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THE

WESTMINSTER

Review.

JULY—OCTOBER, 1841.

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

"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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TO THE

THIRTY-SIXTH VOLUME OF THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

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THE

WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

ART. I.—1. *What is the Meaning of Subscription? A Question respectfully proposed to the Ministers and Members of the Church of England.* By the Rev. C. N. Wodehouse, Canon of Norwich. London, 1841.

2. *Tracts for the Times.* By Members of the University of Oxford. No. 90. (*Remarks on certain Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles.*) Second Edition. London, 1841.

BOSSUET wrote a book on the *variations* of Protestant creeds and churches from each other. Quite as large a book might be made on the variations of the one Church of England from itself. With this remarkable difference, however, between the two cases;—that the "variations" noted by the Bishop of Meaux were found by comparing the creeds of many different and mutually hostile churches: here, with us, they appear in the different and mutually hostile theologies of men who all belong to one and the same church, repeat the same creeds, and subscribe, with *ex animo* assent and consent, one and the same body of "Articles whereupon it was agreed by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy, in the convocation holden at London, in the year of our Lord 1562, *for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion.*"

We shall not follow the Catholic controversialist in finding fault with these variations in the Anglican theology. Our objection is rather to that policy of prevention and suppression, of which, as we intend to show, experience has demonstrated the powerlessness for any good purpose, and the efficiency for some very bad ones. For certain it is that the "diversities of opinions" have not been "avoided" by these Articles, nor has any effectual "establishing of consent touching true religion" resulted from compulsory clerical subscription to them. The question, "What is the meaning of subscription" to the Articles, which is propounded in the first of the above-named pamphlets, and of which one novel and ingenious solution is offered in the second, is a

very old question—nearly as old as the Articles themselves; and, we apprehend, as far as ever from a satisfactory settlement. It is not settled whether the assent implied in the act of subscribing is to be understood strictly, or with any, and what, latitude or elasticity. It is not settled *to what sense* of the Articles assent must be given; whether to such literal and grammatical sense as the words may be made to bear,—or to the sense in which the words may be presumed to have been used by the clerical framers of the Articles, or by the lay enactors of the statute of subscription,—or to some other unexplained sense existing only in the subscriber's own mind. The whole question of the meaning of subscription is still unsettled; and so is the other question, of the meaning of the Articles subscribed, on nearly every one of which the most discordant and conflicting interpretations have been put by learned and reverend subscribers. The humble inquirer after truth is startled at the threshold of his investigation, and learns with perplexity and alarm that it is not yet settled whether the Articles are Calvinistic or Arminian; not even whether they are Protestant, or what is called at Oxford "Anglo-Catholic;" that it is not settled what they teach about the rule of faith; the authority of the church; the number, authority and interpretation of the inspired books; the number, nature and efficacy of the sacraments; the relation of faith and works to each other, and to justification;—and many other matters that might be named, of scarcely inferior moment. Infinite are the difficulties which a plain man must experience in the endeavour to believe as the church believes. Some years ago the public were edified by the 'Travels of an Irish Gentleman in search of a Religion.' We apprehend that an English gentleman, embarked on a similar enterprise, might find quite enough of difficulty to stimulate the spirit of adventure and research without travelling beyond the bounds of his own church. The theology of Anglicanism is still *in nubibus*. The towering word-pile reared, Babel-like, to be a centre of union and agreement, has only ended, Babel-like, in separation and confusion of tongues. Worthy Mr Wodehouse has been travelling these thirteen years past in search of the true Anglican religion, and has not found it yet: from bishop to archbishop has he gone; from Norwich to Lincoln, and from Lincoln to London, and from London to Lambeth, and from Lambeth to the House of Lords, with his question, "What is the meaning of subscription?"—and the end of it all is, that he has to go from the House of Lords back to Norwich again, with his question unanswered. Nothing is really known about this matter of subscription except the fact that our clergy do subscribe. The act of subscribing is

very diversely interpreted: the Articles subscribed are very diversely interpreted. The physical fact of uniform clerical subscription does not express and represent any corresponding mental fact of uniform clerical belief. Beneath the outward uniformity are all kinds and degrees of inward diversity;—a state of things which we conceive to be extremely injurious to the moral character and influence of a national church, and fatal to its well-working on a nation's mind; and for the remedying of which we shall venture to suggest, in these pages, what appears to us a simple and effectual expedient.

Our object in this article is not to resolve Mr Wodehouse's doubts as to "what is the meaning of subscription:" we plainly own that this is a thing beyond our power. Neither is it to discuss the meaning of the Articles, to impugn the truth of them, to propose amendments upon them, nor even to recommend inquiry into the necessity and feasibleness of amendment. Nor do we design any attack on that principle of making legislative provision for public religious worship and instruction, which is all that is essentially implied in the existence of a national church establishment. Nor do we mean to enter on the general question of church reform. We merely propose to show cause for one particular measure of church reform—which has long been desiderated by not a few of the church's best and wisest friends, and which we believe would do much to raise the intellectual and moral character of the church and its teaching—the removal of that subscription-test which never yet kept out of the church one idle, careless, dishonest, worthless man, which has both kept out and driven out many sincere and every way worthy men, and been a source of infinite perplexity and wretchedness to many more. We desire the repeal of the present law of clerical subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles:—a law which we undertake to show has utterly failed of the end for which it was made; has not prevented diversities of opinions, but rather multiplied them; and, instead of establishing consent touching true religion, has only led to some very mischievous tamperings with true morality.

Before adverting to any of those specific points of theological doctrine, in reference to which Articles and subscription-tests have most notably failed of avoiding the dreaded diversities and establishing the desired consent, we shall go a little way into the far more important question—How does the church interpret the act of a clergyman in subscribing? What, in the estimation of clerical subscribers, is the true meaning of clerical subscription? In what relation are we to understand that a clergyman of the

Church of England places himself towards the Thirty-nine Articles, when, at ordination or induction to a benefice, he "willingly and *ex animo*," subscribes his "unfeigned assent" to them?

The short and true answer to this question is—*We do not know;* for the church has not told us. There are many very different ways of interpreting the act of clerical subscription, none of which the church has ever openly sanctioned, yet none of which it has ever openly condemned. Public, authoritative answer to the question,—What is the meaning of subscription?—there is none to be had, as Mr Wodehouse has painfully learned. But, instead of this, there is an ample variety of private and unauthoritative answers, from which the perplexed inquirer must make the best choice he can. Certainly, if the doctrine of the reverend Fathers of the Society of Jesus (of whom one is perpetually reminded in wading through the casuistry of this subscription question) respecting *moral probability* were generally received among us, the relief would be great to tender consciences; for there is not any conceivable modification of the morality of this subject, from the extreme of rigour to the extreme of laxity, which is left altogether destitute of the "probability" derived from the sanction of reverend gravity and learning.

The first doctrine we shall mention relative to this matter of the meaning of clerical subscription is that of *the literal and grammatical sense.* We quote the following from Bishop Burnet's Introduction to his 'Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England:'—

"There arose, in King James the First's reign, great and warm disputes concerning the decrees of God, and those other points that were settled in Holland, by the synod of Dort, against the Remonstrants. Divines of both sides among us appealed to the Articles, and pretended they were favourable to them; for though the first appearance of them seems to favour the doctrine of Absolute Decrees, and the irresistibility of grace, yet there are many expressions that have another face, and so those of the other persuasion pleaded for themselves from these. Upon this, a royal declaration was set forth, in which, after that mention is made of those disputes, *and that the men of all sides did take the Articles to be for them,* order is given for stopping those disputes for the future, and for shutting them up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth in the Holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the Articles of the Church of England, according to them; *and that no man thereafter should put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the Article, but should take it in the literal and grammatical sense.*"

This seems explicit enough, the reader perhaps will think. With the subscriber "shut up" into the literal and grammatical

sense of the Articles he subscribes, there can be no room left either for moral prevarication or theological mistake; diversities of opinions are henceforth avoided, and consent is effectually established. Before the reader makes too sure of this, let him read on:—

"From which two things are to be inferred: the one is, that the subscription does import an assent to the Article; and the other is, that an Article being conceived in such general words that it can admit of different literal and grammatical senses, even when the senses given are plainly contrary one to another, both sides may subscribe the Article with a good conscience, and without any equivocation. To make this more sensible, I shall give an instance of it in an Article concerning which there is no dispute at present.

"The third Article, concerning Christ's *descent into hell*, is capable of three different senses; and all the three are both literal and grammatical. The first is, that Christ descended locally into hell, and *preached to the spirits there in prison*. And this has one great advantage on its side,—that those who first prepared the Articles in King Edward's time were of this opinion; for they made it a part of it by adding in the Article those words of St Peter as the proof or explanation of it. Now, though that period was left out in Queen Elizabeth's time, yet no declaration was made against it; so that this sense was once in possession, and was never expressly rejected: besides that, it has great support from the authority of many fathers, who understood the descent into hell according to this explanation. A second sense of which that Article is capable is, that by hell is meant the grave, according to the signification of the original word in Hebrew; and this is supported by the words of Christ's *descending into the lower parts of the earth*; as also by this, that several creeds that have this Article have not that of Christ's being buried, and some that mention his burial have not this of his descent into hell. A third sense is, that by hell, according to the signification of the Greek work, is to be meant the place or region of spirits separated from their bodies; so that by Christ's descending into hell is only to be meant that his soul was really and entirely disunited from his body, not lying dead in it as in an apoplectical fit, nor hovering about it, but that it was translated into the seats of departed souls. All these three senses differ very much from one another, and yet they are all senses that are literal and grammatical; so that in which of these soever a man conceives the Article, he may subscribe it, and he does in no way prevaricate in so doing. If men would therefore understand all the other Articles in the same largeness and with the same equity, there would not be that occasion for unjust censure that there has been.*"

---

* The theological student will be reminded here of the happy and convenient ambiguity of the word *person*, according as we take the English literal and grammatical sense, or the Latin literal and grammatical sense,

Of this "largeness" and "equity" we have some notable specimens in the famous No. 90 of the 'Tracts for the Times;' in which the royal declaration is quoted with evident complacency, and the doctrine of the literal and grammatical sense turned to the very best account. The Tractarian, having remarked (p. 80) that "it may be objected that the tenor of the above explanations is anti-Protestant, whereas it is notorious that the Articles were drawn up by Protestants, and intended for the establishment of Protestantism; accordingly, that it is an evasion of their meaning to give them any other than a Protestant drift, possible as it may be to do so grammatically, or in each separate part,"—contends that, "in the first place, it is a *duty* which we owe both to the Catholic Church and to our own, to take our reformed confessions in the most Catholic sense they will admit; we have no duties towards their framers." And he adds, that "whatever be the authority of the declaration prefixed to the Articles, so far as it has any weight at all, it sanctions the mode of interpreting them above given; for its enjoining the 'literal and grammatical' sense relieves us from the necessity of making the known opinions of their framers a comment upon their text." A perusal of some of these literal and grammatical anti-Protestant explanations of Protestant Articles will enable our readers to understand what large and equitable use may be made, by the initiated, of this seemingly so stringent principle of literal and grammatical interpretation. One specimen may suffice. The thirty-first Article lays it down that "the sacrifices of masses, in the which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." Whereupon the Tractarian Expositor stoutly argues, through five pages, that "here the sacrifice of the *mass* is not spoken of, in which the special question of doctrine would be introduced, but the sacrifice of *masses*;" and, "on the whole, it is conceived that the Article before us neither speaks against the mass in itself, nor against its being an offering, though commemorative, for the quick and the dead for the remission of sin, but against"—something else which happens not to be any portion of Anglo-Catholic orthodoxy.*

—two senses that are not merely different, but flatly contradictory; the one of which has been branded by a divine of repute (Dr William Sherlock) as "heresy and nonsense," while the advocacy of the other stands condemned by the public censures of the University of Oxford.—See the celebrated South and Sherlock Controversy.—Yet both of these divines, and all their respective adherents, though differing *toto cœlo* on what is esteemed a fundamental article of Christian theology, subscribed according to act of parliament, and did their best to believe according to the literal and grammatical sense.

