and from every definite principle of limitation, provided only that it is grounded on the security of actual property; forgetful that even the *assignats* were issued on no less a security than the principal portion of the soil of France, and that a paper so guaranteed is no more protected from depreciation, if issued in excess, than the land itself would be if offered for sale in unusual quantity. There are writers of pretension, not only out of Bedlam, but even, we can assure Sir Robert Peel, out of Birmingham, who think it the duty of the legislature periodically to degrade the standard (or to authorize an increase of inconvertible paper exactly equivalent) in proportion as the progress of industry creates an increase of productions and a multiplication of pecuniary transactions. But it is not against these extravagant aberrations that it is now necessary to contend. In the discussions which we are here concerned with, both sides admit, that the proper standard of currency is the precious metals, at an unalterable mint valuation; that a pound (precisely as stated by Sir Robert Peel) should mean a fixed quantity of gold of a given fineness; and that no one who has contracted to pay that given quantity, should be allowed on any pretext to discharge his debt by paying a smaller quantity, or making over paper equivalent to a smaller quantity. Gold is not an ideally perfect standard—a commodity absolutely unchangeable in cost of production; but it approaches nearer to that abstract perfection of a measure of value, than any other production of nature or industry; and if it were far more subject to fluctuation than it is, it would be less so than the policy of a government,—especially one which takes for its principle of guidance "the wants of trade," which in this case simply means the convenience of debtors.

Assuming then—as conceded by all persons whom it is at present necessary to reason with—that the value of a paper currency must be maintained at par with the coin which it professes to represent, and that to effect this the issuers must be compelled to give coin for their notes whenever demanded; there is an ulterior question, on which those who are entitled to be considered authorities on the principles of the circulating medium, part company. According to one opinion, steadiness of value in a paper currency is sufficiently secured by ready and

immediate convertibility. This was, until lately, the prevailing, if not the exclusive doctrine, among those by whom the theory of money had been successfully cultivated. Within the last few years another doctrine has sprung up, of which Colonel Torrens was, as we have said, the originator, Mr Loyd, Mr Norman, and Mr M'Culloch among the chief propounders, and to which Sir Robert Peel and his cabinet have become proselytes.

According to this doctrine, the check of convertibility acts too slowly, and admits of great mischief from excess of issues before it begins to operate. Convertibility, it is contended, is a security only against *permanent* depreciation. When an increased issue of paper has sunk the value of the currency below its regular proportion to the currencies of other countries, the exchanges turn, gold becomes an article of export, and, to obtain it, notes are returned upon the Bank. But the increase of issues has, in the meantime, raised prices; which, when the excess of paper is removed, relapse to their former level. This is already a mischief; it deranges mercantile calculations, creates unexpected gains to some at the expense of others, and adds to the gambling character in a certain degree inherent in all the great operations of commerce. But the evil seldom ends here. All advance of prices tends to encourage speculation; especially when the same cause which creates the advance (being increased issues made by bankers, in the form of increased advances to their customers) occasions, as its very first effect, a reduction of the rate of interest. The conjunction of rising markets and a low rate of interest leads to speculative purchases, by which the rise itself is heightened and prolonged. The rise, however, not being grounded on any permanent cause of increased price (such as a deficiency of supply); in proportion to its continuance, the fall, when the tide turns, is from a greater height, and also to a lower depth. Those who during the rise of prices obtained credit upon the apparently increasing value of the goods which they held, are only enabled to fulfil their engagements by parting with the goods at almost any sacrifice, and prices sink for a time as much below their accustomed rate as they had previously been raised above it.

To avert these evils, in the opinion of Colonel Torrens and Mr Loyd, and we may now add of Sir Robert Peel, something more than convertibility is necessary. Their remedy is to place the issuers under a legal impossibility of ever increasing their issues (beyond a certain moderate minimum), except in exchange for bullion, which, if refused to them, would probably be sent to the mint and coined. By this contrivance the paper

currency is prevented from being arbitrarily increased. It can only, under such a system, be extended, when, if the augmentation were not made, an equivalent increase would probably take place in the portion of the currency which consists of coin.

But it is not enough, according to these authorities, to prevent increase of issues, otherwise than in exchange for bullion; it is also necessary to prevent the currency from being diminished, otherwise than by not re-issuing the notes which are presented for payment. Under the present system, the Bank, when it finds its treasure leaving it, does not remain passive, and allow the exchange of notes for specie to go on until, the needful contraction having been effected, the drain stops of itself. It becomes alarmed, and endeavours by calling in its issues to stop the efflux of bullion in an earlier stage. It diminishes its loans to merchants, depriving them in a period of falling prices of the accustomed accommodation, which is then more than usually necessary. Or it throws some of its securities upon the market, and by absorbing a portion of the capital which is seeking investment, deprives the merchants of an equivalent amount of pecuniary advances. By either process, it raises the rate of interest and increases the difficulty of obtaining loans, at a period which is already one of pressure; thus heightening all the evils of a commercial revulsion.

By the plan proposed, that of compelling the issuers to keep their securities at a fixed amount, and to let the currency contract or expand only by the exchange of gold for notes and of notes for gold, the paper will, according to this theory, be preserved exactly the same in quantity as the metallic money which would otherwise circulate in its place; this identity of quantity being, it is supposed, indispensable to secure identity of value.

It is generally assumed, as essential to this mode of regulating the currency, that the privilege of issue should be confined to a single establishment. But the rule of holding an unvarying amount of securities, and of issuing notes beyond that amount only in exchange for bullion, might be applied to a multiplicity of issuers; and a scheme for that purpose was, in fact, devised by Colonel Torrens. Sir Robert Peel cuts the knot by prohibiting to the country banks any issues whatever beyond the average of the last two years. He does not apply to them, as he does to the Bank of England, the other half of the proposed system, by preventing arbitrary diminution as well as increase; either because he thinks that in preventing over-issue he has guarded sufficiently against revulsion, or because he deems more minute precautions superfluous in an

arrangement which is avowedly preparatory to the suppression of all banks of issue other than the Bank of England.

Under the system thus established, we are confidently told that the calamity of almost periodical recurrence, commonly known by the name of a "commercial crisis," will be greatly diminished both in frequency and in severity. Some permit themselves to use language which at least seems to import that these convulsions will be rendered impossible. Colonel Torrens looks upon the measure as one which "will effectually prevent the recurrence of those commercial revulsions, those cycles of excitement and depression, which, as Mr Loyd has so felicitously explained, result from the alternate expansion and contraction of an ill-regulated circulation." He admits, indeed, that undue speculation, and the consequent reaction, might prevail to a great extent even under a metallic currency. But he attributes to the measure now proposed, an efficacy in counteracting those evils, sufficient to constitute that measure "the most important and the most salutary, as regards the reform of our monetary system, which has been brought under the consideration of parliament since the act of 1819 for the resumption of cash payments."

We shall examine presently how far the measure deserves to be considered—again in the words of Colonel Torrens—as "the reform of a banking system hitherto, perhaps, the most defective in Europe." But whatever may be its recommendations, that of preventing, or even greatly alleviating commercial revulsions, can scarcely be one of them; since commercial revulsions are as frequent and as disastrous where this so bitterly-condemned banking system does not exist. Not to mention Amsterdam or Hamburg, the currency of France differs as little from a purely metallic currency as that of any civilized country can well do in this industrial era. France has no country banks of issue, no notes below twenty pounds (a large sum measured by the standard of French incomes), and nobody has ever imputed to the single issuing body which exists in France, any depreciating action on the currency. Even the custom of making payments by cheques is not yet generally adopted. Metallic money is the common medium of payment. Yet commercial revulsions are as severe, in proportion to the amount of mercantile business, in France as in England, and fill quite as large a space in public discussion and in the meditations of statesmen and of economists. An evil common to all commercial countries, in the ratio of the extent of their transactions, cannot depend upon a cause peculiar to England and the United States. What a currency actually metallic does

not prevent, it is impossible that making the paper conform exactly to the variations of a metallic currency can cure.

As the notions of persons unacquainted with trade on what constitutes a commercial crisis are generally rather vague and obscure, we will, before going further, state as distinctly as possible what are its principal characteristics.

A commercial crisis is the recoil of prices, after they have been raised by speculation higher than is warranted by the state of the demand and of the supply. Speculation is almost always set in motion by something which affords apparent grounds for expecting either an extra demand or a deficient supply. But the anticipation may, in the first place, be erroneous; in the second, however rational it may be, the speculation (especially where the prospect of gain is considerable) is very likely to be overdone, each speculator conducting his operations as if he alone knew the circumstances on which the hope of profit is grounded. The rise consequent upon the speculative purchases attracts new speculators, insomuch that, paradoxical as it may appear, the largest purchases are often made at the highest price. But at last it is discovered that the rise has gone beyond the permanent cause for it, and purchases cease, or the holders think it is time to realise their gains. Then the recoil comes; and the price falls to a lower point than that from which it had risen, because the high price has both checked the demand, and, by stimulating production or importation, called forth a larger supply. Besides, many of those who during the high price have contracted engagements, which they trusted to a further rise for givingthem the means of fulfilling, are unable to hold on until the crisis is past, but must sell at any sacrifice.

When this series of effects is confined to some one article of commerce, individuals may be ruined, but the mercantile world generally is not disturbed. When, however, as in 1825 and at several other periods in the present century, the opening of new markets, or some expected deficiency of supply extending to various important articles, has set speculation at work in several great departments at once, the spirit is apt to become general, and other commodities rise in price without any reasonable cause whatever. In such cases, the ultimate revulsion is most extensive and calamitous.

As long as the seasons vary, as markets fluctuate, and men miscalculate, or the passion of gain (as in gamblers) over-rides their calculations, so long will these alternations of ebb and flow, these "cycles," as Colonel Torrens calls them, "of excitement and depression," continue. They are worse in America than in England, because American commerce is conducted in a more gambling spirit; they are worse at Liverpool

than in London, for the same reason. But whatever aggravates the natural fluctuations of the markets, or creates fluctuations when they would not otherwise exist, increases both the frequency and the destructiveness of such convulsions. This the corn laws do; and it is one of their principal evils. This it is also affirmed that the currency, as at present regulated, does; and the merit claimed for the system now to be introduced is, that this artificial cause of fluctuation will be cut off.

It is here that Mr Tooke and the authors of the new scheme are irreconcilably at variance. He denies *in toto* the evils imputed to the existing system.

The imputations are—First: That the banks, by arbitrary extension of their issues, raise prices; and thus create fluctuation, and speculation, and ultimate revulsions, where such would not otherwise exist.

Secondly: That when speculations have commenced from causes unconnected with the banks, they, by extending their issues, concurrently with the rise of prices, prevent the rise from being checked in an early stage. And when the rise of prices, by its operation on the exports and imports, has caused an efflux of gold, they hasten to stop it by a contraction of the currency equal to or beyond the previous expansion; which contraction being effected by a forced operation upon the loan market, aggravates the difficulties of persons already distressed.

Mr Tooke disputes both these assertions.

He denies that an extension of issues can be arbitrarily made by the banks; or that, if made, it has any necessary tendency to raise prices.

He denies that, when prices are rising, the extension of issues, which frequently takes place simultaneously, retards the action of the causes which tend to check the rise; or that by preventing such increase of issues, improvident speculation would be earlier arrested, and the consequent calamities confined within a narrower range.

It is at once seen that this controversy involves a very important question in the theory of currency; one, indeed, which has not, to our knowledge, been subjected to thorough examination or put precisely in issue before. This question is—With what limitations, if any, the proposition is true that an increase in the quantity of the currency raises prices?

That it is true in some sense and in some circumstances, no one thinks of disputing; but that it is a universal principle, and true without any limitation, may perhaps have been too easily taken for granted.

If—to adopt an illustration sometimes used—every person

in England were to awake one morning with a sovereign in his pocket, no one could doubt that the rise of prices would be immediate. All or most would hasten to expend their sovereign, either for pleasure or profit; and as there would be no more commodities to be distributed than before, each would bear a higher price.

On the other hand, suppose that a foreigner lands in England, bringing with him five thousand pounds in gold. This additional purchasing power, being brought into the market, would raise prices, but at first only the prices of those commodities which it was employed in purchasing. It might happen not to be employed in purchasing anything, and then it would not raise prices at all. We scarcely think that any one would contest the possibility, at least, of the case described by Mr Tooke in the following passage. We quote from his 'History of Prices,' because the statement of the same principle in his pamphlet is somewhat more imperfect, and gives an advantage to Colonel Torrens to which we do not think that the merits of the case entitle him:—

"That an additional issue by the Bank of a million or of five millions on securities, would, *cæteris paribus*, reduce the market rate of interest, may be granted; but it is not self-evident, or consistent with experience, that prices of commodities would therefore necessarily rise. The persons who obtained such an increased price for their securities as induced them to sell, would doubtless, upon receiving the money, seek some other investment for it. There might not be, nor would it be likely that there should be, anything in the state of supply and demand in the markets for commodities to induce persons not habitually in them nor so disposed, to speculate in goods; while the probability is, and such has been the course of experience, that, as by the supposition the market rate of interest in this country would, by such an operation of the Bank, be depressed below its ordinary rate relatively to other countries, there would be every inducement to the individuals who thus had their capitals disengaged to seek investment in securities abroad, whether public or private. As there would not, by the operation of the Bank, be necessarily any additional inducement to export commodities, the capital to be transmitted abroad for such investments would be remitted in bullion. The effect, therefore, of the issue of the million or five millions of bank notes by the Bank, might merely be their return upon the Bank for bullion to be exported. This was, in point of fact, the process in 1834, when the Bank increased its securities by between three and four millions, and reduced its treasure by the same amount; while the markets for commodities, although the rate of interest was low, and the facility of credit complete, were in the most quiescent state possible, and the corn markets falling."—*History of Prices,* vol. iii, pp. 373-4.

Or suppose another case, of frequent occurrence. A country

bank issues an extra amount of notes in advances to farmers, to enable them to hold their corn, in hopes of getting a higher price. With the notes received from the bank the farmer pays his rent, and withholds the corn by the sale of which he would otherwise have paid it. But, for every farmer who has not sold his corn, there is a miller or corn dealer somewhere who has not bought it. The notes which this miller or corn dealer was prepared to pay, he now puts into deposit, or repays to the banker from whom they had been borrowed. By as much as the one is enabled to postpone his sale, by so much does the other his purchase. There may have been not a pound more expended in consequence of the transaction, nor any action on prices, except to render more gradual the rise which was taking place from other causes in the price of corn.

If the declaration of innumerable witnesses merits any confidence, the *modus operandi* of country issues must very often be of this sort. The country bankers unanimously disclaim any arbitrary power over their issues, and declare that in certain states of the markets they *cannot* extend their circulation; if they attempt it, the increase comes back to them, either in deposits or by being presented for payment. They are, it may be said, interested witnesses. But they must mean something by this assertion. It cannot be a mere falsehood. It is confirmed, too, by many persons of the greatest experience, who have no interest in banks of issue,—Mr Samuel Gurney, for example, and the late Mr Rothschild. There must be some fact at the bottom of what is asserted. It may be a fact partially stated or misunderstood, and they may be entirely wrong in their explanation of it. But a fact of some sort there must be. We have not seen, on the other side of the question, any attempt to clear up the difficulty, or show the origin of the supposed mistake. We have met with nothing except a flat denial.

For our own part, we see no incredibility in the assertion of the bankers. We believe it to be in the main correct. It appears to us perfectly consistent with the theory of the subject.

The notion that every increase in the amount of the circulating medium must raise prices, proceeds, as it seems to us, upon the erroneous supposition, that an increase of money must be an increase of purchasing power.

The purchasing power which determines prices is of two kinds,—*ultimate* purchasing power, which determines permanent prices; and the portion of that power which is in actual exercise at a given time; this determines the fluctuations of prices.

The ultimate purchasing power of the community is, in the words of Mr Tooke, "the quantity of money constituting the

revenues of the different orders of the state, under the head of rents, profits, salaries, and wages." We think he should rather have said their "gross incomes," to include that portion of their receipts which is employed in replacing material, and in renewing machinery and buildings as they wear out. The whole of these incomes is destined to be, and is, expended in purchases, either for personal consumption or for reproduction. The aggregate of money incomes, compared with the whole annual produce of the country, determines general prices, as between the dealer and the consumer. If you add to the currency in a way which increases the aggregate of incomes, you raise prices; but this condition can be satisfied by nothing short of a permanent increase* of the quantity of money in the country; either from an influx of the metals, caused by a diminution in the cost at which they can be produced and imported, or from increased issue of an inconvertible paper currency. We say inconvertible, because it is admitted that of that alone could any increase have the character of permanence.†

But though an extension of issues may not increase the aggregate money incomes of the community, nor raise general prices between dealer and consumer, upon which prices all dealers depend for their ultimate returns, and on the anticipation of which they necessarily ground all their transactions with one another; some may suppose that it must increase the money demand for commodities at the particular moment; because the person who obtains the bank notes does so for the purpose of using them, and may be supposed to bring them immediately into the market and make purchases to their full extent.

This opinion seems to us to rest upon a great misconception of what constitutes the money demand for a commodity.

It seems to be thought by many people that the purchase of commodities implies the direct transfer of so much money from hand to hand in return for so much produce; and that the limit

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* To be scientifically accurate, it must be admitted that if the increased issues were made in advances to employers of labour (for instance, in a loan to a manufacturer, who expends them in the direct payment of wages to his workpeople), there would be, to that extent, as long as the expenditure was going on, an increase of the aggregate money income of the community, and hence a corresponding rise of prices. But this supposition is not applicable to our present currency, of which the smallest notes are of too high a denomination to be employed, in any extent worth considering, for the payment of wages.

† We may add, with Mr Tooke, that the issues of a *Government* paper, even when not permanent, will raise prices; because Governments usually issue their paper in purchases for consumption. If issued to pay off a portion of the national debt, we believe they would have no such effect.

to the possible demand for a commodity at any moment, is the quantity of money then and there waiting to be exchanged for it.* With this mode of thinking it is no wonder that any one should suppose that whenever you add to the money at that place physically present, you add as much to the demand, and consequently to the price. But this is a very inadequate notion indeed of what constitutes purchasing power.

The purchasing power of an individual at any moment is not measured by the money actually in his pocket, whether we mean by money the metals, or include bank notes. It consists, first, of the money in his possession; secondly, of the money at his banker's, and all other money due to him and payable on demand; thirdly, of whatever credit he happens to possess. To the full measure of this three-fold amount he has the power of purchase. How much he will employ of this power, depends upon his necessities, or, in the present case, upon his expectations of profit. Whatever portion of it he does employ, constitutes his demand for commodities, and determines the extent to which he will act upon price.

Now, of these three elements of money demand, the first alone is grounded upon a corresponding amount of money actually *in esse*. The second, or the deposit at his banker's, is in part grounded upon actual money, namely, to the extent of about one-third, that being the proportion which prudent bankers profess to keep in their coffers to meet the drafts of their depositors. The third element of money demand, namely credit, has no basis of actually existing money at all. It is an additional money demand, created over and above that which is constituted by all the money in actual circulation. But it is exactly as operative upon prices as the money itself, provided the possessor chooses to make use of the purchasing power which it confers. This explains why periods of general confidence, when large prospects of gain seem to be opening

* There is (as it seems to us) an almost whimsical exemplification of this common fallacy in Colonel Torrens's pamphlet, which we have not room to extract, but which those who wish to refer to it may find in pages 10—17. Having assumed, for the purposes of his argument, that Birmingham has a metallic currency composed of one million sovereigns, he says, "consequently the prices of commodities within the district would be governed by the power of effecting purchases to an amount not exceeding 1,000,000*l.*," forgetting that the million sovereigns may serve, by successive payments, to represent and circulate incomes to the amount of many millions, and that it is this, and not the one million of sovereigns, which constitutes the purchasing power of the community. We admire the ingenuity and polemical acuteness of Colonel Torrens, which have never been more highly manifested than in this pamphlet; but we think in this particular instance he will find, on reconsideration, that he has built an elaborate superstructure upon a foundation of sand.

themselves, and when there is a disposition among dealers to employ not only all their money but all or much of their credit in enlarging their operations, are attended with so great a rise of general prices. The effect is sometimes ascribed to the bills of exchange and other transferable paper which these transactions generate, and which are said to perform the functions of currency. Those who use this language mistake the effect for the cause. Bills of exchange are mere evidences of credit. The credit itself is the operating cause. It is manifest that when buyers are willing to employ their credit as well as their money in making purchases, their demand for commodities becomes so much greater, and prices must rise. They would rise if no such thing as a transferable acknowledgment of debt had ever been known in the country.

We may observe, parenthetically, that these considerations remove the puzzle which has been made of whether deposits, and cheques, and bills of exchange, are to be considered as money. With those who think that money alone confers power of purchase, these questions are very pertinent. When they ask whether deposits, or whether anything else, is money, they mean, does it operate on money prices? If it does, they think it a necessary consequence that it should be called money. But when once it is clearly seen that credit, so far as employed in the purchase of commodities, operates upon prices in exactly the same degree as money, the question what forms of credit should be called money, becomes extremely unimportant. It would probably be best that no form whatever should be so called.

If the views now stated be sound, it seems not easy to understand how an increased creation of the written evidences of credit called bank notes, can, of itself, create an additional demand, or occasion a rise of price. Admitting bank notes to be money (which is, in truth, a mere question of language), what does the person do who issues them, but take so much from the third element of purchasing power, namely credit, and add it to the first element, money in hand—making no addition whatever to the total amount? More properly, he merely converts so much credit from an unwritten into a written, and from a cumbrous into a convenient, form. Bank notes are to credit precisely what coin is to bullion; the same thing, merely rendered portable and minutely divisible. We cannot perceive that they add anything, either to the aggregate of purchasing power, or to the portion of that power in actual exercise. The person to whom the notes are advanced is proved by that very fact to have credit, and his requiring the advance

proves that to that extent he intends to use his credit in making purchases. Is it supposed that having credit, and intending to buy goods by means of it, he will be disabled from doing so because a banker is prohibited from one particular mode of giving him credit? *

It must be conceded, and Mr Tooke does fully concede, that if bankers, urged by competition or caught by the contagious confidence of speculative times, make advances to persons who otherwise have *not* credit and cannot give good security, in that case the foregoing arguments do not apply. To that extent they do create a new purchasing power, a new demand, and, as its consequence, a rise of price. The American banks did raise prices by reckless advances; by lending money to persons who could not repay them. No one is more aware of this than Mr Tooke. It is not, however, by their notes, as such, that banks thus misconduct themselves. Imprudent advances of their deposits, or of their private capital, or imprudent indorsement and guarantee of the engagements of their customers, have precisely the same effect. All extension of credit, legitimate or illegitimate, tends, in proportion as it is made use of, to a rise of price. And all contraction of credit produces an equivalent collapse.

That bank notes, as such, have any peculiar power on prices, we see no reason whatever to believe: and we hold with Mr Tooke, that when they are increased, their increase is a consequence of a rise of prices, not a cause. It is a known fact that the country issues almost invariably increase when the prices of agricultural produce are rising. The reason is, that the buyers, having larger payments to make, apply for more notes to make them with, it being the custom in the provision and cattle markets not to buy on credit, but to pay immediately in bank notes. A rise of other prices does not necessarily lead to increased issues; because, in almost all other transactions between dealers, bank notes are already superseded by cheques, or book credits; and these would soon be introduced into the markets for agricultural produce, if the obtaining bank notes were rendered difficult. Even the small quantity of bank notes which are employed at the clearing house or elsewhere, to effect the ultimate liquidation of these cheques and credits by the payment of balances, might, as Mr Tooke remarks, have their place supplied by exchequer bills (as in Scotland), or by drafts on the Bank of England.

Whether the credit which necessarily exists in a commercial

* See note, *infra*, page 595.

country assumes the form of bank notes or no, is, in short, a mere matter of convenience. In whatever form or vesture the credit is given, its influence on price is the same. He who has credit, and desires to employ it in purchases, will find the means of doing so without bank notes, and will act upon prices accordingly; while if he does not think the time favourable for making purchases, even having the notes in his possession will not induce him to do it; he will either keep them by him until they are wanted, or they will go into deposit.

It appears, then, that any increase of issues which is likely to take place under the present system of convertibility, is in itself quite inoperative to raise prices,* and cannot, therefore, be an exciting cause of commercial revulsions; but that a spirit of speculation, or an undue extension of credit, does raise prices, and raises them equally whether bank notes are generated by it or not; and that by preventing the increase of bank notes during such periods, nothing would be done to check the rise, since it is not bank notes which, as it is sometimes expressed, *sustain* prices, but the state of credit generally. No mode of regulating bank notes would either arrest the rise, or moderate the subsequent revulsion, which is always proportional.

There is, however, one way in which the present administration of the currency does heighten the evils of a commercial revulsion. The rise of prices in periods of exaggerated confidence checks exportation and greatly increases importation. A balance has to be paid in gold, and this is demanded from the Bank. To stop the drain, it hastily contracts its issues, that is, it sells securities and diminishes its loans, thus aggravating, in a period of difficulty, the already existing pressure upon the loan market; and this, it is urged, will be prevented by the ministerial measure, since the bank will not be permitted to contract its issues, except by not re-issuing the notes which have been returned to it for payment. But, as Mr Tooke remarks, to attain this object it is only necessary that the bank should habitually hold so large a reserve of bullion as will admit of allowing any probable drain to proceed until it has reached its limits. Whatever amount of reserve is needed

* We say *likely* to take place—not any increase which *can* take place; because there have been instances, both with joint-stock banks and private bankers, of imprudent advances, on insufficient security, resembling, on a smaller scale, the gigantic mismanagement of the American banks. These must have tended, as we have already admitted, to raise prices: and though it was not peculiarly in their character of issuers that the banks thus misconducted themselves, their issues, no doubt, enabled them to do so on a larger scale.

for this purpose will be equally necessary on the plan of Sir Robert Peel, since the bullion, against which all notes beyond the fixed amount of securities are to be issued, must be sufficient to meet the greatest drain which can ever be supposed to occur. We shall see presently that, in reality, the amount of reserve which would suffice on Mr Tooke's plan will not be sufficient on Sir Robert Peel's.