* The following, likewise, is remarkable for that quality which has been

But this doctrine of the literal and grammatical sense, notwithstanding its many and valuable (perhaps yet unexhausted) capabilities for theological uses, has not given universal satisfaction to Church-of-England divines. Dr Samuel Clarke, in the Introduction to his 'Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity,' contends with much earnestness for taking the Articles *in their scriptural sense*:—

"In considering all forms of human composition in matters of religion, it is not of importance what the words may in themselves possibly most obviously signify, or what they may vulgarly and carelessly be understood to mean (for there is in almost all words some ambiguity), but in what sense they can be consistent expositions of those texts of Scripture which they were intended and are professed to interpret."

And so the Doctor (having quoted Bishop Pearson as an advocate of the scriptural sense) proposes to show—

"In what sense the most difficult passages in the Liturgy, concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, can be understood agreeably to the doctrine of Scripture. * * * And (as I think the sincerity of a Christian obliges me to declare) I desire it may be observed that my assent to the forms by law appointed, and to all words of human institution, is given only *because* they are, and *in that sense wherein* they are (according to the following explication) agreeable to that which appears to me (upon the most careful and serious consideration of the whole matter) to be the doctrine of Scripture; and *not in that sense* which the popish schoolmen (affecting, for the sake of

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politely designated *ultra cleverness*. The tract is rich in such samples of the literal and grammatical sense:—

ARTICLE XXI.	TRACTARIAN EXPOSITION.
"General councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes. And when they be gathered together (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the spirit and word of God), they may err, and sometimes have erred, in things pertaining to God."	— "General councils, then, may err, *as such*;—may err, *unless* in any case it is promised, as a matter of express supernatural privilege, that they shall *not* err; a case which lies beyond the scope of this Article, or, at any rate, beside its determination. "Such a promise, however, *does* exist in cases when general councils are not only gathered together according to 'the commandment and will of princes,' but *in the name of* CHRIST, according to our LORD's promise. * * * While councils are a thing of earth, their infallibility of course is not guaranteed; when they are a thing of heaven, their deliberations are overruled, and their decrees authoritative."

transubstantiation, to make everything look like a contradiction) endeavoured to introduce into the church."

He says nothing, however, about that sense in which the founders of the Protestant Church of England understood them. The Doctor's reasoning with himself seems to have been something of this kind:—

"The Articles of the church, like everything else, must of course be taken in their *true* sense:

"The Scriptures being true, the true sense of the Articles must be their scriptural sense:

"Therefore the Articles are to be taken in a scriptural sense —a sense in which they may be made to yield scriptural truth."

An ingenious syllogism, the dissection of which may be good practice for the junior part of our readers who may happen to be learning the science of mode and figure.*

Paley, again (who writes *against* the imposition of articles of faith† as ably, and we are sure quite as honestly, as he writes *for* subscription to Articles when they are imposed), takes for his *regula fidei* neither the literal and grammatical sense nor the scriptural sense, but the *sense of the imposer, reasonably interpreted.*‡ "The inquiry concerning subscription," he says, "will be *quis imposuit, et quo animo?*" To which he answers, "The legislature of the 13th Eliz. is the imposer, whose intention the subscriber is bound to satisfy." So far so good. But the Archdeacon of Carlisle was not only a conscientious but a prudent man. His zeal for the *animus imponentis* was a zeal according to knowledge. The *animus* of the legislature of the 13th Eliz. must be what he, the Archdeacon, would consider to be a wise and reasonable *animus*. And so, just when we apprehend that the moral philosopher, the divinity doctor, the dignified Christian clergyman, is going to be particularly strict, he smiles kindly at our innocence, and makes all smooth and comfortable again by adding—

"They who contend that nothing less can justify subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles than the actual belief of each and every

* With what admirable generalship the excellent Doctor (the scriptural sense assisting) turns the flank of the famous *Quicunque vult*:—

"'Tis very manifest that these damnatory clauses can with truth and charity be applied only with regard to that *general Catholic doctrine,* whereof the author of this creed (who is not certainly known) here annexes his own explication, and not with regard to the *particulars of the explication itself.*"

† See his 'Defence of the Considerations on the Propriety of Requiring a Subscription to Articles of Faith, in Reply to a late Answer from the Clarendon Press.' The 'Considerations' were Bishop Law's.

‡ See the chapter of his 'Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy,' entitled 'Subscription to Articles of Religion.'

separate proposition contained in them, must suppose that the legislature expected the consent of ten thousand men, and that in perpetual succession, not to one controverted proposition, but to many hundreds. It is difficult to conceive how this could be expected by any who observed the incurable diversity of human opinion upon all subjects short of demonstration."

In all this otherwise so excellent moral and political philosophy there is only one flaw, that it is by no means clearly established that the legislative and ecclesiastical imposers of subscription *were* men who had "observed the incurable diversity of human opinion upon all subjects short of demonstration;" seeing that the only purpose actually expressed is the far less philosophical one of "avoiding diversities of opinions, and establishing consent touching true religion." Dr Paley proceeds to contend (with extreme economy of evidence) that what the authors of the law did intend was to exclude from offices in the church all abettors of popery, Anabaptists, Puritans, "and, in general, the members of such leading sects or foreign establishments as threatened to overthrow our own." And he concludes this highly moral and philosophical chapter with suggesting, that the danger contemplated by the framers of the subscription law, "if it exist, may be provided against with equal effect by converting the articles of faith into articles of peace."

This plan of converting the articles of faith into articles of peace, for the avoiding of openly expressed diversities of opinions, and the establishing of a certain semblance of consent touching true religion, has been announced, with more or less distinctness, by many Church-of-England divines of higher repute in point of orthodoxy than Dr Paley. Thus a Dr William Nichols, who wrote a 'Commentary on the Articles,'* takes a nice distinction on the meaning of the "consent" to which the clerical subscriber pledges himself. He tells us that there is a consent of *belief*, and a consent of *acquiescence*, to the latter of which his own judgment seems to incline. The exceedingly orthodox Bishop Bull writes—

"Our church professeth not to deliver *all* her Articles (*all*, I say, for some of them are coincident with the fundamental points of Christianity) as essentials of faith, without the belief whereof no man can be saved; but only propounds them as a body of safe and pious principles, for the preservation of peace to be subscribed, and not openly contradicted by her sons."—*Vindication of the Church of England*, section 27.

* Quoted by Blackburne in his 'Confessional,' a work which the curious reader will find to be a sort of Cabinet Cyclopedia of the learning illustrative of this question of subscription. This 'Confessional' is not a book that should be forgotten.

And the same Bishop Bull approvingly quotes the following from Archbishop Usher:—

"We do not suffer any man to reject the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England at his pleasure; yet neither do we look upon them as essentials of saving faith, or legacies of Christ and his apostles: but in a mean, as pious opinions, fitted for the preservation of peace and unity. Neither do we oblige any man to believe them, but only not to contradict them."

And this doctrine of the convertibleness of articles of faith into articles of peace, as it is not a new one, so neither is it *old* in the sense of being obsolete and worn out. It flourishes still with a sort of perpetual rejuvenescence. Without tracking it down the long line of bishops and doctors, by whom (with a continuity of sequence which some of our Anglo-Catholic friends would be happy indeed to be able to make out for their apostolical succession) it has been both preached and practised, it may be enough to give the following from a writer of our own day, the Rev. William Sewell, who, in his 'Thoughts on Subscription,'* lays it down that—

"The only interpretation which seems legitimately applicable to

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* 'Thoughts on Subscription. In a Letter to a Member of Convocation.' Oxford, 1834.

All persons who wish to understand the point of clerical honour and clerical morality in the matter of subscription to Articles, will do well to study this pamphlet of Mr Sewell's, and, we may add, the other leading publications elicited by the controversy of which it treats. This writer has an energy of thought and style, and a fearlessness in "carrying out" principles to their full length, which make all that he writes instructive. His recent official position, too, as a moral teacher of youth (Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford), and his repute as a writer on 'Christian Morals' (No. 10 of the series entitled 'The Englishman's Library,') give additional importance to his sentiments on a question where morality—the foremost of all moralities, truth-speaking—is concerned. We make room for the following: the author is speaking of undergraduate subscription:—

"How is it possible for her" (the church) "to require knowledge before it is implanted? She fixes the time for subscription, not by the attainments of the individual, not respectively to his faith or knowledge, but by his age. How can this criterion be fit, unless the act required be such as any one can perform safely who is not unwilling to perform it at all? She asks no question—wisely, most wisely, refrains from insisting on any previous instruction—does not even provide that the Articles should be read beforehand, as on other occasions—looks on the act as a form which imposes no grave or solemn obligation—never turns upon the student with the reproach of a broken vow, but treats the act as an injunction of her own, which is become almost unnecessary and nugatory, since its end has been obtained already by the withdrawal of all who would profane it. How can this coldness and silence be reconciled with the notion that subscription is interpreted by the imposer into a grave and deliberate declaration of belief in all the difficulties of Christianity? Undoubtedly," he adds, "this view of the practice will startle many minds." And he goes on to say what is more startling still:—"Subscription is not an oath; no extraordinary appeal is made to the Searcher of hearts. The obligation is that of simple truth, though of truth

the act of subscription is the negation of decided heresy—meaning by heresy a deliberate abandonment of the church, and submission to a separate authority."

We should explain that Mr Sewell is here speaking, not of clerical, but of undergraduate subscription, that undergraduate subscription of which the well-known episcopal interpretation is, that it only means that the subscriber *belongs to the church.* We do not, however, discern any broad moral difference between the two. It is not to be expected that the conscience which has once been trained to regard the act of subscription as only meaning the "negation of decided heresy," or as *only meaning* anything else than what it says, will experience much difficulty in carrying the principle further, with all the "largeness" and "equity" that convenience may require. Let the boy be taught the rightness and religiousness of a non-believing or half-believing subscription, and the chances are that the man will better the instruction.

This question, *what is the meaning of subscription?*—what is the kind and degree of assent and consent (if any) that the act of subscription denotes?—still remains open. The uncertainty and obscurity that have always overhung it have in no degree been cleared away with the lapse of time, but have settled rather into a denser and darker haze, as those of our readers best know who have studied the case of Mr Wodehouse, as stated in the pamphlet named at the head of this article, or who remember the debate in the House of Lords, two years ago, in which that gentleman's name occurred.

The case of this upright, amiable, and every way respectable clergyman (as it is explained in the publication before us, and in an earlier one of some years back*), is, in brief, as follows. We will use Mr Wodehouse's own words:—

"At the time of my ordination"† (he writes in 1832) "I certainly felt considerable scruples as to some clauses in the Athanasian creed.

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in a subject of religion. It is incurred rather before men than God."—*Thoughts on Subscription*, pp. 58-60.

We have transcribed these sentences with nausea. We are not deep in Peter Dens; but we doubt whether anywhere, in all the moral philosophy or Christian Morals of collective jesuitism, a looser notion is to be found than this, that an affirmation which is not an oath, which involves no extraordinary appeal to the Searcher of hearts, which imposes no other obligation than that of simple truth, and which is incurred before men rather than God, may be safely looked upon *as a form which imposes no grave or solemn obligation.*

* 'A Petition to the House of Lords for Ecclesiastical Improvements, with Explanations.' 1832.

† This was in December, 1814.

I had no worldly temptation to overpower them, except a liking for my profession, having no prospect of that advancement which has since attended me. I read in the work of Bishop Tomline (a book then usually recommended to candidates) very strict views as to subscription: I found, in the same book, that the author declared these same clauses to which I objected to be 'presumptuous and unnecessary.' In a work of such authority, I considered that I had found an ample justification of my own feelings, and I subscribed then, and again within two years."

In Mr Wodehouse's more recent pamphlet he gives a 'Detailed Account' of his efforts to gain mental quietness and satisfaction, from which we may extract the following:—

"In 1824, circumstances led me to reconsider the question of subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles and Liturgy of our church. * * * After much unsatisfactory reading, in which I only discovered amongst divines of high repute very discordant opinions, or, as they appeared to me, sophistical modes of explaining away the real force and acknowledged meaning of words, I consulted some friends and opened to them my uneasiness. The *difficulty* of obtaining any authoritative opinion soon appeared; yet the duty of attempting this before taking any decisive step was equally clear; and in 1824 I prepared a petition to parliament, as a channel for obtaining some public expression of opinion, if no better mode of relief could be discovered.