We think, then—although with unfeigned diffidence, considering the high authorities by which we are opposed—that the reasons urged in recommendation of the contemplated changes, and in proof of the theory on which they rest, are all untenable, and that the system about to be adopted is in no way preferable to the present system, if improved as Mr Tooke proposes, by making it imperative on the Bank to keep a larger reserve of bullion. But though not preferable, whether it is in any way inferior is another consideration. That question must be determined, not by its effects on price, for these we believe to be null, but by its operation upon the rate of interest, for that is real. Fluctuations of price do not, we believe, depend upon bank issues; but the operations of banks, as of other money-lenders, of course act upon the loan market, or as it is improperly called, the money market; in other words, upon the rate of interest, and what is almost synonymous, the prices of securities.

Mr Tooke does not share the common opinion, that increased issues, by lowering the rate of interest, operate as a stimulus to speculation. He thinks it a vulgar error

"That a facility of borrowing at a low rate of interest, not only confers the power of purchasing, but affords the inducement, applies the *stimulus* to speculation in commodities. If by facility of borrowing be meant a laxity of regard to security for repayment on the part of the lender, there is every probability that money so borrowed will be hazardously, if not recklessly employed; and whether in the purchase of shares, or of foreign securities, or of merchandize, or in any other mode of adventure or enterprise, or in mere personal expenditure, is a matter of chance, depending on the disposition and views of the borrower. Such borrowers are not *stimulated* to purchase commodities speculatively, merely because they can borrow on low terms; they are but too happy if they can borrow at all. But to suppose that persons entitled to credit are likely to be induced—*stimulated* is the favourite term—by the mere circumstance of a low rate of interest, to enter into speculations in commodities (using the term speculation in its obnoxious sense), argues a want of knowledge of the motives which lead to such speculations. These are seldom, if ever, entered into with borrowed capital, except with a view to so great an advance of price, and to be realized within so moderate a

space of time, as to render the rate of interest or discount a matter of comparatively trifling consideration."—Pp. 81-2.

"The truth is, that the power of purchase by persons having capital and credit is much beyond anything that those who are unacquainted practically with speculative markets have any idea of." —P. 79.

"A person having the reputation of capital enough for his regular business, and enjoying good credit in his trade, if he takes a sanguine view of the prospect of a rise of price of the article in which he deals, and is favoured by circumstances in the outset and progress of his speculation, may effect purchases to an extent perfectly enormous, compared with his capital."*—P. 136.

"But why should this purchasing power be directed to the purchase of commodities, if there was nothing in the state of supply relatively to the rate of consumption, to afford the prospect of gain on the necessary eventual resale? The error is in supposing the *disposition* or *will* to be co-extensive with the power. The limit to the motive for the exercise of the power is in the prospect of resale with a profit."—P. 79.

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* Mr Tooke illustrates this statement by some most remarkable instances, which we append, because they are also illustrative of what has formerly been said on the immense purchasing power which may be exercised, and the great rise of prices which may be produced, by credit not represented by bank notes, or even bills of exchange.

"Among the earliest speculators for an advance in the price of tea, in consequence of our dispute with China in 1839, were several retail grocers and tea dealers. There was a general disposition among the trade to get into stock, that is, to lay in at once a quantity which would meet the probable demand from their customers for several months to come. Some, however, among them, more sanguine and adventurous than the rest, availed themselves of their credit with the importers and wholesale dealers, for purchasing quantities much beyond the estimated demand in their own business. As the purchases were made in the first instance ostensibly, and perhaps really, for the legitimate purposes and within the limits of their regular business, the parties were enabled to buy without the condition of any deposit; whereas speculators, known to be such, are required to pay 2*l*. per chest to cover any probable difference of price which might arise before the expiration of the prempt, which, for this article, is three months. *Without, therefore, the outlay of a single farthing of actual capital or currency in any shape*, they made purchases to a considerable extent; and, with the profit realised on the re-sale of a part of these purchases, they were enabled to pay the deposit on further quantities when required, as was the case when the extent of the purchases attracted attention.

"In this way, the speculation went on at advancing prices (100 per cent. and upwards), till nearly the expiration of the prempt, and if at that time circumstances had been such as to justify the apprehension which at one time prevailed, that all future supplies would be cut off, the prices might have still further advanced, and, at any rate, not have retrograded. In this case, the speculators might have realised, if not all the profit they had anticipated, a very handsome sum, upon which they might have been enabled to extend their business greatly, or to retire from it altogether, with a reputation for great sagacity in thus making their fortune. But instead of this favourable result, it so happened that two or three cargoes of tea which had been transhipped were admitted, contrary to expectation, to entry on their arrival here, and it was found that further indirect

But although the issues of banks may not have the effect imputed to them, of stimulating speculation by lowering the rate of interest, there is no doubt that the mode of issuing and the mode of recalling them may and does produce *fluctuations* in the loan market.

Fluctuation is an evil in the interest of loans, as well as in the prices of commodities; and that is the best banking system (solvency and convertibility being first provided for) under which there is least liability to such fluctuations.

In this respect it is Mr Tooke's opinion that the system about to be introduced is decidedly inferior to the old:—

"That a total separation of the business of issue from that of banking is calculated to produce greater and more abrupt transitions in the rate of interest, and in the state of credit, than the present system of union of the departments."—P. 124.

The ground of this opinion deserves attention.

It is a fact, attested by experience, that a drain of gold upon the Bank for exportation takes place in most cases mainly by drawing out deposits. As, in the proposed system, there is nothing to cause any change in this respect, we must suppose that this would still be the case, and that the demand for gold would be first felt by the deposit department.

Now, under the present arrangements, in case of a run upon the deposits, the Bank has to rely, not only on the portion of

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shipments were in progress. Thus the supply was increased beyond the calculation of the speculators; and, at the same time, the consumption had been diminished by the high price. There was, consequently, a violent reaction on the market; the speculators were unable to sell without such a sacrifice as disabled them from fulfilling their engagements, and several of them consequently failed. Among these, one was mentioned who, having a capital not exceeding 1,200*l.*, which was locked up in his business, had contrived to buy 4,000 chests, value above 80,000*l.*, the loss upon which was about 16,000*l.*

"The other example which I have to give is that of the operation on the corn market between 1838 and 1842. There was an instance of a person who, when he entered on his extensive speculations, was, as it appeared by the subsequent examination of his affairs, possessed of a capital not exceeding 5,000*l.*, but being successful in the outset, and favoured by circumstances in the progress of his operations, he contrived to make purchases to such an extent, that when he stopped payment his engagements were found to amount to between 500,000*l.* and 600,000*l.* Other instances might be cited of parties, without any capital at all, who, by dint of mere credit, were enabled, while the aspect of the market favoured their views, to make purchases to a very great extent.

"And be it observed, that these speculations, involving enormous purchases, on little or no capital, were carried on in 1839 and 1840, when the money market was in its most contracted state; or when, according to modern phraseology, there was the greatest scarcity of money."—Pp. 137-8.

Sir Robert Peel talks of preventing credit from being converted into money. What, by being converted into money, could it do, more than was done in these instances?

reserve which it retains, like other bankers, against the deposits themselves, but also on the gold in reserve on account of its notes. Until all the gold in the possession of the Bank is exhausted, it is in no danger of stopping payment. But under the proposed system the department of deposit must rest upon its own resources. The reserve in the deposit department could derive no aid from the issue department, while it would have to bear the first brunt of the whole action intended to be exercised through it upon the latter. As it would be prohibited from meeting this demand by creating more notes, or even by having the notes which it paid out, and which then went to the issue department for gold, returned to it; either the reserve of the deposit department alone will require to be as great as is now requisite for the deposits and issues together, or it will be obliged to suspend its discounts and sell its securities much earlier and more abruptly than is necessary under the present mixed system. If the demand for gold were to the extent of three or four millions, no "merchant, banker, or money dealer," says Mr Tooke,

"Could for a moment have a doubt as to the extremity of pressure which it would cause. I am most intimately persuaded that it would be within the mark to suppose that a rate of discount (assuming that the doors of the Bank and the ears of the directors were irrevocably closed against all applications) of twenty per cent. and upwards, would in many cases be submitted to, and sacrifices of goods, if any large proportion were held on credit, would be made at a still greater loss. And after all, it might be a question whether even this effort of the Bank on its securities would be effectual in restoring its reserve in sufficient time to meet the exigency."

While the circulating department was still abundantly provided with gold, the deposit department might have no alternative but to stop payment.

"And all this inconvenience may have been purely gratuitous, as a sacrifice to the currency principle; because the utmost demand for gold might have been satisfied by an export of 3,000,000*l.* or 4,000,000*l.*, which, under a system of issuing and banking, would have been attended, as in the instances of 1828-29, and 1831-32, with no inconvenience whatever."—Pp. 109, 111.

Indeed, if the purpose for which the new arrangements are intended is to be carried out, the deposit department must in any case begin selling its securities the moment a drain upon it commences; because if it does not, the notes which will be returned to the issue department in exchange for gold will not have been taken from those in circulation among the public, but from the reserve in the deposit department; and the sche-

rished object of making the currency vary in quantity exactly as would be the case with a metallic currency will not be effected.

We have now stated partly, in the words of Mr Tooke, partly and more often in our own, the grounds on which, in common with him, we have adopted the following conclusions:—

That the proposed changes in the mode of regulating the currency will be attended with none of the advantages predicted; that, so far as intended to guard against the danger of over-issue, they are precautions against a chimerical evil; that the real evil of commercial vicissitudes, of "cycles of excitement and depression," is not touched by them, nor by any regulations which can be adopted for bank notes or other mere instruments of credit; and that in what Mr Tooke justly calls (next to solvency and convertibility) "the main difference between one banking system and another," namely, "the greater or less liability to abrupt changes in the rate of interest and in the state of commercial credit," the present arrangements, under the condition of a larger bank reserve, have a decided advantage over the new system.

We have left ourselves little room for any observations on Colonel Torrens's reply to Mr Tooke.

Colonel Torrens is one of the first living economists, and, as he says of Mr Tooke, "can afford to lose some reputation by his present publication," though we do not think that such a result is to be apprehended. In clearness and precision of statement, and in that closeness of discussion which is a great part both of argumentative power and of dialectical dexterity, Colonel Torrens has never more distinguished himself. Not a single exposed point in his adversary escapes him; and on some minor questions we think he has successfully answered Mr Tooke. That we cannot entertain a similar opinion of his main argument, we have sufficiently shown: and the grounds of our difference have been so fully explained as to dispense, we hope, with any detailed controversy. A.

# CRITICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

## ARCHITECTURE.

Some Observations on Propriety of Style; particularly with reference to the Modern Adaptation of Gothic Architecture. By Edward Hall, Architect.

## BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of St Stephen Abbot, Founder of the Cistertian Order. James Toovey, 36 St James's street.

The Family of St Richard the Saxon. James Toovey, 36 St James's street.

## EDUCATION.

GEOGRAPHY FOR YOUNG CHILDREN. By the Author of 'Arithmetic for Young Children.' London: Charles Knight. Pp. 191.

"WE ought to begin with the *existing experience* of the child, and evolve out of it, by the most gradual progression, what we want him to know. We must begin with the reality which *is in him and around him*, and make known to him what he cannot see, by means of that which is before his senses." These remarks of Mr Lalor accurately describe the procedure of the author in the little work before us. We know of no work like the present so calculated at once to strengthen and encourage the growth of the intellectual powers, while imparting that geographical knowledge so essential for a child to obtain. It cannot be a cause of complaint, that so much labour is required of the teacher, as all this series of Mr Knight's educational works (written, we believe, by Mr Horace Grant) demand. It is more than time that the empiricism and idleness of former methods were destroyed, and that the *task* of instruction were imposed upon the teacher and not upon the pupil. From this cause the book appears to be rather a handbook for teachers than for children.