"Soon after this, on two occasions, preferment was offered me, which I felt obliged to decline, not being prepared to renew my subscription. The conviction that a clergyman ought not so to remain became painfully strong, and a decided endeavour to obtain satisfaction as to my objections, essential to comfort.

* * * "I accordingly determined to request the opinion of Dr Kaye, Bishop of Lincoln, and in July, 1827, waited upon his lordship for that purpose. That I was led to seek his advice has been a frequent cause for thankfulness; nor will the kindness then shown, and on *many* subsequent occasions, ever be forgotten. With this will be remembered, as even more valuable, his clear and comprehensive view of the subject; his candid and feeling appreciation of my peculiar difficulties; and his consistency of opinion, which has never varied. As the opinions *then* given by the Bishop of Lincoln may be sufficiently known by his lordship's *recent* declaration in the House of Lords, May 26, 1840, it is only necessary to refer to the report of his speech.*

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* We find it reported thus in the 'Mirror of Parliament:'—

"It is now about twelve years since Mr Wodehouse first communicated to me the difficulties which he felt with respect to certain parts of the Athanasian creed and certain passages in the Liturgy. He explained to me his views of those passages, and I stated to him that, if a candidate for ordina-

"Much as I was relieved by this interview, which I sought under the impression that my resignation might be the immediate result, my conclusion then was,—This cannot satisfy me: such a question ought not to remain in such a condition. Let the views entertained by a prelate so well qualified to judge upon it as the Bishop of Lincoln be *openly sanctioned*, and I am content. To obtain this sanction has been the endeavour of the last thirteen years.

* * * "May 4th, 1829, I waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the subject had been mentioned in the previous year, and stated fully my objections and consequent difficulties. During a long conversation not a word was uttered implying even any censure on my opinions; and the general tenor and result of this interview may be faithfully described in the following words of the Archbishop:—'*You have done your duty in stating your difficulties to the heads of the church; if they do not think proper to move, you may be satisfied, and say,* Liberavi animam meam.' In the course of that conversation I mentioned the different opinions given by various eminent writers of our church as to the Athanasian creed, and its condemnatory clauses. The answer of the Archbishop was, '*Well, none of these opinions has been condemned; take whichever suits your own views, and be satisfied.*'

"May 7th, 1829, I had an interview with the Bishop of London, to whom the subject had been also mentioned in the preceding year. From his lordship I heard the following opinions, which are given in his own words:—

"'*As to the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian creed, I wish them explained as much as you can do. I would not abolish the creed from the Liturgy; I would use it once a year, perhaps on Easter-day. I think a time of peace the time for such alterations. Why cannot you be content, as I think you ought to be, having mentioned your scruples to the heads of the church, and leave it to us to make the change at the proper time? What good can you get by going to the House of Lords?*' ANSWER: 'The good, my lord, of public authority for maintaining the opinions I do.' THE BISHOP: '*You may hold your opinions openly now: the church will not condemn you: others hold the same.*'"—*What is the Meaning of Subscription?*—Pp. 27-31.

But what Mr Wodehouse wants to get is a clear definition, and authoritative public sanction, of the "certain latitude of interpretation" declared by the heads of the church to be "fairly allowable,"* and this is precisely the thing which he cannot get. He appeals to Canterbury himself (p. 46), who "does not see the possibility" of obtaining it. He seeks it from "the meeting of bishops, which is understood to take place every week during the

tion were to inform me that he entertained those views, I should not feel that they constituted any obstacle to his admission into orders. I believe that a similar opinion was given him by other prelates whom he consulted.

* See the Letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury, p. 43.

session of parliament;" but is told that a meeting of bishops, however numerously attended, "would only be an assembly of individuals, and not a council." Nay, when he begins to get troublesome, some of the once so liberal prelates begin to get conscientious, and "leave it to his own determination" whether he had not better leave the church, if he "cannot subscribe unreservedly, and according to the literal sense of the words."* He petitions parliament, and only receives broader hints still (p. 47) as to the propriety of withdrawing from a church which certainly was never made for men of his peculiar description of conscience. He humbly hopes that the so friendly archiepiscopal opinion, pronounced privately at Lambeth, may be re-pronounced publicly at Westminster; but archiepiscopal lips are mute (p. 60), while the tongue of a law lord is loud and harsh in censure. He goes from bishop to archbishop, and from archbishop to parliament, only to ask whether or not he is sufficiently orthodox, but can get no answer. He "has vainly endeavoured for thirteen years" (and, in our humble judgment, may vainly endeavour for thirteen years more) "*to ascertain what subscription means.*"

The confusion, the mystification, the contradiction that envelop this whole question of the meaning of subscription, never were more conspicuous than in the debate of May 26, 1840, which seems to have been, as well it might, the climax to poor Mr Wodehouse's perplexities. In this most instructive discussion (for which see the 'Mirror of Parliament') the Bishop of Norwich pleads for *elasticity* and a *certain latitude*:—

"Now, how stands the question of subscription? I do not pretend to enter into all the particulars and considerations. Let it suffice to say that there are apparent difficulties—mind, I would press upon your lordships' attention the word *apparent*—about the subscription. If it were to be understood in the most literal, most strict, and most stringent sense, it would create difficulties that must weigh heavily upon scrupulous and tender consciences: and by continuing the difficulties, we should leave the way open only for those whose consciences have no scruples, and who would enter the church only with a view to the profits and secular advantages to be obtained. But there is an answer commonly given, and a weighty one, to this objection. The church has a sort of elasticity, which allows and graduates the differences that exist. * * * It does not become the Church of England—a church founded on liberty of conscience and right of private judgment—to say that there shall not be a certain latitude of opinion; and therefore I consider that by, in any way, expanding the sense and meaning of subscription, a boon would be granted, and a great benefit conferred upon the scrupulous and ten-

* See the Letter of 'C. J. London,' p. 39.

der consciences of men who are among, or may become, the brightest ornaments of the establishment."

Whereupon the Bishop of London, aroused by "observations which must have escaped from the right reverend prelate in the heat of debate," objects (not without heat of his own) to his right reverend brother's doctrine of elasticity, but at the same time proposes another elasticity of improved quality—a "prudent" elasticity, which, while "always ready to accommodate itself to the peculiarities of our infirm and imperfect nature," is yet (exquisite union of incompatibles!) "never to stretch beyond the line of truth":—

"What is the expansion that is required? It is this—that when a clergyman declares *ex animo*, he should be understood as declaring only in what sense he pleases. This is expansion with a vengeance—an expansion which does not partake of that prudent 'elasticity,' which, though always ready to accommodate itself to the peculiarities of our infirm and imperfect nature, will never stretch beyond the line of truth, nor sacrifice that which is just and true to meet the maudlin scruples of any conscience whatever."

On the whole, we must confess that the philosophy of this matter is quite beyond us. One's head swims round in the effort to accompany the gyrations of bishops and doctors of divinity. The Right is indeed a "flying perfect"—a very Proteus, which there is no holding for two moments together. The answer of the church to the question, "What is the meaning of subscription?" is practically (to render it into archiepiscopal phrase)—"Well, none of these opinions has been condemned; take whichever suits your own views;" take the "literal and grammatical" sense of the royal declaration, which so conveniently absolves from all duties towards the framers and imposers, and legitimates anti-Protestant explanations of Protestant words; or take the "scriptural" sense of Dr Samuel Clarke and Bishop Pearson; or take, with Dr Paley, the sense which the legislative imposers may be reasonably imagined to have intended, in view of the incurable diversity of human opinion; or take the expansion, certain latitude, and graduating elasticity of one bishop, or the prudent and accommodating (though never stretching beyond the line of truth) elasticity of another bishop; "take whichever of these suits your own views, and be satisfied."

The natural consequence of all this most pitiful casuistry as to the *sense* to which the clerical subscriber's unfeigned assent is given is, that very grave doubts arise whether, and to what extent, the clergy really believe the Articles in *any* sense. No man knows the *de facto* meaning and force of subscription. The people

of this country are left in entire ignorance as to the convictions, the states of belief and feeling, which underlie the uniform external fact of clerical subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles. And yet, if Articles and subscription were of any use at all, this, we conceive, would be their chief and specific use,—that a people might have easy access, in a definite and tangible form, to the convictions of their best and wisest minds on the matters of highest human concern, that the ignorant might be able to know at a glance what it is that the learned and the wise believe; a use which, we will venture to say, the people of England never have realized in any the slightest degree, and are as far from realizing now as ever. As an index to the actual belief of our teachers, preachers and pastors, the Thirty-nine Articles are not worth the paper they are printed on. Whatever their value for other purposes, for this they are simply valueless; for it has never yet been ascertained *how much* of the Articles our teachers, preachers and pastors do, in point of fact, believe. The complaint is as old as the time of Bishop Burnet,* that "the greater part of the clergy subscribe the Articles without ever examining them; and others do it because they must do it, though they can hardly satisfy their consciences about some things in them." The same thing has been said times without number since, by men more or less competent to give evidence. Mr Wodehouse—an every way unexceptionable witness—asserts—

"I have heard the views of a large number of clergymen, confined to no party—men of high character—some of high station or great attainments—and all concurring in a decided attachment to the church and its doctrines; but *not one of them has professed to subscribe literally to the whole contents of the Articles and Prayer-Book.*"—P. 113.

Yet every one of these clergymen did assert this on the day of his ordination.

The bishops themselves, with all the extensive means of information within their power, cannot agree upon how this matter stands. It is true his lordship of London, in the debate of May, 1840, says—

"I maintain, without reservation, that the great body of the clergy sign the Articles with a full belief of their truth. I have never had the misfortune—for a misfortune I should consider it—to meet with one single clergyman who did not express his readiness to subscribe the whole of the Articles."

And yet the Bishop of Norwich, whom we should conceive to be quite as sound an authority, and who is perhaps more in the

* See the conclusion of his 'History of his own Times.'

way of hearing truthful and fearless utterances from clerical minds, startles us with intelligence of a very different tenor:—

"In fact, with respect to subscription, I never yet met with one single clergyman (and I have spoken with almost numberless individuals on the subject) who ever allowed that he agreed in every point, in every iota, to the subscription which he took at ordination. The fact is, constituted as we are with different minds, every man must have a certain latitude."

The Bishop of London might well say (according to one report of his speech which we have seen), "I know not what company my reverend brother, the Bishop of Norwich, may keep." Certainly the difference is remarkable between the clergy of these two dioceses. Of course, we do not draw any conclusion from these conflicting testimonies, except that the subject is a difficult and obscure one. The only fact which they establish is a fact relative to our own state of knowledge and means of knowledge. *The people of this country do not know what their clergy believe.* They do not know what subscription means. The clergy themselves do not know; the bishops do not know; cannot tell when they are asked; only, the moment they are pressed for an answer, we hear of "latitude" and "elasticity." Clerical subscription does not reveal clerical opinion—conceals it rather. The one only thing which people and clergy are alike quite sure of is, that clerical subscription means—what undergraduate subscription has been defined as meaning—that the subscriber *belongs to the church.*

If the Church of England does not know her own mind about the meaning of subscription, it is not wonderful that she should be equally undecided about the meaning of the Articles subscribed. The divarications of Anglican divines are infinite, both in regard to the authority and value of the Articles as a whole and the meaning of each one of them taken singly. As we are not writing a folio volume on the variations of Anglicanism, we shall not make the slightest pretension or attempt to go systematically through the subject, but shall merely put together a few illustrations of that division of itself against itself which is the pervading characteristic of that most heterogeneous and ill-sorted medley—the theology of Anglican churchmen. We may begin by asking what our theologians think, and have thought, of the purpose, spirit, authority and value *of the body of the Articles taken as a whole.*

Let us hear first the late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford:—

"The authority of the church is embodied in its Articles of faith; and therefore those Articles can no more be dispensed with,—they are to be watched over with scarcely less care,—they are as much an integral part of the Christian dispensation, as the Bible itself."* —*Thoughts on Subscription*, p. 34.