The pupils commence with drawing plans on the top of a table, floor of a room, garden, road, &c., to give them an idea of a map. The common geographical terms are then described, and illustrated by pictures, maps, and a raised model; and numerous practical exercises are given. Some pains are also taken to ensure a correct notion of the points of the compass and of relative position. A brief examination of the four quarters of the world, with suitable exercises, is followed by a more extended notice of the British Islands, and briefer chapters on Palestine and Ancient Geography. In the last section considerable pains are taken to simplify latitude and longitude, that the pupils may be thoroughly prepared to recommence the study of geography with the ordinary and more advanced school books, to which this work professes to be an introduction. The object throughout appears to be, to provide a great number of instructive and amusing exercises that shall employ the hands as well as the memory and understanding of children. This work is a great step in advance of *former methods*, and with the model referred to, in the hands of a painstaking teacher, cannot fail very materially to improve the present defective modes of geographical education. The model we have used with very great advantage in our own family, and shall certainly unite with the use of it the present work.

J.

LESSONS IN GEOGRAPHY, Ancient and Modern; with Notes. By Mrs John Slater, Authoress of Sententiæ Chronologicæ, &c. London: Suttaby and Co., 1840.

THIS is a work of considerable merit, and is the result of long experience in tuition. It consists of two parts: the first contains lists of towns, rivers, islands, &c. &c., in proper order, including everything in geography that the pupils of the authoress have been required to learn by rote, and having illustrative notes at the bottom of each page. The second part contains abridgements of voyages and travels, which the pupils will find much advantage in following on a map and globe; and ends with a journal of the travels of the authoress through a considerable part of Europe.

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LITTLE PRINCES: Anecdotes of Illustrious Children of all Ages and Countries. By Mrs John Slater. With Illustrative Sketches by J. C. Horsley, Esq. 12mo. London: J. Cundall. 1844.

THIS book is from the pen of a lady who is well known as a writer on several branches of education. The anecdotes are well told; the illustrations are beautiful; and the book is more handsomely got up than almost any we have seen for children.

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NOTES ON NATURAL HISTORY: Selected from the Microscopic Cabinet. With Coloured Engravings. By Andrew Pritchard. 12mo. Whittaker. 1844.

THIS work consists of descriptions of the larvæ of various insects, and of several animalcules or infusoria, given in a clear, unpretending, and interesting manner. The coloured plates by the late Dr Goring are very beautiful.

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THE YOUNG COMPOSER; or, Progressive Exercises in English Composition. Part I, comprising Sentence-making, Variety of Expression, &c. By James Cornwell. 18mo. Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1844.

THE plan of this work is very superior to that of the ordinary exercise books on English grammar. A simple sentence is described, and the pupil is required to form similar sentences, being supplied with parts only, or with single words. The important division of a sentence into subject and predicate is then explained and various sentences given for practice, with materials for making up others. The adjuncts in simple sentences follow in like manner, and are succeeded by more and more complicated sentences, and by exercises on variety of expression—analysis of poetry—synonymes—figurative language, and punctuation, &c. We are persuaded that this little work will be found valuable to the intelligent instructor who will take the trouble to teach grammar. On the common rote system it would be useless. For ordinary use we think it would be improved if some of the subdivisions were retrenched.

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INTRODUCTORY BOOK OF THE SCIENCES, adapted for the Use of Schools and Private Families. In two Parts. Part I, Physical Sciences. Part II, Natural Sciences. By James Nicol. 12mo. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1844.

A WORK that professes to give an account of all the physical and natural sciences in 144 pages must necessarily be extremely brief, and can only be

used with advantage as a text book under a competent instructor. This book is remarkably cheap, and contains numerous illustrations.

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Heroic Tales of Ancient Greece: Related by Berthold Niebuhr to his little son Marcus. Translated from the German. Edited, with Notes and References to Ancient Sculpture in the British Museum, &c., by Felix Summerly. 12mo. Cundall, Bond street. 1844.

A translation of the celebrated tales of Niebuhr, sufficiently clear and simple for a young child, though interesting to persons of every age. The work is beautifully got up, and is furnished with useful notes.

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Domestic Scenes in Greenland and Iceland. Von Voorst. 1844.

A little work on the manners and customs of two northern countries, illustrated with very good woodcuts, and well adapted for the instruction and amusement of children between the ages of eight and twelve. The effort to make everything exceedingly simple is however rather too apparent.

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Conversations on Language for Children. By Mrs Marcet. 12mo. Longman and Co. 1844.

There are many interesting and instructive subjects connected with language, which are not noticed in grammars, though, if properly explained, they are quite within the comprehension of children. Mrs Marcet has taken pains to explain some of these subjects; and we have no doubt that children who have gone through English grammar (especially if they know a little French or Latin) will be capable of understanding and relishing this book, if it is perused, as it should be, with a careful instructor. The nature of the work will be best understood, by those who know Mrs Marcet's former works, from a list of the subjects; they are—On the use of Language; Outline of General History, tracing the progress of the Ancient and Modern Languages; Formation and Origin of Modern Languages; Diffusion of Languages; Derivation of Words from the Greek and Latin; Saxon Language; Formation of Language; Invention of Printing. Such wide subjects must, of course, be treated in a summary manner in less than 200 pages; but the points are well selected; and the dryness of the subject is relieved by the conversations of the children, which are more dramatically sustained than is usual with the authoress.

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Glimpses of Nature and Objects of Interest, described during a Visit to the Isle of Wight. By Mrs Loudon, authoress of 'Botany for Ladies,' &c., with Illustrations. 24mo. London: Grant and Griffith. 1844.

This is a description of a real tour in the Isle of Wight by a mother and her little daughter; in which the events and objects that actually occurred are described in a way that cannot fail to interest and instruct children of from ten to twelve years of age. The plants and animals that are met with on the sea coast are naturally the subjects to which the greatest attention has been given; and these as well as the other subjects are illustrated by a considerable number of woodcuts. Independent of its own merits, which we can speak of from actual experiment, this little work acquires an interest from the fact that the tour appears to have been performed with the late lamented Mr Loudon a short time previous to his decease.

LESSONS ON ANIMALS, VEGETABLES, AND MINERALS. By Mrs Marcet. 18mo. Longman. 1844.

SOME of the most elementary and interesting subjects connected with animals, vegetables, and minerals are explained in this little work with Mrs Marcet's usual skill. These subjects have probably never before been put in a form so suitable for young children; and we consider that the work might also be of great service to the masters and mistresses of common schools by showing them how to simplify some of the most important branches of knowledge which have hitherto been altogether excluded from education.

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A MANUAL OF WRITING FOUNDED ON MULHAUSER'S METHOD OF TEACHING WRITING, AND ADAPTED TO ENGLISH USE. Under the Sanction of the Committee of Council for Education. Published by Authority, by John W. Parker, West Strand, London. 8vo. 1842.

THE Committee of Council for Education having satisfied themselves that Mulhaüser's system of teaching penmanship had met with great success on the continent, have caused this volume, which relates to large hand only, to be prepared for English use. The chief authority quoted in its favour is that of the director of the normal school at Versailles, who took a singular method of testifying its efficacy, by placing under M. Mulhaüser's tuition sixty children, who could previously write, and who were found still to be able to write, and even to comprehend their new teacher's system in less than twelve lessons. An ordinary mind would have preferred beginning with a class of children who could not write.

The book professes to give an analysis of the method; the application of the method; and a series of writing models with rules to explain them. The pupils first study the rules, next they point out their application in the corresponding models; afterwards they practice writing.

First, penmanship is analysed into its elements, and a series of names is given to these elements, as right line, curve line, link, height, crotchet, bar, curve, &c., which nomenclature is studied by the pupils, who are further exercised in naming the elements of each letter, or in detecting the letter signified when the teacher names the elements. Thus n is called hook, right line, hook, right line, link; d is double curve, right line, two heights down, half crotchet; and some other letters have much longer verbal representatives. The pupils are then dodged about, and made to guess at whole words in this new language, in which a very small word will occupy no small space. The writing models are then introduced and copied by the pupil with constant reference to the above-mentioned nomenclature; they consist of forty sheets, on which the elementary forms, the letters, and ultimately words, are introduced in the order of complexity and difficulty, on very elaborately ruled paper.

We make no objection to the arrangement of the writing models; but we do find fault with the analysis, which we hold to be incorrect, the same name being frequently given to forms which are or ought to be very different. But we have still greater complaint to make against the models themselves. They ought, at least, to consist of decent penmanship; whereas they are perfect models of bad writing in many respects, and are decidedly inferior to the manuscript of the senior boys of an ordinary school. They are valuable only in showing what ought to be avoided. Commencing with the form of the letters, we observe that the hooks and pot-hooks, as schoolboys call them, are stiff and ill formed, and their up strokes too much inclined, so that every letter containing a pot hook is

not in keeping with the rest of the letters: every o (a most important letter and element of letters) is defective in form, and generally in the position of the thickness and the inclination; the looped letters are also incorrect in thickness and inclination, and every c, v, r and w is more or less offensive to the eye. The capital letters, which depend mainly on one peculiar curve, are generally inelegant, and some, as L, H, V, W, M, N, decidedly false in the inclination of that curve, while the subordinate curve or spiral, which is found in most capitals, is faulty in every case, being part of a circular instead of an oval curve. The figures are also very ill made.

The attempt to regulate the distances between letters and parts of letters by ruling oblique lines is a failure. There is scarcely one word in the whole forty model sheets that does not offend the eye in this respect.

As this book is put forth by the government, it is surely not too much to expect that some pains should have been taken in rendering the copies perfect; and we can only account for the extraordinary incorrectness and bad taste of the models by supposing that they are the work of a German, whose cramped and ugly national hand-writing entirely disqualifies him for English penmanship. Indeed he would have been quite as fit to teach English children the pronunciation of their own tongue.

There are many good observations in Part II, on the application of the method to the tuition of large classes; but in this, as in other parts, the rules are too many, and the drill sergeant is much too visible for a method which professes peculiarly to appeal to the understanding. The book is open to great improvement, and we trust it will receive it; for we have as yet no good work on teaching penmanship. A second volume, we presume, will be required for teaching running hand, which depends on principles of its own by no means understood by writing masters; hence the schoolboy who draws, or rather paints, large letters very well, frequently fails in ever acquiring a decent running hand. A good tract on this most important branch of penmanship is much wanted; and it will be very different from the publications of the writing quacks who undertake to reform any hand, however bad, in six lessons, and succeed in uniting most of the faults that can co-exist in penmanship. G.

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MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION; with Appendices, and Plans of School Houses. 1842 and 1843.

THE contents of this volume are too numerous and important to be briefly discussed, and we have not at the present moment the time or space to enter, as we propose to do, into the subject fully. Its compilation is a gratifying evidence of continued zeal and industry in the cause of popular instruction, on the part of some, at least, connected with the Committee of Council for Education. The signs of progress, however, towards an efficient national organization for the object are at present far from encouraging.

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## FICTION.

The Bondmaid. By Frederika Bremer. Translated from the Swedish by M. L. Putnam. James Munroe and Co., Boston.

Self-Sacrifice; or, the Chancellor's Chaplain. David Bogue, 86 Fleet street.

Agathonia. Edward Moxon, Dover street.

Chronicles of the Bastile. In Monthly Parts. T. C. Newby, 65 Mortimer street.

Der Blaubart von Ludwig Tieck. By H. Apel. Simpkin and Marshall.

Tales by a Barrister. 3 vols. Chapman and Hall.

The English Fireside. By J. Mills, Esq. Saunders and Otley, Conduit street.

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Facts and Fancies. By G. Godwin, F.R.S. G. W. Nickisson, 215 Regent street.

A pleasant volume of light summer reading. Those who are weary of every-day facts and the conventional fictions of real life may find relief and amusement in the 'Facts and Fancies' of Mr Godwin.

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## HISTORY.

Court of Spain under Charles II. By Lord Mahon. J. Murray, Albemarle street.

Ranke's Turkish and Spanish Empires. Translated from the German by Walter K. Kelly, Esq. Whittaker and Co., Ave Maria lane.

Tytler's History of Scotland. Vol. 9. William Tait, Edinburgh.

History of Europe, from the Commencement of the French Revolution in 1789 to the Restoration of the Bourbons in 1815. By Archibald Alison, F.R.S.E.

Advocate. Fourth Edition. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh.

History of Ireland and the Irish People. By S. Smiles, M.D. William Strange, Paternoster row.

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## MEDICINE.

Musgrove on Congestion and Inactivity of the Liver. Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

Hare on Spinal Disease. John Churchill, Princes street, Soho. New Edition.

The Practice of the Water Cure. By James Wilson, M.D. H. Baillière, 219 Regent street.

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## MISCELLANEOUS.

Royal Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlem. General Report, 1843. Printed by A. Spottiswoode, New-street Square.

The Piedmontese Envoy. By Prothesia S. Goss. T. Ward and Co., Paternoster row.

The Chinese War. By Lieutenant J. Ouchterlony, F.G.S. Saunders and Otley.

A Grammar of the Icelandic, or Old Norse Tongue. Translated from the Swedish of Erasmus Rask. By George Webbe Dasent, M.A. W. Pickering, London.