He is also of opinion that they are *inspired*:—

"We may add, from the assurance of God, that His own inspiration was not wanting. But these are not, perhaps, days when the direct, abiding presence of God's Holy Spirit upon earth, in the heart of His church, can be spoken of without risking irreverence; or when common men know enough of the past to understand how the lives and deaths of the great framers of our Articles attested a supernatural assistance."—*Ibid*, p. 33.

The following piece of plain English reads oddly in this connexion, considering that it comes from a much admired writer and divinity doctor of the same Church of England to which Mr Sewell owns allegiance; it is Dr Paley's theory of the church's authority to impose articles of faith:—

"All which, in plainer English, comes to this; that two or three men, betwixt two and three centuries ago, fixed a multitude of obscure and dubious propositions, which many millions after must bring themselves to believe, before they be permitted to share in the provision which the state has made (and to which all of every sect contribute) for regular opportunities of public worship, and the giving and receiving of public instruction."—*Defence of the Considerations on the Propriety of Requiring a Subscription to Articles of Faith.*

The reverend Savilian Professor of Geometry in Mr Sewell's own University of Oxford, takes a remarkably different view of the Articles from that given forth by his brother-Professor from the Moral Philosophy chair: the Rev. Baden Powell's idea of the matter is

"Noway opposed to the legitimate use of creeds and formularies, distinctly regarded as mere human synopses and fallible expositions, and subject always to a reference to the written word *alone* for their interpretation and warrant. They must," (he conceives) "find their chief recommendation not in their *antiquity*, but in their *utility*;

* This eccentric divine informs us elsewhere, that "the Athanasian creed is as much the basis of Christian morality, so far as morality is a part of religion, and religion a part of morality, as the Ten Commandments."—*Christian Morals*, p. 347.

their claim to acceptance, not from their origin in *past* ages, but their adaptation to the wants of the *present*; and they ought always to be open to modification by competent authority, to disuse or renewal, as circumstances may require."—*Tradition Unveiled*, p. 72.

Some of Mr Sewell's brethren, of the Tractarian party, agree with him in exceedingly admiring these same Articles, but on quite different grounds. A curious phenomenon, by the way, this is, which we repeatedly find in the sentiments of divines on this subject. The Articles are greatly admired, complimented, and extolled—but on quite different grounds, and for quite opposite qualities; sometimes for their Calvinism, sometimes for their Arminianism, sometimes for their Protestantism, sometimes for their Anglo-Catholicism; sometimes for their definiteness, sometimes for their looseness and generality—still they are admired, complimented, and extolled. The author of No. 90 of the Tracts (see Introduction) is delighted with the Articles, as monuments of that "good providence of God" by which "an uncatholic age" was hindered from saying quite the thing that it meant—was overruled into the use of language which is, "to say the least, not uncatholic, and may be subscribed by those who aim at being Catholic in heart and doctrine." He is evidently of little faith in the inspiration of their framers, and seems especially pleased with them for "leaving open" so many "large questions:"—

"The Articles are evidently framed on the principle of leaving open large questions, on which the controversy hinges. They state broadly extreme truths, and are silent about their adjustment. For instance, they say that all necessary faith must be proved from Scripture, but do not say *who* is to prove it. They say that the church has authority in controversies; they do not say *what* authority. They say that it may enforce nothing beyond Scripture; but do not say *where* the remedy lies when it does. They say that works *before* grace *and* justification are worthless and worse, and that works *after* grace *and* justification are acceptable; but they do not speak at all of works *with* God's aid, *before* justification. They say that men are lawfully called and sent to minister and preach, who are chosen and called by men who have public authority *given* them in the congregation to call and send; but they do not add *by whom* the authority is to be given. They say that councils called *by princes* may err; they do not determine whether councils called *in the name of* Christ will err."—*Tract, No.* 90, *Conclusion.*

A most extraordinary sort of eulogy this is, to pass upon Articles of belief that were expressly designed for "the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion." The writer even goes so far as to insinuate (quite delicately and not meaning any offence) *double dealing*

on the part of the framers of these much lauded Articles; and thinks it a felicitous dispensation that they have been, as it were, *caught in their own snare*:—

"What has lately taken place in the political world will afford an illustration in point. A French minister, desirous of war, nevertheless, as a matter of policy, draws up his state papers in such moderate language, that his successor, who is for peace, can act up to them without compromising his own principles. The world, observing this, has considered it a circumstance for congratulation; as if the former minister, who acted a double part, had been caught in his own snare."—*Ibid.*

He prudently adds, that "it is neither decorous, nor necessary, nor altogether fair to urge the parallel rigidly;" at the same time, "it will explain what it is here meant to convey."*

Mr Sewell was preceded in the chair of moral philosophy at Oxford by Dr Hampden, the present Regius Professor of Divinity there. And Dr Hampden, too, very much admires the Thirty-nine Articles. Only he admires them on grounds considerably different from those on which his reverend brother-Professor's admiration rests: he admires them as tending, in their whole drift, *to maintain the exclusive authority of the Scripture*:—

"The Articles of the Church of England, not consisting so much of affirmations of Scripture truth as of negations of doctrines unscripturally introduced into the body of the faith, it is evident that their whole drift is to maintain the *exclusive* authority of Scripture, and not to limit it by selection."—*Essay on the Philosophical Evidence of Christianity*, p. 297.†

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* The Tractarian is not in the habit of using the phrase "excellent church:" his love for his mother is not a blind love:—

"Till we are stirred up to this religious course, let the Church, our Mother, sit still; let her children be content to be in bondage; let us work in chains; let us submit to our imperfections as a punishment; let us go on teaching through the medium of indeterminate statements, and inconsistent precedents, and principles but partly developed. We are not better than our fathers; let us bear to be what Hammond was, or Andrews, or Hooker; let us not faint under that body of death which they bore about in patience, nor shrink from the penalty of sins which they inherited from the age before them."—*Introduction.*

We certainly were not prepared to be told, from Oxford, that the Anglo-Catholic Church is a *body of death, i. e.*, an inert, putrescent mass. Ecclesiastical conservatism is not always fortunate in its selection of arguments for keeping things as they are.

† In the context of this passage there is a dexterous and bold attempt to liberalise the Athanasian creed:—

"Though in the Athanasian creed it is said, concerning the believer, that 'before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith,'—which faith it explains to consist in a right notion of the Trinity,—we ought not

A drift, we undertake to say, that will be new to several of our readers.

The same doctor of divinity lays it down, in his 'Bampton Lectures,'* that "theological theory" (under limitations which the reader will find in those same 'Bampton Lectures,' *passim*)—

"Constitutes a true and valuable philosophy,—not of Christianity, properly so called, but of human Christianity,—of Christianity in the world, as it has been acted on by the force of the human intellect.

"This is the view which I take, not only of our Articles at large, but, in particular, of the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, as they stand in our ritual, or are adopted into our Articles. If it be admitted that the notions on which their several expressions are founded are both unphilosophical and unscriptural, it must be remembered that they do not impose those notions on the faith of the Christian as matters of affirmative belief. They only use the terms of the ancient theories of philosophy—theories current in the schools at the time when they were written, to exclude others *more obviously* injurious to the simplicity of the faith."—*Bampton Lectures*, p. 378.

This most learned writer, and, we believe, truly excellent, estimable, and very ill-used man, is quite singular (so far as we know) in the particular nature and grounds of his attachment to the Thirty-nine Articles. A hasty and inattentive perusal of some parts of his works might, indeed, almost give the impression that he means to write against them; only his own express declaration assures us that he can have no such intention. In his 'Observations on Religious Dissent' (1834), Dr H. writes very strongly against the spirit of theological dogmatism, against the error of confounding religion with theological opinion—an error which he conceives to lie at the root of all the great dissensions and mischiefs of Christendom; he shows how men may agree in religion, though differing very widely in opinion; he contends that Bible-texts even are not to be taken to prove opinions, that no speculative deductions from the language of Scripture carry with them the force of divine truth;—and when we are thus prepared to hear him renounce and denounce the whole

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to suppose that it states one doctrine as necessary above all others, or that certain niceties of discrimination, in our view of a particular doctrine, are essential criteria of a saving faith; but that the doctrine of a Trinity in unity, when disencumbered of its unscriptural additions—as including all others, or as a comprehensive expression of all Scripture truth—is necessarily confessed in the true confession of Christianity."

Most safe and pleasant dilution! Does, or does not, the Athanasian creed mean what it *says?*

* "The Scholastic Philosophy considered in its relation to Christian Theology."—(Bampton Lectures for the Year 1832.)

system of creeds and articles of belief, we find that he is all the while a perfectly sound and devoted churchman, though on grounds considerably different from those of some other sound and devoted churchmen:—

"I love and admire the Church of England, because I conceive it to be constituted on the right basis of religious communion; neither dogmatic in its spirit, though the wording of its formularies may often carry the sound of dogmatism, but in reality labouring throughout in its vocation as a faithful keeper of the Word of God; nor intolerant and sectarian in its zeal, but only desirous of uniting as many hearts and voices as possible in one common confession, without exacting a rigid and impossible uniformity of opinion from individual members of the society."—*Observations on Religious Dis*... p. 25.

By what very different roads different minds will sometimes arrive at the same conclusion!

The church is as little agreed about the *meaning* of the Articles as about their authority and value. And the differences of churchmen on this matter affect not merely detached and obscure points of doctrine—they relate to the great outline principles of theology and religion. The world has long heard of the evangelical and high-church parties in the Church of England. The classification is incomplete. We may count at least *three* distinctly marked, mutually antagonistic parties, schools or sects, in this one Church of England:—first, what may be called the *ecclesiastical* party—the Tractarian, Puseyite party as they are called by the world—the Anglo-Catholics, as they call themselves—the party that make much of church authority, sacramental influences, the apostolical succession, and the powers of the priesthood; next, the *evangelical* party, the Calvinists, the men of doctrine, who place saving faith in the atonement where the others place church order and due administration of the sacraments; and lastly, the *Protestant* party, as we would designate them—the party of Reform and Liberalism, of free inquiry and right of private judgment. These three agree in belonging to one church; but they agree in nothing else. When we name such names as those of the Rev. WILLIAM SEWELL, the Rev. HUGH M'NEILE, and the Rev. BADEN POWELL, we feel at once that they are representative of three quite different religions—three different philosophies or modes of thought—three different interpretations of human destiny and duty, of nature and revelation, of the mutual relations of reason, Church and Bible. And yet these three clergymen all subscribe the same Articles, administer the same sacraments, use the same ritual, have received the same Holy Ghost through the same

channel of episcopal ordination. They all belong to one and the same Church of England; though differing each from the others, not on particular theological points only, but in the whole tone and tendency of their respective theological opinions and religious sentiments and ideas.

Let us listen to some of the utterances that proceed from these different schools of Anglican theology. Take, for instance, the subject of *church authority*. The twentieth Article declares that "the church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith;"* of which authority no exercise seems more perfectly legitimate and natural than the framing of articles of belief "for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and the establishing of consent touching true religion." A [illegible] of this authority of the church in controversies of faith, o[illegible] the church's best and wisest friends speaks (somewhat irreverently) thus:—

"Our fathers rightly appreciated the value of church unity, but they strangely mistook the means of preserving it. Their system consisted in drawing up a statement of what they deemed important truths, and in appointing a form of worship and a ceremonial which they believed to be at once dignified and edifying. And then they proposed to oblige every man, by the dread of legal penalties and disqualifications, to subscribe to their opinions and to conform to their rites and practices. But they forgot that while requiring this agreement, they had themselves disclaimed what alone could justify them in enforcing it,—the possession of infallibility. They had parted with the weapon which would have served them most effectually, and strange were the expedients resorted to for supplying its place. At one time it was the Apostles' creed; at another the decrees of the four first general councils; or, at another, the general consent of the primitive church, which formed an authoritative standard of such truths as might not be questioned without heresy. But though the elephant might still rest upon the tortoise, and the tortoise on the stone, yet since the claim to infallibility was once abandoned, the stone itself rested upon nothing. The four first councils were appealed to as sanctioning their interpretation of Scripture, by men who yet confessed that the decisions of those councils were only of force because they were agreeable to the Scripture. Turn whichever way they would, they sought in vain for an *authority* in religious controversies: infallibility being nowhere to be found, it was merely opinion against opinion; and, however convinced either party might be of the truth of its own views, they had no right to judge their opponents."—Rev. Dr Arnold's *Principles of Church Reform*, 3rd edition, pp. 18-20.

* It seems extremely doubtful, by the way, whether this clause is not an interpolation.—See a note on the subject in the 8th chapter of Blackburne's 'Confessional.'

The Archbishop of Dublin is even more severe on "the sort of appeal which is sometimes made by Protestants" to church authority:—

"It must be admitted that the claim of infallibility in the church, when it is distinctly avowed, is at least more consistent—perhaps I may say more honest—than the sort of appeal which is sometimes made by Protestants to the authority of the 'Universal Church,' and which may be characterized by the homely, though expressive proverbial metaphor, of 'playing fast and loose.'"—ARCHBISHOP WHATELY'S *Errors of Romanism traced to their Origin in Human Nature*, p. 187.

We think the following, too, a piece of good, wholesome Protestant truth, worthy to come from a Protestant clergyman's pen:—

"Though there neither is, nor can be, consistently with the New Testament, any authority to decide what is true doctrine and what is heresy, or to claim spiritual dominion over *others*, yet, as all real faith is grounded on conviction, there does, and must exist, in every man, fallible as he is, such a power to determine the truth *for himself*; not merely as a right, but as a duty; not merely as a privilege, but as an obligation. His own conscientious conviction, imperfect as it *may* be, but *free* as it *must* be, exercised according to the best of the ability given him, whether great or small, thus becomes *sacred* to *him*. It is that by which he must be guided in the most intimate connexion with his own personal responsibility; *not* a responsibility (as has been unintelligibly contended) of the *understanding*, but of the *will* to preserve the honest use of the understanding. And if the inevitable *varieties* of private judgment be objected, as inconsistent with the *unity* and invariableness of truth, I reply—truth is indeed *one* and *invariable*, but it not only may, but must, be seen under *different aspects*, and with *different degrees of clearness*, by different minds. To each it is realised, as far as the nature of the case permits, if he seek and receive it honestly to the *best* of his ability; not resting satisfied in any attainment, but continually striving to advance and improve."—*Tradition Unveiled*, p. 76.

And yet it is extremely uncertain whether this Protestant truth be genuine Church-of-England truth. Certain it is, the Anglican Church's disclaimer of "spiritual dominion over others" is by no means uniform. Let us hear some more 'Christian Morals' from the Oxford chair of Moral Philosophy; where the church's claim of spiritual dominion is advanced (whither we scarcely dare follow it) to the height of *bringing down the Deity from heaven*, and the church's power becomes a *power which places it almost on a level with God himself*:—

"These powers (of the church) are very great; they are even awful: if not truly conferred by God, they are blasphemously as-

sumed by man. I ask you, does this seem to indicate a human invention? Impostors, indeed, have endeavoured to subdue the minds of followers by vague threats and promises, which cannot be proved, of divine favour. But the promise of communicating to man the divine nature itself, of bringing down the Deity from heaven, and infusing his own spirit into the souls of mortals,—this, which is nothing more than the everyday promise of the church, proclaimed and administered by every minister of the church every time that he stands by the font, or serves at the altar, —is it not so awful, so tremendous, that we scarcely bear to read it written, except in familiar words which scarcely touch the ear? Should we not expect that such a lie, if lie it be, if God has never sanctioned the offer, must long since have drawn down vengeance on the blasphemer, instead of being preserved for 1800 years as a great and holy treasure, the very palladium of the church, the corner-stone of the Christian faith, the salt of the earth."—*Christian Morals*, p. 27.

"But I will rather suggest the consideration of the vastness of the power claimed by the church—a power which places it almost on a level with God himself,—the power of forgiving sins by wiping them out in baptism—of transferring souls from heaven to hell, without admitting a doubt of it, as when 'baptised infants,' it is said, 'dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved, —the power of bringing down the spirit of God from heaven, and incorporating it in the persons of frail and fleshly man. Think, I say, of this stupendous power; and then ask if any human being could dare to assume it without authority from God himself. If such authority has never been given, then the church, in every one of its most solemn acts, is guilty of the most frightful blasphemy that man can conceive. If it has been given, is it not a fearful thing to make light of or dispute it?"—*Christian Morals*, p. 247.

But we have seen that Dr Arnold, Archbishop Whately, and Professor Powell do both dispute and make light of it. And the last-named divine evidently thinks it a fearful thing to admit the church's claim; and writes a book ('Tradition Unveiled') the whole scope of which is to show that the claim is one involving principles that, if sound, would destroy the evidence of Christianity itself. Yet all these gentlemen are clergymen of one and the same Church of England; and have duly subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles framed for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion.*

* The bishops themselves are not agreed *as to what it is that the church is founded on*. One of our prelates is of opinion that the church is founded on liberty of conscience and right of private judgment; for which he is sharply rebuked by a right reverend brother, who considers this "a most remarkable sentiment, as falling from a Christian clergyman."—See Debate of May 26, 1840.

The variations of Anglican divines run through the whole of theology. They extend to matters of far deeper and wider concern than the question of the Calvinistic or Arminian meaning of the seventeenth Article, or the morality of Arian subscription, or the import of the word *person*, or the force and application of the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian creed; they go to the very pith and marrow of theology and its cognate sciences.

For instance: we have been generally accustomed to hear that the Bible is the Protestant Christian's rule of faith, the source and standard of truth in theological doctrine; and that the value of the Articles (null in point of ultimate, absolute authority) consists in their provableness by the most certain warrant of holy Scripture, in their drawing out, into definite and systematically arranged propositions, the scattered and unsystematic theological statements of the various books of Scripture. We used to be quite sure of this; we had been told it so often, and in so many ways: we thought that this, at all events, was sound Protestant and Church-of-England orthodoxy. Yet we have latterly been taught to entertain serious doubts about this matter. The whole of this theory as to the relations of the Bible and the Articles to each other, and to theological truth, has been made very questionable. The Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, who receives both the Bible and the Articles, and loves and admires the Church of England which has extracted the one from the other, has put the subject of the nature and sources of theological doctrine upon an entirely new footing:—

"Strictly to speak, in the Scripture itself there are no *doctrines*. What we read there is matter of fact; either fact nakedly set forth as it occurred, or fact explained and elucidated by the light of inspiration cast upon it. It will be thought, perhaps, that the apostolic Epistles are an exception to this observation. If any part of Scripture contains *doctrinal* statements, it will, at any rate, be supposed to be the epistolary. But even this part, if accurately considered, will not be found an exception. * * * Let the experiment be fairly tried; let the inveterate idea, that the Epistles are the doctrinal portion of Scripture, be for a while banished from the mind; and let them be read simply as the works of our fathers in the faith,—of men who are commending us rather to the love of Christ than opening our understandings to the mysteries of divine knowledge: and, after such an experiment, let each decide for himself whether the practical or the theoretic view of the Epistles is the correct one. For my own part, I cannot doubt but that the decision will be in favour of the *practical* character of them. The speculating theologian will perhaps answer by adducing text after text from an Epistle, in which he will contend that some dogmatic truth, some theory, or system, or peculiar view of divine

truth, is asserted. But 'what is the chaff to the wheat?' I appeal, from the logical criticism of the Apostle's words, to their apostolical spirit—from Paul philosophising to Paul preaching, and entreating, and persuading."—*Bampton Lectures*, pp. 374-5.

And the Lecturer concludes a passage, too long for quotation, by requesting that

"It may be considered whether it was not by such a mode of inference from the Scripture language, as would convert the Epistles into textual authorities on points of controversy, that the very system of the scholastic theology was erected."—*Ibid.*

It certainly was by this mode of inference from the Scripture language that the system of the Thirty-nine Articles was erected, and has hitherto been defended by Anglican churchmen.

The author of the 'Tract,' No. 90, gives a still severer shock, though at a different point, to our notions about the rule of faith. "Since it is often supposed (p. 8) to be almost a first principle of our church that Scripture is 'the rule of faith,'" he thinks it may be well to show, "by instances from our divines, that the application of the phrase to Scripture is but of recent adoption." And he concludes his showing of what he conceives to be the Anglo-Catholic doctrine as to the rule of faith, and of the "very great misconceptions to which the phrase gives rise," by suggesting (p. 11) that "perhaps its use had better be avoided altogether;" for, "in the sense in which it is commonly understood at this day, Scripture, it is plain, is *not*, on Anglican principles, the rule of faith." This writer may well recommend the avoidance of the phrase *rule of faith*, for he throws infinite doubts over the thing which the phrase denotes; informing us (p. 7) that the Articles do not settle "who is to decide whether the church interprets Scripture rightly or not; what is her method, if any; and who is her judge, if any."

The thorough want of unity in the belief and teachings of the church extends from theological into ethical science. If articles of belief were worth anything for avoiding diversities of opinions, they would assuredly avoid such diversities in reference to the fundamental principles of moral science, the source of moral truth, the rule of moral practice, and the relations of morality to reason and revelation: these are things of quite as much moment as the sublimest mysteries of theological doctrine. Yet the church Articles do nothing for us here. Diversities of opinions are not avoided, consent is not established, touching the first truths of ethical philosophy. We have one Professor of Moral Philosophy, in the High-church University, teaching his pupils that Christianity leaves ethical science precisely where it found it, that the two subjects are so distinct that it would be

nothing strange or objectionable in a revelation, were we to find it speaking the language of a false ethical philosophy:—and this professor's successor in that same chair of moral philosophy teaches *his* pupils that no sound ethical science is to be had at all through any other medium than the doctrine of the Catholic Church. In 1832 the following was the official moral philosophy of Oxford:—

"Christianity, in fact, leaves ethical science, as such, precisely where it found it. All the duties which ethical science prescribes remain on their own footing, not altered or weakened, but affirmed and strengthened, by the association of religion. And so independent is the science of ethics of the support and the ennobling which it receives from religion, that it would be nothing strange or objectionable in a revelation, were we to find embodied in its language much of the false ethical philosophy which systems may have established. This, I conceive, would appear to those who bear in mind the real distinctness of religion and moral science, nothing more objectionable than the admission into the sacred volume of descriptions involving false theories of natural philosophy. There is greater affinity to revealed truth in the nature of moral philosophy, because it has, in common with religion, the happiness of man for its object; but a coincidence of object is different from an actual agreement in the means employed. Holiness, separation from the world, devotion, stillness of the thoughts and the affections, are the means of religion: ethics are all activity, all business. Neither will answer the purpose of the other. Both are indispensable to the perfection and happiness of human nature. * * * Nothing is more wanted in these days than an accurate acquaintance with the truths of ethics, to disperse the clouds which the prejudices of theological theory spread over human nature. Doctrines in religion are advanced, which could not hold their ground for a moment, if moral philosophy were duly studied and its truths were practically applied, as a basis of Christian truth."—Dr Hampden's *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 300-302.

In 1840 the young moral philosophers of Oxford were taught a quite different sort of ethics:—

"Draw your notions of God's commands from your reason, and your reason may logically err; from your conscience, and your conscience is too often the voice of your own corrupt desires; from calculations of expediency, and how can you sum up the items? from human laws, and as human they are fallible; from general sentiments, and they also are human, and the majority of men are not wise and good, but ignorant and bad; from the declarations of a self-chosen teacher, as in popery, but your choice will be as erroneous as your own moral character is defective; from the Bible, but the interpretation of the Bible, if left to your own in-

ferences, will be tinged with your own inclinations, perplexed with your own ignorance, misled by your own false judgments. One more criterion remains—the real, clear voice of God; attested by his appointed ministers, and preserved, not only in the written word, but in the traditionary creeds, rituals, and history of the Catholic Church. And thus in morals, as in theology, Catholicity is the criterion of truth, and the first teacher to which we must have recourse."—The REV. W. SEWELL'S *Christian Morals*, pp. 380, 381.