The Fourth Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. 27 New Broad street.

Cardinal de Retz. 2 vols. T. C. Newby, 65 Mortimer street, Cavendish square.

An Essay on the best Modes of Representing Accurately by Statistical Returns the Pressure and Progress of the Causes of Mortality amongst different Classes of the Community, and amongst the Populations of different Districts and Countries. By Edwin Chadwick, Esq. J. W. Parker, West Strand.

Fifth Annual Report of the Registrar-General. 1843.

Commercial Statistics; a Digest of the Productive Resources, Commercial Legislation, Customs, Tariffs, &c., of all Nations. *Including all British Commercial Treaties with Foreign States.* By John Macgregor. In 3 Vols. 8vo. C. Knight.

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Dictionnaire Anglais-Français, Français-Anglais. Redigé sur le Nouveau Dictionnaire de l'Academie Française. Par M. Fleming et par M. Tibbins. Didot.

No. 35 to 52 of the English and French part of this dictionary, in four quarto volumes, now complete this important work—one of indispensable utility to both English and French literary students.

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The Governess. (Knight's Guide to Service.) 12mo. C. Knight and Co. 1844.

This is not a book of advice to governesses on the petty details of schoolroom tuition; it is a treatise on female education in the highest and widest sense, and will, therefore, be as useful to mothers as to governesses. The author begins by taking the governess into the family, and examines minutely the characters of the mothers whom she is likely to have to do with, pointing out carefully the various difficulties that beset her path, and the means that should be taken for overcoming or avoiding them. The nursery education of the younger children is next dwelt upon, in an intellectual, moral, and religious view. The more advanced education of the schoolroom follows; and the latter part of the book is chiefly devoted to the duties of the finishing governess. The "self-management" of the governess, her salary, and provision for old age, are also entered into.

The author is evidently a man of acute and observant character, who has mixed much in the world, especially in that part of it which most interests the governess, and is, therefore, always prepared with illustrations and anecdotes to relieve the dryness of a moral disquisition. Very few persons can have had the varied experience of the middle and upper classes of society which this work indicates. The philosoper, indeed, might prefer a writer less completely and minutely of his age and class; but the intelligent governess and mother will have reason to be satisfied that such peculiar attainments have been enlisted in their service.

The chapters on languages, music, drawing, and other common branches of instruction, though not without merit, are very inferior to those on moral and intellectual character and management. These last we are disposed to rank very high, without pretending to agree with every particular in their extensive range, which begins with the nursery, and does not end till some time after marriage.

The amiable girl who, on the strength of a few shallow accomplishments, is installed in the arduous office of forming the minds of others, often but little younger than herself, will, we fear, get no great benefit from a work like this, which makes some demand upon her intellect. For this class of teachers (by far the most numerous) a much shorter and more elementary work would be preferable—a work, however, so difficult of execution, that we are not likely soon to have it.

WOMAN'S WORTH; OR, HINTS TO RAISE THE FEMALE CHARACTER. 12mo. Clarke and Co., Old Bailey. 1844.

THIS work is the production of an earnest, amiable, and pious mind. Although it contains nothing new, and the style is much too high flown to satisfy the severe critic, the work will probably not be the less agreeable and useful on that account to the young persons for whom it was intended; and we have no desire to try the ideas or language of a popular treatise by the standard we should employ for a systematic work on morals.

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THE HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF GRAVESEND AND OF THE PORT OF LONDON. By R. P. Cruden. Pickering.

THE title-page of this book does not develop the contents of the volume, but the preface more fully explains the object of the work, which is not merely topographical, but historical; general, as well as local; giving, in many cases, valuable illustrations of greater historical dissertations, by supplying local details.

The author observes, pleasantly, that as the genealogist claims for his client the honour of an ancient descent, by showing that the founder of his family "came over with the Conqueror," he also claims the honour of an ancient origin for Gravesend, by appealing to Domesday Book, in which the locality is described.

The Thames being the source from which Gravesend has derived support in all ages, and being the link by which the town is connected with the city of London, an elaborate account of this great highway is given; beginning with a description of the river below bridge in its primeval state, and of the origin of the embankments as the first great step to its ultimate usefulness and grandeur. Sir William Dugdale, Sir Christopher Wren, and the present President of the Institute of Civil Engineers, have all opined that the embankments were the work of the Romans; which Mr Cruden controverts. He contends that, if they had been executed before the Norman Conquest, some notice of them would be found in the Saxon Chronicle or in Domesday Book; and that, as nothing appears in either, they were the work of a posterior epoch: but the author rests not here, for he produces strong evidence upon the actual origin of the embankments. The jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor, as conservator of the Thames, is at this time the subject of proceedings in the Court of Chancery, and the account, therefore, given in the work of the river conservancy may be interesting:—

"In the second posthumous edition* of the 'Survey of London,' it appears that King James I, in the third year of his reign, recognised, by his letters patent, the title of the city of London to the conservancy, and that it was recited therein that the city had been interrupted in the exercise of this authority, and that a doubt had been conceived that the same did not belong to his highness's city of London; wherefore the king, of his special grace and favour, did, by the said letters patent, grant, ratify, and confirm to the city the conservancy of the river Thames and waters of Medway."—P. 35.

"Upon the publication of the work in which these passages and other matters relating to the conservancy appeared, the secretary of state, Sir John Coke, immediately interfered; and the publisher was called upon to insert in the volume what may be called a protest against that which had been asserted in it relative to the conservancy. Sir John Coke referred the matter to Sir Henry Marten, judge of the Court of Admiralty, who required the master and wardens of the Company of Stationers to see that the objectionable matter was cancelled; but as some copies of the book had been issued, this was impracticable; whereupon it was

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* Edition of 1633, p. 939.

insisted upon that the correspondence should be inserted, which was accordingly complied with, and the letters appear upon an additional page of the volume."—Pp. 41, 42.

Again: it appears, among other facts relating to the port of London, that, by an act of parliament for rebuilding the city after the great fire in the year 1666, provision was made for preventing encroachments; but these enactments being disregarded, the Admiralty interfered, and directed a survey to be made, not by the city authorities, but by a committee or joint board, consisting of commissioners of the navy and elder brethren of the Trinity House.—Pp. 41, 42.

With these, and other matters relating to the conservancy, is given a valuable table of the length of the different reaches of the river, from London Bridge to the Nore; given for the first time from actual survey.—P. 48.

The historical notices of the vessels and commerce of the port of London in the middle ages are curious. The evidence given of the great improvement in marine architecture, by fixing the rudder at the sterns of ships, which the author assigns to the beginning of the fourteenth century, is supported by the fact, that the earliest representation of this important adjunct upon any coin or medal is to be found in the gold noble of Edward III, A. D. 1340. An illustration of commercial transactions at that period is afforded by the evidence given of the establishment at Gravesend of the office of searcher, for the security of the imposts, then under the direct administration of the Exchequer.—P. 104.

An excellent description of the manor of Gravesend, at the same period, is given, with details of the system of husbandry then in use.—P. 106.

The history of later local events embraces many original narratives of great interest, and various and amusing are the relations given of the arrival, reception, and sojournment of illustrious strangers at Gravesend, from the year 1467, when a Burgundian fleet arrived with the Bastard of Burgundy and a splendid retinue, to meet the flower of chivalry at the court of England in a grand feat of arms, to the present period.

The origin of an English navy, consisting of ships built within the realm, is elucidated by the production of the official accounts of the cost of building the great ship, the 'Harry-Grace-à-Dieu,' at Woolwich, in the year 1512; thereby establishing the claim of the naval establishment there to the title of the "mother-dock of England."—P. 142.

It has been said, that "history will ever remain inexhaustible"—an aphorism that has been exemplified in all fulness by the results of researches commenced by the public-record commissioners at the beginning of the present century. In this pursuit, by force of example, the author of the work before us has been diligent and successful; producing many details, corroborating and enriching previous histories of great events, of which Gravesend and the Thames and the Medway were the scenes. The object, progress, and result of Wyat's Rebellion have often been elaborately discussed, upon the authority of Proctor, who was an eye-witness of some of the transactions, and who has been followed by Holinshed; but Mr Cruden has dug deep in new ground, and from the archives of state* has produced many important original letters of the leaders of the queen's forces sent against the insurgents, addressed to her Majesty and her council. The Duke of Norfolk's military blunder gave a transient advantage and encouragement to Wyat, which was not counteracted by the co-operation of Sir Thomas Cheney, the lord warden, whose letters are remarkable for blustering zeal, and his proceedings for tardiness.

* State Paper office, &c. &c.

The operations of the Dutch fleet in the Thames and Medway, in the year 1667, are given in a manner to fill satisfactorily a chasm which is left in more general accounts of that event. The author's introduction of the subject claims consideration:—

"The attack made by the Dutch upon the ships and forts in the Thames and the Medway, in the year 1667, occurred within the circle embraced in the design of this work, and as many circumstances are omitted, and some misrepresentations introduced in former accounts, some additional information, drawn from authentic sources, will be given, to amend the defects. It is not necessary to sacrifice national feeling or compromise national honour to the pretension of a successful enemy in the performance of this task. Great Britain can well afford to render homage to the illustrious names of Van Tromp and De Ruyter, and their distinguished compatriots, while she points to the contemporary roll and succession of her own immortal heroes."—P. 343.

The account is given in the form of a journal, and affords a view of the proceedings of the enemy from first to last. Upon this subject also, the author has produced many official letters, never before published; and he has added a supplement, containing the case of Commissioner Pett at Chatham, upon whom the odium of that affair has been hitherto unfairly cast. The evidence produced is ample and conclusive, and the "summing up" leads to a conviction of the actual offenders:—

"The facts disclosed in the foregoing relation of the proceedings, when an enemy ventured to attack the king's ships in his own harbours, will afford this consolation at least, that the humiliating circumstances are not attributable to this gallant nation, but to those who administered the public affairs with feeble hands and faithless hearts. The royal brothers, engulphed in dissoluteness, surrounded by parasites insensible of patriotism, abandoned their sacred duties, and left the interests of the people committed to their care to the calamities of warfare on their own territory. But they were doomed to be the objects of unfavourable reminiscences. Charles procured for himself no higher fame than to have it said of him, 'that he never said a foolish thing, nor ever did a wise one;' and James, after wielding in succession the trident and the sceptre of these realms, was driven from his throne."

We have no space for further extracts, but we may add, in the words of the preface, that "What may be considered the domestic concerns of Gravesend, through a long succession of ages, has been copiously described from every accessible source of authentic information. In conclusion, the great and rapid changes in the circumstances of the town are carefully noticed; and since the epithet of 'young' has been applied to a regenerated nation, they will be found to entitle it to the designation of YOUNG GRAVESEND."

The local history contains much that is curious, and is followed by some valuable statistical information; by which it appears, that within a few years Gravesend has risen from comparative insignificance to such an extent and populousness as to place it in a rank with many of the prominent towns of England, and that such are the local attractions and the facilities of intercourse, that half a million of visitors annually resort to the spot.

A copious index is added, and the work, which is well got up, is embellished with nearly forty woodcuts and engravings. It will, no doubt, find a place in every local library of Kent, to the general history of which this volume may be regarded as another valuable contribution; and it will be read with interest by all who are curious in antiquarian researches.

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LIFE IN A SICK ROOM. Moxon.

NOT the life of the prostrated sensualist, nor of the petty tyrant of a farm, a factory, or a family—not the life of a gloomy fanatic, nor of the idle or

useless being whose day of health has been wasted in the pursuits of selfishness and frivolity—but the sick-room experience of a rational, intelligent, philosophic Christian employed in analysing the mysterious and complicated movements of the human mind and feelings, and in extracting from suffering itself the highest sources of consolation, and lessons useful to both the sick and the well. We lament the circumstances which have called forth this book; every reader of Harriet Martineau must feel sincerely grieved to hear of her long-continued state of ill health; and yet it is obvious that under no other circumstances could such a work as 'Life in a Sick Room' have been written; and to our thinking, it is the most valuable, and likely to be the most enduring, of this lady's productions.

It is a mark of an ill-regulated mind to be dissatisfied with the present, and addicted to envy; the true art of happiness consists in making the most and the best of whatever we possess, and in whatever circumstances we may be placed, finding out the best reasons for content. This is pleasingly illustrated by the writer at the commencement of the work :—

"But while agreeing in this, our happiest fellowship must be, I think, in seeing, with a clearness we could never otherwise have attained, the vastness and certainty of the progression with which we have so little to do. I do not believe it is possible for persons in health and action to trace, as we can, the agencies for good that are going on in life and the world. Or, if they can, it seems as if the perception were accompanied by a breathless fear,—a dread of being, if not crushed, whirled away somewhere, hurried along to new regions for which they are unprepared, and to which, however good, they would prefer the familiar. You and I, and our fellow sufferers, see differently, whether or not we see further. We know and feel, to the very centre of our souls, that there is no hurry, no crushing, no devastation attending Divine processes. While we see the whole system of human life rising and rising into a higher region and a purer light, we perceive that every atom is as much cared for as the whole."