Those *alumni* of the moral philosophy class who happened to begin their ethical studies under the Bampton Lecturer, and finish them under the Christian Moralist, must be excellent judges of the validity of Articles and Subscription-tests for the avoiding of diversities of opinions.

Of all the variations of Anglicanism, not the least significant and striking is that of which the Oxford 'Tracts for the Times' are the chief external expression. And this variation is the more in point to our present purpose, because it is accompanied by strenuous asseverations of allegiance to the Articles—allegiance even to the literal and grammatical sense of them. The famous No. 90 is, we should think, the most startling answer that Mr Wodehouse has had, in all his long journey of discovery, to the question, 'What is the meaning of subscription?' Infinite are the doubts that bewilder and perplex the inquirer as he works his painful way through these 'Tracts' in general, and this No. 90 in particular;—doubts whether the excellent Protestant Church he belongs to is, after all, either excellent or Protestant; doubts whether it is not altogether a mistake what he has been hearing all his life long, about the sufficiency of Scripture and the right and duty of private judgment; doubts about the rule of faith; doubts whether the church is fallible or infallible, or something between the two; doubts about purgatory, prayers for the dead, indulgences, invocation of saints, and the like—every one of which we used to think we had fairly got rid of, but every one of which is now brought back to us again under cover of the literal and grammatical sense of the very Article that we used to think so Protestant;* doubts about the nature, efficacy, and number of the sacraments—it having been discovered that we have many more of these than we were aware of;† doubts about all and singular the Articles of the Anglo-Catholic or Protestant Church; doubts, most especially, about *What is the meaning of subscription?*

The experiment of Articles and Subscription-tests, for avoiding diversities of opinions and establishing consent touching true

* See 'Tract,' No. 90, § 6. † *Ibid.* § 7.

religion, has had a fair and sufficient trial, and it has distinctly failed;—failed with increasing distinctness the longer it has been tried; failed, as in the nature of things it was predoomed to fail. The only quite effectual way of avoiding diversities of opinions would be to avoid thinking; a remedy of more than dubious practicability. So long as men are capable of thought, they will think; and so long as they are fallible, they will think erroneously (the notion of a fallible church which is never in the wrong is only a fiction of the Anglican theology); and so long as men err, they will err in different directions—error being manifold, while truth alone is one. Nature has not enacted any canons for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and the establishing of consent touching matters that do not admit of sensible or mathematical demonstration. Her only act of uniformity is that general law of mind, in virtue of which truth, in the long run, is greater and stronger than error,—gathers to itself, with the slow and silent lapse of time, an ever-growing amount of free-thoughted assent,—and impresses a pervading family likeness on the mental convictions of careful and impartial thinkers. Neither with articles, nor without them, need we hope for men's precise and full consent touching any other than demonstrable truth. "So long," says Jeremy Taylor,* "as men have such variety of principles, such several constitutions, educations, tempers and distempers, hopes, interests, and weaknesses, degrees of light and degrees of understanding, it is impossible all should be of one mind: and what is impossible to be done is not necessary it should be done." He might have added, that what is impossible to be done it is worse than unnecessary to make a false pretence of doing. The mischiefs of diversity of opinion may be estimated differently by different minds: but there cannot well be a difference among honest men about the mischiefs of a loose, quibbling and unveracious use of language. The latitude of moral principle which compulsory articles of belief inevitably produce, is a more real and formidable evil than the latitude of opinion which they vainly try to prevent.

We do not altogether concur in the views of some of our church reformers as to the precise nature of the remedy to be applied to this evil. We neither recommend, nor do we at all earnestly desire, any specific alteration in the church's creeds and articles: we do not even desire revision with a view to alteration. Such a reform (supposing, for argument's sake, that errors exist in the Anglican theology, the alteration of which would be a reform) would be beyond measure difficult of achieve-

* 'Liberty of Prophesying;' Introduction.

ment; would inflict gratuitous pain on the minds of those persons who believe their theology, as it now is, to be completely and precisely true, and of saving efficacy and necessity;—and it would be utterly ineffectual as a measure of relief and emancipation to conscience. The relief would be temporary, and it would be partial. It would be a relief to-day, and a burden again to-morrow. It would be a relief to some, and not to others: it would thoroughly and permanently satisfy none. Theological improvement is not the *desideratum*, for theological error is not the grievance. The grievance is not theological, but moral. It is not that the Articles contain mistakes, but that clergymen are led into temptation—the temptation of lazily assuming the truth of them without thought, and dishonestly professing assent to them without belief: it is not erroneous doctrine we wish to put an end to, but bribery and intimidation. No imaginable kind or degree of theological improvement (still supposing improvement to be possible) could rationalise the mechanical, artificial way of avoiding diversities of opinions and establishing consent touching true religion: for, in the exact proportion in which subscription might be made, by such improvement, less objectionable, it would become less necessary. The more reasonable the theology, the less reasonable the bribed and extorted assent; and, by the time we had maximised the credibility of our Articles of faith, and realised the *beau idéal* of a national creed so clear that all could understand it, and so true that no sane and thoughtful man could help believing it, the motives for a compulsory subscription would have reached the point of exhaustion;—such subscription could only be rendered harmless by a process that would at the same time render it needless.

It is not, then, a mending of theology that we desiderate, but liberty of prophesying; that liberty of prophesying which would leave every teacher and preacher in the nation's church free to utter, in his own best way, his own best, sincerest, profoundest thoughts; that liberty of prophesying which so many of the church's best men, from Jeremy Taylor downwards, have desired and pleaded for,—the want of which kept Milton from entering the service of the church, and has driven many good men out of it, and made many others miserable and self-degraded in it—dragging out existence in the mute, inglorious martyrdom of an unbelieving or half-believing conformity (enforced under penalty of martyrdom of a sharper sort); that liberty of prophesying which, leaving the utterances of conviction unfettered, would enable the religious teacher to defend religious truth with a new energy and persuasiveness, free from the paralysing con-

sciousness that his auditors may all the while have their shrewd doubts of his sincerity; and which would thus, we believe, do inconceivably more than any other single reform that could be specified, to raise the intellectual character of the church's teachings, and widen and deepen its moral influence on the people's heart. The reform we propose would be a very simple one; might be effected with wonderful economy of trouble, and at an extremely small expense of disturbance to existing interests and opinions. Everything else might continue just as it is; clerical education might remain unaltered; episcopal examination might still precede admission to the clerical office; the Articles might be kept in a state of complete preservation, without the change of a letter (they must always have an historical use and value, as landmarks in the progress of the human mind); subscription itself need not be quite abolished:—the one only change required would be to enact that subscription should be *subsequent to ordination* instead of prior to it, and *optional* instead of compulsory.

For ourselves, we remain, through all this conflict of parties and opinions, Protestants, in our humble way, of the old school; determined, to the best of our ability, to assert the right, discharge the duty, and enjoy the satisfactions of free inquiry and private judgment. We build our faith still on the old foundation —which, though old, we believe is yet as good as new in point of wear—that, if all honest men's opinions had free course and utterance, the true opinions would gradually work their way into a natural and beneficent ascendency over the false ones; the plainer and more directly practical truths would come out into their due prominence and relief, while matters of doubtful disputation were relegated to the private researches of the speculative and learned; a living union of free minds, in great and simple principles, might gradually take the place of that mechanical, external, dead-level uniformity of profession which is not really union at all:—and, on the whole, though much ignorance and error might still remain, our national church and state would gain infinitely in that orthodoxy which consists in right-mindedness. P.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND ITS POETS.

Art. II.—1. *Etudes de Mœurs et de Critique sur les Poëtes Latins de la Décadence.* Par M. Desiré Nisard. Paris, 1834.

2. *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur.* Von J. C. F. Bähr. Karlsruhe, 1832.

3. *Histoire Romaine.* Par M. Michelet. Bruxelles, 1841.

THE curious problems of literature as the expression of a nationality on the one hand, and as a modifying influence on the other, and the important consequences which result from these investigations, are wholly attributable to modern criticism. True, that, of old, poetry was said to "soften manners and prevent men from being fierce," and doubtless the wise men saw the potent influences of literature in the general result, but they did not trouble themselves much with analysing its effects. Be this as it may, the tracing of national influences on literature—the analysis of those peculiar conditions which the age impressed on it—how it modified and directed it—how it fostered its faults, and how it necessitated its forms—these were questions entirely overlooked by them.

Yet, while up to the present time Art has uniformly been regarded as something above all temporary influences—while it has been uniformly looked up to as the mirror of eternal Truth (one of the pompous imbecilities into which ignorance has led the critics), modern criticism has irrefragably shown that it is very much subject to temporary influences; that inasmuch as Art, and poetry in particular, is the collective voice of an epoch, it must necessarily partake of the peculiarities of that epoch. If it speaks the epoch's language, no less does it speak with its ideas. "La littérature est d'abord," says Michelet, "la conscience d'une nationalité. Le peuple est unifié en un homme." Is not this man the creature of his age? Is he not modified by its various conditions—geographical, moral, political, and religious? And can his song, his poem, be free from such modifications? It were a waste of logic to prove it.

If, then, in all poets, even the highest, we see certain conditions of their time surrounding the eternal substance of their greatness—if we see that they are *not* "mirrors of eternal truth," but mirrors of their age, a new light breaks in upon us, a new torch is placed in our hand whereby we may penetrate into much of the darkness and obscurity of the past, and also penetrate into certain unexplained regions of Art itself. Towards this desirable object we cannot do better than introduce to the

reader the valuable work of M. Nisard, mentioned at the head of this article. It is an ingenious attempt to explain the private life of the Romans under some of its more neglected aspects by means of contemporary poets, and at the same time to explain the peculiarities of these poets by the manners and institutions which influenced them.

"In studying the prose writers of the Decline and Fall," remarks M. Nisard in his preface, "one thing has always struck me, and this is, that, with few exceptions, no mention is ever made of the internal and domestic life of the Romans. Moralists and critics devote the greater portion to the exposition and discussion of systems of philosophy, to logical subtleties, or prescriptions for the practice of literature and the bar. In the historians, the revolutions of government, seditions of the army, constitution of the empire, manners of men in power, portraits of princes, the people and the court considered as two abstractions, all these purely political matters occupy exclusively the sagacity of the historian, and alone fill his pages. In neither do we find the study of manners, properly so called, nor that curiosity for the small domestic details which forms one of the most decided tastes of our epoch, and which has almost earned for itself the name of a science. They remain on the heights, and do not descend to the domestic hearth; they speculate on generalities, and overlook individuals, unless those individuals are Cæsars, or important political personages. This is not the place to inquire into the causes of these omissions; I wish only to state a fact which has doubtless also struck others, and which leaves a certain void in the mind after reading these prose writers.

"On the other hand, in studying the poets of the same epoch, and especially those who have written *vers de fantaisie*, poems, impromptus, epigrams, every species which, although subject to the rules of composition and taste, are not, properly speaking, works of art, such as are epics, odes, &c., I have often, with all the pleasure surprise can bestow, met with precious revelations of the anecdotical part of Roman history during the first two centuries of the empire. It is these discoveries I have assembled in the present work, completing them, of course, by all the analogous details I have been able to find elsewhere in the prose writers."

And he further observes, with reference to the plan of his work:

"As it appeared to me that the different institutions, manners, and habits, of which I have here and there found characteristic traits, had exercised a sovereign influence on the talents and characters of certain poets, I thought it would be consistent with true criticism, as well as *piquant* to the reader, to consider each poet with regard to the peculiar influence under which he wrote, and to give the history of an institution at the same time with the biography of a writer who

had been more or less profoundly marked by the effects of this institution. It was thus that, having found that theoretical stoicism spoiled the mind of Persius; that habits of declamation gave a false warmth to the sober and severe genius of Juvenal; that the popularity of public readings converted the precious poetical faculty of Statius into a muse of epithalamiums and saturnalian dinners; that the social inferiority of the poet at Rome under the Cæsars, his renown and poverty, his honours at court and destitution at home, his rank at the theatre and threadbare toga, made of Martial (a witty poet, more honest than the world gives him credit for) a flatterer and a beggar;—I collected under the name of Persius all that I could meet with concerning the fanatics or charlatans; under that of Juvenal everything concerning declamation; under that of Statius the whole history of the grandeur and decline of public readings; and under that of Martial all the distresses, anxieties, and contradictions of a poor poet. Meanwhile, the biography of each poet mingles with these details, enlivens and throws light upon them, and reduces them from mere erudition to make them acting causes, in my mind, at least, if not in the execution. It will be seen, moreover, that I frequently borrow from one details which assist me in completing the study of another. Thus Persius helped me to explain Seneca; Seneca, Statius; Statius, Juvenal; Juvenal, Martial; —or rather, all these poets will have helped me to explain each other."

Such is the plan of his work, and worthily is it executed. The conception alone evinces a true and important view of the matter, and we can warrant the reader's being delighted with the execution of it. In spite of the multiplicity and variety of materials, the unity of its intention maintains an unity of effect, and consequently the work is a whole, not a mere collection of essays, and the fittest introduction to the study of the epoch and its poets. In carrying out his design he has one method which applies to every subject. He first seizes the general character of the poet's works, and then seeks the link which exists between this poet and the particular influence which has determined or modified his vocation; he then explains, as far as possible, the different shares which the poet's education, masters, social position, and character, have had in the formation of his talents. He criticises the poet, but he also considers him as a man of an epoch, controlled and modified by "la fatalité bonne ou mauvaise de cette époque."

It is in this point of view that these poets are alone worthy of serious attention, except to scholars and idlers, for it needs no ghost, not even "the buried majesty of Denmark," to tell us that these writers have purely a factitious interest. Viewing them with respect to their intrinsic merits, we honestly must

place them very low on the steeps of Parnassus. They have none of that inspiration which, springing from an absorbing faith—from a passionate sympathy with the beautiful, and an irresistible impulse to create it, is always the first characteristic of the highest and primitive poets—the Homers, Dantes, Chaucers, and Shaksperes; nor have they that conscious and critical, but still intense feeling of art and yearning of ambition, which distinguish the second class of poets—the Virgils, Miltons, Tassos, Calderons, Wordsworths, &c.; nor have they the perfection of *minutiæ* and external graces of the artificial poets—the Boileaus, Popes, &c. Fortunate classics! they owe their immortality to the accident of their language; their own littleness has become great by partaking of the grandeur of their immortal country!

They were puny poets—but they were Romans. Their song is a weak *falsetto*, tawdry, florid, and wearisome; but every breath that stirs their harps is a breeze from the seven hills, and so "makes music to the ear." They have little beauty—less faith; little art, but abundant artifice. They have no religion (which is the soul of art), enforce a questionable morality in a corrupt language, and their claims to admiration on the poetical score are very scanty. The great artists of antiquity had used up the grand blocks of marble from which they carved their works; for their descendants nothing remained but the chips, and in some cases the mere dust. A new quarry was the only thing which could yield materials; this they could not discover, for they were not great poets.

Great poets! how could they be? Rome had never anything beyond a literature of imitation, not even in its best days; the mission of Rome was not a literary one.* Its rank in history is high—its influence on humanity unmistakeable; but that influence did not spring from its literature—that mission was accomplished by Greece, and Rome can well afford to let her retain the glory. Rome, as its name implies, was Force—Ρωμη — not the force of intellect, but the force of conquest and legislation. She can afford to place her law beside the poetry of Greece. Honour to both! But Rome, having no philosophy, had no poetry—all was imitation; it neither introduced new ideas or new forms—it appropriated those of others.

"It is the destiny of Rome," says M. Nisard, rather paradoxi-

* "Le Cléphte, après le combat chante sur la mont solitaire. Le Romain, rentré dans sa ville avec son butin, chicane le sénat, prète à usure, plaide et dispute. Ces habitudes sont celles du jurisconsulte; il interroge grammaticalement la lèttre de la loi pour en tirer son avantage. Rien de moins poétique que tout cela."—MICHELET, *Hist. Romaine*, liv. ii, v. 4.

cally, "in religion, in laws, and in literature, to live by borrowing. She has nothing initiative, nothing original, but her sword."

This applies to her most flourishing period; but when Virgil, Ovid, Lucretius, Horace, and Catullus had exhausted the epos, the stories, the philosophy, and the amatory tenderness (of imitation) what remained for successors? Nothing but the introduction of a new poetry by throwing imitation and Greek aside. But could they do this? Was the age ripe for this?—No; and for this reason.

Poetry has invariably one of two tendencies. Disgusted with the present, in which its ideal is degraded, it either flies to the past or to the future. It sighs over the golden age, over the primitive simplicity and energetic virtues of the past, or it looks with eager eyes into the dim future, when progression will have brought perfection, and it shapes this plastic future into the harmonious proportions of its imagination.

Neither of these unique tendencies could find voice in Rome under the empire. That mighty empire was now crumbling to dust; the whole social organization was one of corruption and decay: and yet, however disgusted with the present, the poets could not resort to the past, for they had no sympathy with it; they had no admiration for the old republican virtues, no knowledge of national traditions, no reverent sentiments of ancestry. They were foreigners themselves, Macedonians, Carthaginians, Spaniards, Etrurians, &c. Their ancestors were not Roman—their traditions were not Roman. The past was lifeless and soulless to them! But, above all, there was no Roman people—no public to address. The empire retained its unity, but it was heterogeneous; it was the abode of many nations, but no people. The true Roman people, as the most poetical of historians observes, "avait laissé ses os sur tous les rivages. Des camps, des urnes, des voies eternelles, voilà tout ce qui devait rester de lui."* Rome, depopulated of her sons, recruited herself with enfranchised slaves, and sons of slaves, gathered from all quarters of the globe. The Gaul, the African, the Spaniard, and the Greek, though endowed with citizenship, could not form a people, and without a people there is no unity of feeling, of tradition, of sympathy. Observe, also, that, deprived of a public, and driven to address a coterie formed of the emperor and court favourites, even if they had possessed national sympathies, they would have thereby been forced to stifle them, as these emperors and courtiers themselves were mostly foreigners,

* MICHELET, *Histoire Romaine*, liv. iii.

and naturally averse to any attachment to the republic. What materials for poetry, then, had the past to offer? None.

But if the past was closed to them, not less so was the future. The horrible mass of corruption which society exhibited wrung from them an occasional sarcasm or sonorous declamation; but no one looked to the future for the remedy—no hope gleamed through the gloom of misery. *Carpe diem!* seemed the universal cry; and in truth, when we consider the spectacle of that society, we are little inclined to wonder thereat. When the empire was bought and sold to the highest bidder, and the unfortunate purchaser murdered after a few days of tremulous possession—when the illimitable despotism of the emperors and favourites could make and unmake the fortunes of subjects at their will—when all things trembled with uncertainty, and every wanton vice unblushingly tempted the senses, we do not wonder at men resigning themselves to the enjoyment of the fleeting moment, reckless of the fate of humanity, careful only to preserve themselves; we do not wonder at every infamy, at the treachery of friends, at the reign of sensuality, at the poet under torture accusing his own mother in the faint hope of being pardoned.* No; the present moment is alone certain—"stay, thou art passing fair"—the next is uncertain. What, then, can the future bring? Demand of the philosophers what remedy they see for present evils—what is their answer? The Epicureans answer, "*Carpe diem!*" Demand of the stoics, and Seneca answers "*Die!*" Suicide is the only remedy! Demand of Juvenal; he answers, "*Retire to the sacred mount.*" These, only these, are the remedies! Were there none, then, who looked to the future? Yes, the Christians, and they were to govern that future!

"Tacite ne sait que dire de l'association nouvelle. Il ne connait les Chrétiens que pour avoir illuminé de leurs corps en flamme les fêtes et les jardins de Nero." †

But the poets had no sympathy with these Christians—they had no sympathy with anything beyond the moment's enjoyment; they had no faith in their own religion, none in the Christian.

"Quand les religions sont tombées, que reste-t-il à faire? L'homme est bien forcé d'accepter la vie présente telle qu'elle est: le sage cherche à la passer avec le moindre tourment possible; l'insensé la gaspille et la devore. Alors viennent ces époques si marquées dans l'histoire, de passions raffinées, de volupté frénétique et de melancholie profonde, d'incredulité et de superstition." ‡

* Lucan. † MICHELET, *Intro. à l'Hist. Universelle.*

‡ *De l'Humanite, par Pierre Leroux*, i, p. 50.

As these poets could not therefore resort to the past, nor look to the future, they were restricted to the present; but as the present is never ideal or poetical, "as no age was ever romantic to itself,"* they were forced to work on the only materials it afforded, viz., satire, scandal, jests, saturnalia, &c. These suffice for Phædrus, Martial, Juvenal, and Persius; but Seneca, Lucan, and Statius not having an aptitude for satire, and being endowed with poetical feelings, were obliged to relinquish the present, and to work on such materials as the past offered them. Hence their cold and faithless mythology, hence their pedantry, hence the torturing of their language into new and unheard-of combinations, to express old ideas, and to hide their poverty with glitter; a circumstance which has given employment to so many illustrious commentators, who have thought the labour of a life well bestowed in settling these disputed readings.

> "Ciel que d'écrits et de disquisitions,
> De mandements, et d'explications
> Que l'on explique encore—*peur de s'entendre!*"

In turning to Mr Nisard's work with these views, we are struck with the sound, though restricted, criticism, and the fruits of long and conscientious study which pervade it. With considerable erudition, he has been preserved from the vices of pedantry, or verbal criticism, by a constant attention to the higher purposes of literature, so that his learning is relieved by liveliness and point, which never degenerate into flippancy. We are, however, constantly reminded of the journalist and reviewer, by a piquancy and reference to the present time very unusual in such works.† We will follow him in his course as briefly as the subject permits, hoping that the slight whet we shall give the reader's appetite may incite him to the devouring of the work itself.

With *Phædrus or the Transition,* M. Nisard commences. Phædrus is so rarely read except in schools by the first lispers of Latin, or else for the purpose of a comparison with Lafontaine, that there is almost as little interest felt in his works as was felt by his contemporaries, to whose neglect of them we shall subsequently advert. Our author has nevertheless contrived to write a most interesting essay, solely by regarding him in connexion with his age. The Fables of Phædrus, it is worthy of remarking, form the one isolated monument of Ro-

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* Carlyle.

† M. Nisard formerly wrote in the *Journal des Débats, Le National, Revue de Paris* &c. He also contributed the articles on Early French Literature, on Victor Hugo, and Lamartine to this Review.

man literature for the three-quarters of a century which intervened betwixt its most flourishing age, under Augustus, and the age of decline. Except these fables there appeared no poems, no prose writings; a complete silence reigned "hormis toutefois dans les chaires, où l'on enseigne à grand bruit l'art oratoire." Phædrus himself wrote but little, and at great intervals. Schwab (*Vita Phædri*) confidently assigns the periods of composition of the several books. Thus, according to him, the first and second were written during the government of Sejanus; the third during that of Caligula; and the fourth and fifth during that of Claudius. But we need not point out how extremely conjectural are all such classifications—how unsatisfactory except to commentators; and no doubt M. Nisard would unpityingly satirise them, as he does all such laborious trifles.

The neglect he suffered at the hands of his contemporaries has been matter of great and furious discussion—so much so indeed that it has been maintained with learning and plausibility that the fables of Phædrus are *modern*.* It is indeed surprising that Quinctilian, who, in his enumeration of all the Roman poets (*Inst. Or.* x, 1), has mentioned names the most insignificant, poets of whose writings not a trace is left, should have entirely omitted Phædrus, and that throughout his works he never once mentions him;† but it is still more surprising that Seneca, who lived nearer his time, should, while enjoining a certain Polybius to write fables, not only omit the name of Phædrus, but actually assert this to be a form of poetry hitherto untried by Roman "non audeo te usque eo producere, ut fabellas quoque et Æsopeos logos, *intentatum Romanis ingeniis opus*, solita tibi venustate connectas."‡ M. Nisard, alluding to this passage, says,—

> "Sénèque ecrit à un affranchi puissant, et le flatte en omettant le nom de Phédre, et en persuadant au favori qu'il sera le premier et le seul fabuliste romain."