It is delightful to see how the poor invalid may thus look down on the busy world from the unsuspected 'vantage ground of a sick room. So, again, what a beautiful description of the evanescent nature of painful sensations and the permanent enjoyment of pleasing impressions we have in the following quotation :—

"During the year, perhaps, there may be two surprises of light-heartedness, for four hours in June, and two hours and a half in October, with a few single flashes of joy in the intermediate seasons, on the occurrence of some rousing idea, or the revival of some ancient association. Over all the rest has brooded a thick heavy cloud of care, apparently causeless, but not for that the less real. This is the sum of the pains of the year, in relation to illness. What are these pains now?—Not only gone, but annihilated. They are destroyed so utterly, that even memory can lay no hold upon them. The fact of their occurrence is all that even memory can preserve. The sensations themselves cannot be retained, nor recalled, nor revived, they are the most absolutely evanescent, the most essentially and completely destructible of all things. Sensations are unimaginable to those who are most familiar with them. Their concomitants may be remembered, and so vividly conceived of, as to excite emotions at a future time :, but the sensations themselves cannot be conceived of when absent. This pain, which I feel now as I write, I have felt innumerable times before; yet, accustomed as I am to entertain and manage it, the sensation itself is new every time; and a few hours hence I shall be as unable to represent it to myself as to the healthiest person in the house. Thus are all the pains of the year annihilated. What remains?

"All the good remains.

"And how is this? whence this wide difference between the good and the evil?

"Because the good is indissolubly connected with ideas—with the unseen realities which are indestructible. This is true, even of those pleasures of sense which of themselves would be as evanescent as bodily pains. The flowers sent to

me by kind neighbours have not perished,—that is, the idea and pleasure of them remain, though every blossom was withered months ago. The game and fruit, eaten in their season, remain as comforts and luxuries, preserved in the love that sent them. Every letter and conversation abide,—every new idea is mine for ever; all the knowledge, all the experience of the year, is so much gain. Even the courses of the planets, and the changes of the moon, and the hay-making and harvest, are so much immortal wealth—as real a possession as all the pain of the year was a passing apparition. Yes, even the quick bursts of sunshine are still mine. For one instance, which will well illustrate what I mean, let us look so far as the Spring, and take one particular night of severe pain, which made all rest impossible. A short intermission, which enabled me to send my servant to rest, having ended in pain, I was unwilling to give further disturbance, and wandered, from mere misery, from my bed and my dim room, which seemed full of pain, to the next apartment, where some glimmer through the thick window-curtain showed that there was light abroad. Light indeed! as I found on looking forth. The sun, resting on the edge of the sea, was hidden from me by the walls of the old priory: but a flood of rays poured through the windows of the ruin, and gushed over the waters, strewing them with diamonds, and then across the green down before my windows, gilding its furrows, and then lighting up the yellow sands on the opposite shore of the harbour, while the market-garden below was glittering with dew and busy with early bees and butterflies. Besides these bees and butterflies, nothing seemed stirring, except the earliest riser of the neighbourhood, to whom the garden belongs. At the moment, she was passing down to feed her pigs, and let out her cows; and her easy pace, arms a-kimbo, and complacent survey of her early greens, presented me with a picture of ease so opposite to my own state, as to impress me ineffaceably. I was suffering too much to enjoy this picture at the moment: but how was it at the end of the year? The pains of all those hours were annihilated—as completely vanished as if they had never been; while the momentary peep behind the window-curtain made me possessor of this radiant picture for evermore. This is an illustration of the universal fact. That brief instant of good has swallowed up long weary hours of pain."

We must not pass the writer's testimony to the advantages of the new postage, after a satirical remark on many of the projects and quackeries of the day:—

"With regard to the projects, however, I am at present disposed to make one partial exception—to acknowledge, as far as I can at present see, one case of singularity. I mean with regard to the New Postage. The general rule proves true in one half of it, that many great and yet unascertained benefits are arising, of which the projector did not dream; so that a volume might be filled with anecdotes, curious to the spectator and delightful to the benevolent. But, thus far, it does not appear that any fallacy has mixed itself with the express expectations of the projector. I do not speak of the failure of his efforts to get his whole plan adopted. That will soon be a matter of small account—a disappointment and vexation gone by—a temporary trial of patience, forgotten except by the record. I mean that he has advanced no propositions which he does not seem perfectly able to prove, uttered no promises which do not appear certain to be fulfilled. This project is, perhaps, the noblest afloat in our country and time, considering the moral interests it involves. It is, perhaps, scarcely possible to exaggerate the force and extent of its civilising and humanising influences, especially in regard to its spreading the spirit of Home over all the occupations and interests of life, in defiance of the separating powers of distance and poverty; and it will be curious if this enterprise, besides keeping the school-child at his mother's bosom, the apprentice, the governess, and the maid-servant, at their father's hearth—and us sick or aged people entertained daily with the flowers, music, books, sentiment and news of the world we have left—should prove an exception to all others in performing all its express promises. At present, I own, this appears no matter of doubt. * * * * *

"It is sometimes said, that it is a pity when great men do not happen to die on the completion of the one grand achievement of their lives, instead of taming down

the effect by living on afterwards like common men;—that Clarkson should have died on the abolition of the slave trade,—Howard after his first or second journey,—Scott on the publication of his best romance,—and so on. But there is a melo-dramatic air about such a wish, which appears childish to moral speculators. We are glad to have Clarkson still, to honour freshly in his old age. We see more glory about the head of John Quincy Adams contending, as a Representative in Congress, for popular rights, than he ever wore as President of the United States. We should be glad that Rowland Hill should live and work as a common man for a quarter of a century after the complete realization of his magnificent boon to society."

We conclude our extracts from a work which we think all ought to read, and certainly no sick room should be without, with the following vivid description and powerful appeal on behalf of the sick and suffering poor:—

"I have said how unavailing is luxury when the body is distressed and the spirit faint. At such times, and at all times, we cannot but be deeply grieved at the conception of the converse of our own state, at the thought of the multitude of poor suffering under privation, without the support and solace of great ideas. It is sad enough to think of them on a winter's night, aching with cold in every limb, and sunk as low as we in nerve and spirits, from their want of sufficient food. But this thought is supportable in cases where we may fairly hope that the greatest ideas are cheering them as we are cheered: that there is a mere set-off of their cold and hunger against our disease; and that we are alike inspired by spiritual vigour in the belief that our Father is with us,—that we are only encountering the probations of our pilgrimage,—that we have a divine work given us to carry out, now in pain and now in joy. There is comfort in the midst of the sadness and shame when we are thinking of the poor who can reflect and pray,—of the old woman who was once a punctual and eager attendant at church,—of the wasting child who was formerly a Sunday-scholar,—of the reduced gentleman or destitute student who retain the privilege of their humanity,—of 'looking before and after.' But there is no mitigation of the horror when we think of the savage poor, who form so large a proportion of the hungerers,—when we conceive of them suffering the privation of all good things at once,—suffering under the aching cold, the sinking hunger, the shivering nakedness,—without the respite or solace afforded by one inspiring or beguiling idea.

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France:—Her Government, Administration, and Local Organization, Exposed and Considered. J. Madden and Co.

Before we met with this volume our attention had been favourably directed to the work, but we have read it with feelings of disappointment and regret. The object of the writer is the common and popular one of denouncing "centralization," without, however, explaining where he would have local influence end, or whether he would have the business of government carried on without any kind of central agency. In France many things are brought under the direct supervision of government, which with us are left to chance; and the result, according to the writer, is an enormous concentration of power in the hands of the minister, and an unparalleled administrative expenditure. How is the case made out? We have a formidable list given us of government *employés*, which might certainly lead an unreflecting mind to the conclusion, that a minister who could wield such an amount of patronage could never be overthrown. What is the fact? The author himself informs us, "that in the ten years from August 1830 to December 1840 there have been fifteen changes of ministry in France." Fifteen changes of ministry, and yet each ministry during its period of office had the command of that formidable centralized power of which we are now continually reminded as destructive of public liberty, whenever a question is raised about reforming local abuses!

The civil administration of France, the writer tells us, costs 18,462,124*l.* "six times as much as the same kind of expenditure in England." This appears strange; for it is certainly new to learn that public money is applied among us so frugally, that a neighbouring country, with fewer resources, can afford to spend six pounds for our one without bankruptcy: but yet more strange is it, that the writer should fail himself to have accounted for this extraordinary discrepancy by discovering that he was not comparing the same items. The budgets of an English and French minister are made up upon such different principles that the little relation there may be between them gives no idea whatever of the comparative cost of the civil administration of the two countries. For example, the French budget for the present year includes an item of 1,500,000*l.* for public worship. No such item, of course, appears in the annual statement of our Chancellor of the Exchequer; but will any one contend that less public money is spent upon the church in the United Kingdom than in France; or that the church patronage is a less influential source of power to the governing class of this country than church patronage, is under the more centralized system of the continent. The church and the poor of the United Kingdom cost, at least, eight millions sterling per annum more than is expended upon the church and the poor of France (excluding, of course, free gifts and voluntary offerings), yet this excess is not charged by the writer to the account of English civil administration. He would really seem to have persuaded himself that when abuses are not seen, it is much the same thing as if they did not exist. The French system has, at least, the merit of showing at a glance whatever waste may exist in any branch of the public service; and no doubt there is enough in the department of public works (des Ponts et des Chaussés), which the writer holds up to especial animadversion; but what would be the amount of a centralised account of all the public money spent in England by jobbing, turnpike trusts, county magistrates, and corporate bodies, on the same class of objects. We are told that in France "the light-houses employ about 300 officials, and cost annually 700,000 francs,"—28,000*l.*

What do light-houses in England cost? Nothing, we might presume, according to the reasoning of the writer, for the expenditure connected with them does not appear in the Chancellor's annual financial statement, and the public have absolutely no knowledge of the subject; but an irresponsible corporation, called the Trinity House, collect annually 200,000*l.* for light-houses alone, and waste in mere establishment expenses a sum nearly equal to the cost of maintaining all the light-houses of France.

It is obvious that the writer, in comparing budgets, instead of separate branches of public expenditure, and in omitting to collect the data for showing the *aggregate* cost of our own anomalous system before comparing it with that of French administration, has deprived his work of all the value it might otherwise have had. But even a difference of figures proves nothing without an investigation of all the circumstances out of which they arise. The French Chambers vote annually about ten times the sum for national education* that has yet been sanctioned by the House of Commons for the same object. Surely we are not to regard this as a vice of French centralization. Patronage in France is undoubtedly an evil; but we believe it to be a mere shadow as compared with the influence of an English Conservative aristocracy over the church, the army, the navy, and colonial appointments; and we should bear in mind that all irresponsible

* The vote for the present year 1844, is 16,994,488 f.

bodies, however locally independent, are by the very instinct of their natures, supporters of an anti-reforming administration. In the French army a private may rise from the ranks, and in the French church its best paid offices are not looked upon as the privileged birthright of younger sons. French patronage has a broad democratic base: English patronage is an appendage to the estates of the landed interest.

A chapter upon the municipal organization of France (which is condemned *in toto*, and most unjustly) has the very serious defect of describing the law exactly as it stood in 1831, without any reference to its more recent modifications. The present state of French municipal organization is thus described by Horace Say, son of the celebrated French economist:—

"Les lois de 1834 et de 1837 sur les attributions municipales ont relaché les liens dans lesquels était enchainée l'action locale des communes; les conseils municipaux ont pris de l'importance, et ont acquis un droit réel d'action tout en restant cependant soumis au contrôle d'autorités qui leur sont supérieurs et à l'action régulatrice du gouvernement central. La réforme à cet égard a été timide, elle est encore loin d'être complète, mais le premier pas était important à faire, et déjâ une vie nouvelle se révèle sur tous les points du pays. Les routes départmentales les chemins vicinaux de grande et de petite communication, s'ameliorent; les villes deviennent plus propres, mieux pavées et mieux éclairées; des édifices élégants s'y élèvent et un aspect général de plus grande aisance et d'une prospérité plus egalement repartie se revéle aux yeux du voyageur qui après un intervalle plus ou moins long visite de nouveau les différentes parties de notre belle France." *

This statement from one of the most liberal and intelligent Frenchmen of the day, differs wholly from that of our author. But another passage in his work shows that he has been unpardonably careless in collecting his facts, and in not correcting hearsay evidence by better sources of information.

"At the present moment the destinies of Algeria are committed to a commission, the chairman of which, Enfantin, was nine years ago branded by the verdict of a jury as a violator of all social laws and a swindler, and was sentenced to a fine and one year's imprisonment. His accomplice and favourite disciple, Chevalier, was sentenced to the same penalty for the same offence. Now behold him a councillor of state, and M. Guizot's candidate for the minister of public works."†

This reminds us of the Bishop of Exeter's description of Robert Owen and the Socialists, but with this difference, that the St Simonists, of whom Enfantin and Chevalier were the head, were for the most part men of talent and education immeasurably superior to Robert Owen or any of his followers. The St Simonists were a body of enthusiastic young men who set up world reformers upon a large scale, and spent their money (some of them large fortunes) in the undertaking. When their funds were exhausted, and the enterprise failed, they were accused of having swindled some of the parties who had joined the society, and lost their money with the rest, and the verdict of the jury was precisely that which the verdict of a good orthodox Church-and-State jury would have been on the trial of a society of Chartists or Repealers for a similar offence. Since this period the St Simonists have not existed as a body, but several of the old members of that society have deservedly risen in public estimation. M. Chevalier is professor of Political Economy to the College of France, and the author of 'Lettres sur l'Amerique du Nord,' which scarcely rank less high than the celebrated work of De Tocqueville.

It is to centralization, or the despotic tendencies of the French Government, that the wall of Paris and the postponement of railroads we are told may be traced. The writer is ill informed also upon these subjects. After

* 'Annuaire de l' Economie Politique pour 1844.' Gillaumin, Paris.
† Page 223.

the breach with England, occasioned by the inexcusable Syrian policy of Lord Palmerston, the building of an *enceinte continuée* was a measure more popular with the democracy of Paris than Louis Philippe; and if London had been twice occupied by hostile armies within a period of twenty years, we doubt whether something of the kind, under very reasonable causes of national irritation, would not have been popular here. It was supported by the republican 'National,' and the same journal has contributed quite as much as a doctrinaire cabinet to the postponement of railroads by its powerful attacks upon the English system; one, undoubtedly, not deserving universal imitation. We have got our railroads certainly—and have paid for them.

We conclude our notice of 'France, her Government and Organization Exposed and Considered,' by referring the reader to the preface, dedicated to Sir Robert Peel, from which it would appear that the work was partly undertaken with a view of writing down the Metropolitan Police. Sir Robert Peel is warned to disband the force, lest it should lead to all the frightful evils of a centralizing system depicted in the volume. The principal arguments urged to support this recommendation are, that the police might be employed as spies by a government disposed to use them, and a Vidocq or a Gisquét be placed at their head. A government disposed to adopt a system of espionage, would not commit the blunder of employing an ostensible agency for such a purpose. Secret agents, not known as functionaries of government, would surely answer the purpose better; and down to the time of the Cato-street conspiracy, British statesmen stooped to avail themselves of such assistance. As to Vidocq and Gisquét, if they could not maintain their position in Paris, the danger is somewhat remote of their superseding Mr Mayne or Colonel Rowan as Commissioners of Metropolitan Police.

We are not advocates of "centralization" in the sense in which the word is used by the writer. A country cannot be well governed without local agencies, locally as well as generally responsible, and to which a reasonable discretion should be allowed, But we have more real "centralization" in this country than in France. All power here is centralized in the landed interest, as represented by a majority of the House of Commons. The Government itself is weak. We are not for rendering it helpless, lest it should do mischief. We would obtain all necessary securities against the abuse of power by a government, and then strengthen its hands.

H.

## MUSIC.

Colour Music. By D. D. Jameson. Smith, Elder, and Co.

A treatise containing few words, but two ideas of some merit and originality: one, that a much simpler notation of music than the present may be constructed by employing the prismatic colours to denote the different intervals of the scale; doing away at once with the staff and the whole of the musical characters now in use; the other, that *a symmetrical arrangement of colours made to strike the eye in the same order of sequence that musical sounds strike the ear, would produce a corresponding agreeable effect; not, of course, in kind, but in degree.*

The proposition for a coloured notation of music is open to the practical objections that, the *chromatic* intervals would not be distinguishable by candle light. Sad confusion would frequently be made by mistaking a blue sharp for a green flat. A modification, however, of the principle might be introduced in elementary works for the use of schools, and with great advantage. For example, if the notes forming the common chord,

the one, three, five of the key note, or tonic triad, were printed in the three primary colours—red, blue, and yellow—it would be a great help to young "sight singers," and students of thorough base. In fact, the colours would almost get rid at once of the apparent complexity of the science occasioned by the changes of keys and clefs. The most essential intervals would thus be recognised at a glance, and their relation in the harmony of the composition would be readily understood.

The instrument described by the author for producing colours in a musical order of sequence is one of simple arrangement. He places a pianoforte in a darkened window. To the keys of the pianoforte are attached wires; to the wires small screens, which, when pulled aside, expose coloured pieces of glass: the colour of the glass exposed always corresponding with the colour of the note struck, as painted on the instrument, and the image remaining of course upon the retina just as long as the sound remains upon the ear. Thus a blind man might play and a deaf man look on, and both be equally gratified. We can easily imagine that colours, appearing and disappearing in a fixed symmetrical order, and sometimes blending into each other, would produce highly pleasing sensations. Such a musical kaleidoscope would add to the attractions of the Polytechnic Institution as a popular exhibition, and we would willingly go some distance to judge of the effect.

The subject should be studied in connexion with another work of considerable value to the arts—'Hay on Harmonious Colouring;' * on reading which we are inclined to conclude that Mr Jameson has coloured his notes wrong. If the intensity of colours be, as Mr Hay states (page 15), in the following numerical proportion—yellow 3, red 5, and blue 8—then blue should be the tonic or key note, red the dominant or 5th of the chord, and yellow the 3rd or mediant. The power of the colours would then correspond with the power or relative importance of the notes represented.

H.

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We have been compelled to defer a notice of the 'Better Land,' by J. Abel, Esq., and some other musical works.

## PAMPHLETS.

A Letter to the Editor of 'The Times' in the Cause of the Poor. By George Giles Vincent. T. Cadell, Strand.

Thoughts on Duelling and its Abolition. Remarks on a Remonstrance addressed to the British Public by Twenty-nine Members of Parliament connected with Ireland. By William Johnson Campbell, Esq.

A Letter to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., President of the Board of Trade, on Railway Legislation. G. W. Nickisson, 215 Regent street.

Ecclesiastical Law. The Constitutions of Otho, with Notes. By John William White, Esq., of Doctors' Commons, Proctor. J. G. F. and J. Rivington, St Paul's Church yard.

The Impolicy and Injustice of Imprisoning O'Connell. By the Author of 'Ireland and its Rulers.' T. C. Newby, 65 Mortimer street.

Public Health. An Oration delivered on the Seventieth Anniversary of the London Medical Society. By Leonard Stewart, M.D. Longman and Co., Paternoster row.

Some Thoughts on the Influence which the Misgovernment of Ireland and the Political Agitation produced by that Misrule are likely to exert on

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* Published by Orr and Co.

the Political Relations of the Great Powers of Europe with each other, and with the United States of America. Conveyed in the form of a letter, addressed, without permission, to the Earl of Shrewsbury and Waterford. By an Anglo-Irishman. Effingham Wilson.

Remarks on the rise of Vivisection as a means of Scientific Research, in a Letter addressed to the Earl of Caernarvon, President of the Society for Preventing Cruelty to Animals. By Richard Jameson. Baillière, 219 Regent street.

Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes. By John Yonge Akerman, F.S.A. No. I: Hispania. J. Russell Smith, 4 Old Compton street, Soho.

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## PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE.

Nicol's Introductory Book of the Sciences. Simpkin and Marshall.

Hopkins on Geology and Magnetism. Richard and John Edward Taylor, Red Lion court, Fleet street.

A History of British Fossil Mammalia and Birds. By Richard Owen, F.R.S., F.G.S., &c. Part I. John Van Voorst, Paternoster row.

The Fallacies of our own Time. By Oliver Byrne and Professor John Byrne. Part I: Fallacy of Phrenology. Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper, Paternoster row.

The Science of Language. By Morgan Kavanagh. 2 vols. Longman, Brown, and Co.

Political Economy Essay. By John Stuart Mill. J. W. Parker, West Strand.

The Book of Symbols. Chapman and Hall.

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ESSAYS ON SOME UNSETTLED QUESTIONS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. By J. S. Mill. Parker, Strand.

In a brief notice of this volume, we must content ourselves with stating the heads of the subjects discussed. They are the following:—1. The laws of interchange between nations, and the distribution of the gains of commerce among the countries of the commercial world. 2. The influence of consumption upon production. 3. Meaning of the words "productive" and "unproductive." 4. Profits and interest. 5. How political economy should be defined, and the method of investigation proper to it.

Of these essays, the last only has been previously printed. The first four were written between 1829 and 1830, and are now published in consequence of recent discussions having drawn the attention of political economists to similar questions connected with the abstract science.

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## POETRY AND THE DRAMA.

The Works of Burns. Vol. I. Blackie and Son, Warwick Square.

Iphigenia in Tauris. From the German of Goethe. By G. L. Hartwig, M. & P.D. Black and Armstrong.

The Silent Village. By Thomas Clarke. William Pickering, 177 Piccadilly.

The Pearl of Peristan. By George Alder. T. Gladding, City road.

owell'sP oems. Second Edition. J. Owen, Cambridge.

Palm Leaves. By Richard Monckton Milnes. E. Moxon, Dover street.

The Power of Conscience, or the Monopolist. By Thomas Latter. Smith, Elder, and Co., Cornhill.

Schiller's Poems and Ballads. Translated by Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, Bart. 2 Vols. Blackwood and Sons.

Bells and Pomegranates, No. 6: Colombe's Birthday. By Robert Browning. E. Moxon, Dover street.

The Batuccas; also Francisco Alvarez, and other Poems. By William Henry Leathem. Longman, Brown, and Co.

Spicer's Poems. G. W. Nickisson, 215 Regent street.

C. Knight's Library Edition of Shakspere. Vol. X: Tragedies. C. Knight, Ludgate street.

King Alfred: a Poem. By J. Fitchett. Edited by R. Roscoe. 2 Vols. W. Pickering, London.

Mohammed, and other Poems. By Lieut. Hamilton. H. Macleod. Athenæum Press. J. Hall, printer.

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THE POETICAL WORKS OF LEIGH HUNT.

ENGLISH SONGS AND OTHER MINOR POEMS. By Barry Cornwall. E. Moxon.

THE series of new editions of modern poets published by Mr Moxon needs few or no words of recommendation. Good paper, good type, neat portable volumes, poetry deservedly popular, and sometimes of the highest order, are the elements which command success. If there be any man who would grudge half-a-crown for a complete edition of the poetical works of Leigh Hunt, or the songs of Barry Cornwall, let him read nothing but prose the rest of his life. One of Leigh Hunt's quaint fancies may amuse those of our readers who have not met before with the following dialogue :—

THE MAN AND THE FISH.

*To Fish.*

You strange, astonished-looking, angle-faced,
Dreary-mouth'd, gaping wretches of the sea,
Gulping salt water everlastingly;
Cold-blooded, though with red your blood be graced,
And mute, though dwellers in the roaring waste;
And you, all shapes beside, that fishy be,—
Some round, some flat, some long, all devilry,
Legless, unloving, infamously chaste :—

O, scaly, slippery, wet, swift, staring wights,
What is't ye do? what life lead? eh, dull goggles?
How do ye vary your vile days and nights?
How pass your Sundays? are ye still but joggles
In ceaseless wash? still nought but gapes, and bites,
And drinks, and stares, diversified with boggles?

*A Fish Answers.*

Amazing monster! that, for aught I know,
With the first sight of thee didst make our race
For ever stare! O, flat and shocking face,
Grimly divided from the breast below!

Thou that on dry land horribly dost go
With a split body and most ridiculous pace,
Prong after prong, disgracer of all grace;
Long useless-finn'd, hair'd, upright, unwet, slow!

O breather of unbreathable, sword-sharp air,
How canst exist? how bear thyself, thou dry
And dreary sloth! what particle canst share
Of the only blessed life, the watery?
I sometimes see of ye an actual *pair*
Go by, link'd fin by fin, most odiously.

• Barry Cornwall should have been one of the poets engaged by the Committee of Council for Education to write songs for the people when it was first purposed to teach them vocal music. We have rarely met with a better industrial song than the following:—

THE WEAVER'S SONG.

Weave, brothers, weave!—swiftly throw
The shuttle athwart the loom,
And show us how brightly your flowers grow,
That have beauty but no perfume!
Come, show us the rose, with a hundred dyes,
The lily, that hath no spot;
The violet, deep as your true love's eyes,
And the little forget-me-not.
Sing,—sing brothers, weave and sing,
'Tis good both to sing and to weave;
'Tis better to work than live idle;
'Tis better to sing than grieve.

Weave, brothers, weave!—weave and bid
The colours of sunset glow!
Let grace in each gliding thread be hid;
Let beauty about ye blow;
Let your skein be long, and your silk be fine,
And your hands both firm and sure,
And time nor chance shall your work untwine,
But all,—like a truth,—endure!
So,—sing, brothers, &c.

Weave, brothers, weave!—toil is ours;
But toil is the lot of men;
One gathers the fruit, one gathers the flowers,
One soweth the seed again.
There is not a creature, from England's king
To the peasant that delves the soil,
That knows half the pleasures the seasons bring,
If he have not his share of toil!
So,—sing, brothers, &c.

There are many gems in the collection from whence this is taken; some familiar to the public, as arranged to music by the Chevalier Neukomm.

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THE BOOK OF SCOTTISH SONGS. By Alex. Whitelaw. Blackie and Son.

A COMPREHENSIVE collection of the songs of Scotland, about twelve hundred in number, ancient and modern. The work is tastefully got up, printed in a small but clear type, illustrated with plates and historical notes, and belonging to the class of books designed as presents, is entitled to a high rank among them.

## POLITICS.

Ireland and its Rulers. 2 Vols. Second Edition. T. C. Newby, 65 Mortimer street, Cavendish square.

Buchanan's Taxation and Commercial Policy of Great Britain. W. Tait, Edinburgh.

The Constitutional Rights of Landlords. R. Groombridge, London.

## RELIGION.

Bullar's Lay Lectures. Longman and Co.

Madge's Lectures on Puseyism. Longman and Co.

Heugh's Religion in Geneva and Belgium. James MacLehose, Glasgow.

A Church without a Prelate. By the Rev. Lyman Coleman. Thomas Ward, Paternoster row.

## REVIEWS AND PERIODICALS.

Brownson's Quarterly Review. John Green, Newgate street.

The Classical Museum, No. IV. John W. Parker, Strand.

The North American Review. Miller.

## TOPOGRAPHY.

Natural History of the County of Stafford. By Robert Garner, F.L.S. John Van Voorst, Paternoster row.

## VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Travels in Kordofan. By Ignatius Pallme. J. Madden and Co., 8 Leadenhall street.

Câbul and the Punjâb. By Lieut. William Barr. J. Madden and Co.

Wrangell's Siberia and Polar Sea. By Lieut.-Col. Sabine. J. Madden and Co.

HIGHLANDS OF ÆTHIOPIA. By Major Harris. Longman. (*Second Notice.*)

THE 'Foreign and Colonial Review,' of April last, contains some strictures on our notice of Major Harris's 'Highlands of Æthiopia,' which, in the opinion of some of our readers, may call for a few observations in reply. We will confine them to the material points in discussion.

It is asserted by the critic, that on the 1st January, 1843, Oubie, the present ruler of Tigre, was "dethroned and a prisoner." What is the fact? Oubie was taken prisoner in the beginning of February, 1842, but *was almost instantly set at liberty* by the Ras, and "restored" to his previous possessions both hereditary and acquired by conquest. *In April*, 1842, when Mr Krapf passed through Tigre (see his 'Travels,' p. *501*), *Oubie was in Semien*, his hereditary province, and since that time he has ruled over Semien, Tigre, Walkait, &c., as he did previously to his brief captivity. We repeat, therefore, that "Major Harris's deficiency in a knowledge of the political affairs of Abyssinia is sufficiently evinced by his speaking, on the 1st January, 1843, of Oubie as the *late* Nero-like Dedjasmach of Tigre."

The critic adds "this simple explanation," namely, that Major Harris's preface being dated 1st January, 1843, "accounts for the use of the phrase 'hitherto undescribed,' as applied to parts of the Galla country, described briefly in Mr Krapf's 'Journal,' published a year after Major Harris's book was written." So, on the 1st January, one thousand eight hundred

and forty-*four*, Major Harris is *to publish*, without qualification, the assertion that this country is "hitherto undescribed," and then the excuse is to be set up that the previously-written description by a previous traveller (of whose visit to that country and description of it he was conscious), was *not published* at the time Major Harris's manuscript was *written*, although it was published some months before his work made its appearance! And lame even as this excuse is, still nothing is said with respect to *M. Rochet's* work, in which the same country is "described," and which was not only published in 1841, but was with its author in Shoa, and at Major Harris's elbow on the 1st January, 1843.

Our objection to the expression, "all the multifarious," as applied to the *three* "marks and tokens" on the dollars current in Abyssinia, is met by citing a passage from Mr Isenberg's Amharic Dictionary, which says—"The chief objects of attention in them are the points in the aggrafa or shoulder-jewel, and in the coronet. If they are not very distinct, the Abyssinians reject the dollar as not genuine. Also the S. F. below must not be wanting." Therefore, but *three* marks or tokens after all; for no one will, except perversely, contend that every several line and part of each mark or token, is to be regarded as a separate mark or token. An Abyssinian, on taking a dollar in his hand, immediately looks to these *three* "marks or tokens"—the coronet on the head, the jewelled clasp on the shoulder, and the mint mark at foot. If these three marks are perfect and distinct, the dollar, in his estimation, is a good one; if not, it is rejected.

With reference to the invocation, "In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate," the critic exclaims, "What will be thought of the extent of the reviewer's acquirements by those who know that the Mohammadans of India *always* use the invocation referred to?" We, on the other hand, assert that Mohammedans, whether of India or elsewhere, never do use it; and we refer for our *proof* to the *commencement* of the passage already cited by us from Lane's 'Modern Egypt,' where it is stated that the invocation used *on slaughtering animals* is "In the name of God! *God is most great!*"—and more especially to "*Qanoon-e-Islam*, or the Customs of the Moosulmans of India, by Jaffur Shurreef (a native of the Deccan), composed under the direction of, and translated by, G. A. Herklots, M.D., Surgeon on the Madras Establishment;" the authority of which work will, we apprehend, be conclusive. It says (Appendix, p. 102) "*Zoobuh*, ذبح a sacrifice, slaughter; *zoobuh kurna*, to sacrifice, to kill (animals for food, agreeably to the Mohummudan law), to slaughter. It consists in repeating the words *bismillah Alla ho akbur*, 'In the name of the great God,' whilst drawing the knife and cutting, &c." Consequently, not "Bismillahi rahmani rahim, in the name of God, *the compassionate, the merciful*," so formally recorded and reiterated by Major Harris.

All that is to be "inferred" from our expression "an *instructed* Mohammedan people" is, that the Mudaitos as regards religious instruction, stand no lower in relation to the "learned doctors" of Aussa, than the people of Oxfordshire generally do to the learned doctors of the University in that county, and that they do *relatively* stand no lower we have no hesitation in maintaining. The "instruction" of these savage people has this good at least, that immediately on the introduction of Mohammedanism a number of Pagan barbarities—such as cannibalism, human sacrifices, &c—at once cease. These are facts well known; and, consequently, we must still be allowed to question the existence of cannibalism and blood-drinking among the *Mohammedan* Mudaitos, even in the case of single individuals, and by way of exception.

Major Harris's assertion, that "after crossing the Chacha the country is no longer safe for a single traveller" (of which we dispute the correctness), is attempted to be supported by the further assertion that "Dr Beke did not pass through any part of *the unsafe country alluded to, but to the west of it*"—in other words, he did not go there, *but he went further!* Major Harris alludes to no "unsafe" country in particular, he simply says "after crossing the Chacha," which river Dr Beke did cross.

A more serious question is thus evaded. "As to the attempt to show the nullity of the treaty from the usage of Mr Krapf, and the treatment he experienced from a Galla chieftain, independent of Sahela Selassie, *that* has nothing to do with the conduct of Sahela Selassie himself, whose primary instructions that chief complied with." We showed the nullity of the treaty, not from "the treatment Mr Krapf experienced from a Galla chieftain," but from "the usage" he met with *from Sahela Selassie himself!* And we now repeat, that after a treaty had been entered into, stipulating that British subjects should not be prevented or molested in proceeding to Shoa, and guaranteeing their safety and the security of their property there, Mr Krapf and the other missionaries of the Church Missionary Society were prohibited from returning to Shoa, and their mission-house, purchased with the funds of the Society, was confiscated *by that monarch!* The critic says, "We learn from Mr Krapf's recently published 'Journal,' that he parted from the King of Shoa on the best of terms." We said the same; and we quoted from Mr Krapf's work the striking expressions of the King on parting with him—"He repeatedly expressed his regret at my leaving him, *as he would then have no one to advise with in his proceedings with the Embassy!*" But this was in March, 1842, and it was not till January, 1843, on Mr Krapf's return to the coast, that the decree of exclusion was communicated to him *by Major Harris himself.* Consequently this exclusion was occasioned by what had taken place in Shoa, whilst the King had no longer Mr Krapf "to advise with in his proceedings with the Embassy." Major Harris's inability to obtain from the King the re-admission of the missionaries is a convincing proof of the disfavour in which the British Embassy stood previously to its departure from Shoa. *French* travellers, on the other hand, had no difficulty in entering and remaining in the country. M. Rochet, as we have already stated, remained behind when Major Harris left; and we have just seen a letter in the last number (for January) of the 'Bulletin de la Société de Géographie' (p. 45), from M. Lefebvre, in which he says of himself and Dr Petit, "Nous fîmes notre entrée en Choa *lorsque la commission Anglaise venait d'être congédiée.*"

As to the assertion that both Mr Krapf and the Church Missionary Society express themselves thankful to Major Harris for what he did in the business, the fact really is that what they both say applies merely to what took place prior to Mr Krapf's quitting Shoa, not to the events of the beginning of 1843, respecting which there is no record whatever of Mr Krapf's sentiments in his work, which extends only to May 1842: and as to the Society, their words are (Preface, p. 11)—"Of the precise nature of the causes which operated to close the door against the return of the missionaries to Shoa, *we are not at present fully informed!*"

Our statement that "a sergeant and four privates" of the escort (who are *not* mentioned, although we certainly do find on again looking through the work that "the escort" is alluded to) accompanied the Embassy on a slaving expedition into the Galla country, taking with them the field-piece sent as a present to the King by the British Government, is thus met:—"This is false: the gun did *not* go, but was left in the palace at Dalòfa."

In cases like this, mere *assertion*, in whatever terms expressed, avails

nothing. We will simply state *facts* without comment, and leave the reader to draw his own conclusions. The army left Angolálla on the 18th October, 1841 (see 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. xii, p. 245), *and the gun went with it.* This, though denied by the critic in words, is, in fact, admitted by implication; since *the gun could not have been left even at Dalòfa, if it had not been taken on the expedition!* On crossing the Chacha (Harris, vol. ii, p. 169) they entered "the enemy's country" (p. 175)—the "unsafe country"—where, "owing to the determined hostility of the various wild Galla tribes by which it is inhabited, small Amhara detachments would even find difficulty in passing" (p. 169). After a day's march, a halt being directed at Yeolo, "the King, escorted by two thousand cavalry, made an excursion to a knoll at some distance from the encampment, *whence*, on a range stretching to the south-eastward, *the hill of Dalòfa was conspicuous*" (p. 176). "Here," we are told, "his Majesty has recently erected a palace, which he rarely visits except for the purpose of controlling by his presence the disaffected and turbulent Galla, whose continual outbreaks render it a far from agreeable place of residence" (p. 176). Therefore, no going *to* Dalòfa to leave the gun! Neither did the army touch that place on its further route, since Dalòfa lay to the south-*east*-ward (p. 176), and the subsequent march "was generally south-*west*," (p. 180). When, therefore, the gun was "*left* at Dalòfa," remains a mystery; but that it was "taken on the expedition" is an ascertained fact.

The critic adds, that we "*declare* that Mr Krapf procured the freedom of the 4,700 slaves;" and "this again is false." But we *declare* nothing of the sort. From the unaccountable irregular collocation of the various occurrences mentioned in the work, this alleged liberation of the slaves (who, by the bye, were never in captivity) is placed in immediate conjunction with an event which occurred on the 7th February, 1842, when Mr Krapf was in Shoa. This led us, with good reason, to attribute, "*probably*," the reference date to it; and we simply *asked*, "Had *he* then any share in influencing the monarch to revoke the edict? and, if so, what share?"

The critic concludes by saying, "We have thus met the 'Westminster's' more important charges, and we can afford proof of what we have advanced." We think the readers of our former article will agree, that the "more *important* charges" have been left unnoticed. As to the "proofs," we are quite ready to see them if our own are not considered fully sufficient.* B.*

* We have inserted the above communication at the request of the author of the criticism in our last number on the same subject, to which we should not otherwise have returned. He is known to us as a gentleman who has had at least equal opportunities with Major Harris of studying the manners of the people of Abyssinia. We cannot, however, continue a discussion upon this or upon any other subject with the 'Foreign and Colonial Review.' The obvious animus of its coarse personalities deprives its statements of whatever weight they might otherwise have with the reflecting portion of the public.—Ed.

*We have been compelled to defer, from want of space, Notices in type of 'Lectures on Puseyism,' 'Lady Willoughby's Diary,' 'Cassagère,' and other works.*

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