We differ here widely. If, as we contend, Phædrus was unknown except to a few of his friends, there could have been no

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* Compare *Nachträge zu Sulzer's Theorie der Schönen Künste*, vi, 31, 36, 37, where the silence of the ancients and the suspicion of genuineness is discussed. See also Lemaire's edition of Phædrus, vol. i, 185; *Sur les quatre MSS.*; and *De Antiqu. Script.*; further, Bähr's *Geschichte der Römischen Lit.* 313. We are surprised at M. Nisard's making no allusion to this question.

† We were so surprised at this remark in M. Nisard that we went through Quinctilian to ascertain if it was not hastily said. We can, however, confirm it.

‡ *Consol. ad. Polyb.*

flattery in Seneca's silence; but if Phædrus was known at all to the reading public, Seneca would never have dared to found his flattery on so gross and open a falsehood.

These are the negative arguments which cast a doubt on the genuineness of Phædrus. On the other hand, the only two notices that have come down to us are so precise as one would think to settle the dispute. Martial demands his muse of his friend—

"Æmulatur improbi jocos, Phædri."*

And Avianus, in a letter to Theodosius, "Phædrus etiam partem aliquam quinque in libellos resolvit." Such are the external evidences *pro* and *con.* "Non nostrum est tantas componere lites!" But we think the internal evidence of style is of more weight than either; and that the negative evidence only proves how very little he was known to his countrymen.

"Il touche déjà à la décadence," says M. Nisard, "par un certain goût pour les mots de la vieille langue, et pour les patois provinciaux quoiqu'il en soit très sobre. Mais je dois dire qu'il y appartient presque entierèment par un emploi affecté et continuel de l'abstrait pour le concret, ce qui donne à sa poésie un faux air de prose, et change sa gravité en froideur. Ainsi au lieu de dire long cou, il dit la longeur du cou, colli longitudo; au lieu de 'malheureux, tu n'eprouverais pas cet affront,' ton malheur n'eprouverait pas cet affront.

"'Nec hanc repulsam tua sentiret calamitas.'"

That he had but little reputation we may gather from his perpetual and complacent reliance on posterity.

"Car un poéte," as M. Nisard observes, "qui compte tant sur la posterité, est probablement peu gâté par ses contemporains. Phédre en appelle sans cesse, comme le juste inconnu et maltraité à une autre vie; preuve qu'il n'est pas content de sa place dans celle çi."

We may gather it also from his perpetual railings at the envy of others at their not seeing the profundity of his meaning, from his flattering himself that if not read then, posterity will at least have more discernment.

"Quem si leges; lætabor: sin autem minùs;
Habebunt certè, quo se oblectent posteri."†

These, and the plaints of "neglected genius" with which the illustrious obscure have from time immemorial consoled themselves for the contempt of their contemporaries—the safety valves of unsatisfied conceit—these all indicate in Phædrus a want of popularity.

* Lib. iii, ep. 20. Observe that Phædrus himself calls his fables "jocos." —"Fictis jocari nos meminerit fabulis."

† Prolog., lib. iii.

Was this neglect deserved? We think not. Phædrus addressed a people in a language by which they were not to be moved. He was in a false position. We trace the causes of his neglect, first, to the neglect into which poetry itself had fallen (shown by his being the only writer during so long a period); and secondly, to the very mildness of his genius being inadequate to arrest the attention of a public craving sensation above all things. Phædrus is a satirist; under the form of apologue he gently satirises vices and vanities, and preaches a sententious twaddling morality. Was a mind of this calibre the one to produce an effect on the sensual, degraded Romans under Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, or Nero? After coming from the amphitheatre—after rousing their sensations by the sight of a gladiator fight, or the exciting cry of *Christianos ad Leones!* were they likely to be moved by the mild and feeble Phædrus? If read, it is probable that the satires made no more than a momentary impression, and that one of *ennui*. When Juvenal and Persius thundered their denunciations at existing vices, they hit hard blows, and aroused attention by the loudness of their war-whoop; or when Martial gave a sting, heightened with an obscenity, they could listen and laugh; but Phædrus, alas! remained a "feeble forcible," whom nobody regarded.

We do not regard this as the whole secret of his neglect, but it is a great part thereof; many influences we are incapable of appreciating must have been at work, nor must we omit what M. Nisard has advanced:

> "Depuis Auguste, et grace à son exemple, la poésie est devenue un état. La poésie etait un art, avant qu'Auguste en fit un état. Mais après lui on sera poète lorsqu'il y aura chance d'obtenir de la liberatité du prince des maisons de campagnes, de fins dîners et des offices de courtisan. Otez l'empereur je ne vois pas quelle muse inspiratrice reste à Rome."

He then reviews, the Emperors Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, showing how adverse they were to letters.

Further it must be confessed, that the merits of Phædrus were not of a nature to captivate his contemporaries. A simple, lucid manner of telling his story—quickness and brevity of repartee, and transparent clearness and neatness of style, of which Mr Hallam speaks enthusiastically*—these have been his passport to posterity, though of little value in his own time.

* "He possesses a perfection of elegant beauty which very few have rivalled. No word is out of its place, none is redundant, or could be changed for the better. His perspicuity and ease make everything appear unpremeditated, yet everything is wrought by consummate art."—*Lit. of Europe*, iv, 406.

But his wit is feeble, his satire without sting, and his morality unexceptionable for copybooks! As a fabulist his rank is very low, for, as Dr Johnson well remarks of his imitator Gay, he is a writer of *tales*, not *fables*. He had not the symbolical imagination which enabled Æsop so exquisitely to make the human identify itself with the animal—the one so interpenetrated by the other, that each example served for both, or either; a parallel instance to which may be seen in Hogarth's 'Actors Dressing for Performance,' where two old women are snipping a cat's tail for some blood which is wanted, and catching it in a basin; here the ludicrous expression of astonished inquiry and indignant pain—the perplexity of the cat as to the philosophy of this matter, mingled with her pain at the operation, is so thoroughly human, without at the same time sacrificing one iota of the truth of feline physiognomy, that we are lost in laughing wonderment at the artist's power. This power Phædrus has no glimpse of. His animals, like those of Casti (*Animali Parlanti*), are merely human beings called by the names of animals, in whose nature the examples do not participate. Thus in the fable of the two mules, one of which carries money and walks with head erect, making a clatter with the bell suspended to his neck—

> "Celsâ cervice eminet
> Clarumque collò jactat tintinabulum."

And the other, who carries grain, and follows modestly and quietly—

> "Comes quieto sequitur et placido gradu."

We read here no characteristic of two mules—they are two abstractions of the haughty and humble in human nature. Phædrus went the wrong way to work. He did not, as Æsop, watch animals, and from their actions deduce a moral or a satire for mankind; but, having elaborated his satire, he then selected (with insufficient knowledge) the animals to illustrate it. Phædrus had the Roman curse upon him of *Imitation*. The form of his poetry was an accident. His predecessors had exhausted almost every form of imitation from the Greek—the apologue alone remained, and he seized it as a last resource—can we wonder at his failure?

The "tragedies attributed to Seneca" form the second subject of our author's inquiry. The dispute as to their authorship, which has so often agitated the furious inkstands of commentators, M. Nisard does not presume to settle; but, after criticising with acuteness the pretensions of others, attributes

them to Seneca the philosopher, upon abundant internal evidence.* The distinct mention by Quinctilian carries conviction with us; in quoting a verse from the Medea, he cites it as "ut Medea apud Senecam"—Seneca, without qualification, would of course mean the celebrated Stoic. A. W. Schlegel, in his usual tranchant style, says, ludicrously enough, "Their claim to this title appears doubtful to me; perhaps it is founded merely on the circumstance of *Seneca appearing in Octavia in one of these plays* (!!!); but this would lead one to draw a different conclusion (!!).† The absurdity of this "perhaps" is not less amusing than the sagacity which would lead him to draw a different conclusion from his own supposition!

The merit of these tragedies has been generally contested; nor are we about to throw down the gauntlet in their defence—all we would endeavour is to place them in their true light. No one acquainted with contemporary literature but must have been struck with the fact of there being a number of criticisms always "in type" as it were. Once "set up" by some perhaps questionable compositor, those who came after found it easier to adopt them than undergo the twofold labour of reading and then judging. Thus, on all remarkable men there are stereotyped opinions, for the manifold convenience of reviewers, and perpetual delusion of readers.‡

The criticisms on Seneca's plays are mostly of the stereotyped

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* Consult on this subject Diderot, *Œuvres*, viii, 537 (where a multiplicity of authors is contended for); Tacitus, *Ann.* lib. xiv, 52; Seneca, *Epis.* 107, 115; Quinctilian, *Inst. Orat.*; Bähr's *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, and Lessing's *Werke*, xi.

† *Dram. Lit.* i, 293, *trans.*

‡ We select two notorious instances. No one speaks of the *Kennst du das Land* of Mignon's song, without at the same time asserting Lord Byron to have plagiarised his opening of the 'Bride of Abydos' from it. Byron knew not German, and had he known it, or had he read Göthe's song in English—yet we should call the charge ridiculous; for what are the resemblances? Göthe says—

> "Knowest thou the land where the citrons bloom:
> Where the gold oranges glow 'midst their dark foliage?"

And Byron—

> "Know'st thou the land where the cypress and myrtle
> Are emblems of deeds that are done in their clime?"

The resemblances, then, are simply in the words "Know'st thou the land." The second instance is that of Theophrastus, a provincial Greek, being detected by a herb-seller as a foreigner by his not speaking pure attic; this is always cited as a proof of the extreme delicacy of the Athenian ear. We only put it to every Englishman if he could not detect the Northumbrian, Devonshire, or any other provincial accent as not belonging to a Londoner? Or ask the Saxon who could not detect a Prussian, or Austrian, or Bavarian accent?

order; and when not so, are mostly taken from a false point of view. A. W. Schlegel falls into this last error; and says, "These tragedies are bombastical and frigid, unnatural in character and action, and revolting from their violation of every propriety, and so destitute of everything like theatrical effect, that I am inclined to believe they were never destined to leave the rhetorical schools for the stage.* He has here stumbled on the truth—what he is "inclined to believe" was the absolute *fact*—these tragedies were written to be read aloud, not *acted;* and the forgetting of this incontestable but important fact is the parent of all the absurd criticism wasted on them as *theatrical.* Fred. Schlegel, a deeper thinker than his brother, clearly saw that they were no more than "orations in a dramatic form."† Never intended for the stage, they cannot be judged by theatrical canons, but as "dramatic orations" they have not unfrequently a high power. M. Nisard has characterised them as *la tragedie de recette,* and has a long section thereon, full of interest, in which he compares the Greek and Roman treatment of subjects. We select a few paragraphs as bearing on the point under consideration.

"Dans cette espéce de tragédie la recette est tout; la tragédie n'est rien. La recette consiste dans l'emploi par doses égales des trois grandes sources de développemens enseignés dans les écoles: 1° La description; 2° La déclamation; 3° Les sentences philosophiques. La tragédie est le cadre dans lequel on mêle et distribue ces trois élémens, soit pour en faire l'objet d'une lecture publique, soit pour s'exercer à l'art oratoire. Chercher un art dramatique dans Sénèque, ce serait perdre son temps et se donner fort inutilement le facile avantage de critiquer le poète pour des fautes qu'il a voulez faire. Sénèque pouvait n'être pas propre au drame sérieux; mais il est sûr qu'il n'en pouvait ignorer les règles, je dis les principales et les plus vulgaires. Si donc il les a violées ou negligées, c'est bien sciemment. Il est aisé de voir, en effet, que c'est bien volontairement qu'il n'y a nulle conduite dans ses pièces, nul lien entre les scénes, nulle préparation des événmens; que les entrées et les sorties n'y sont point motivées; que l'intrigue se denoue quelquefois au premier acte, quelquefois au second, ce qui n'empeche pas la piéce d'aller jusqu'au cinquième. . . . .

"Les descriptions sont tantôt de localités, tantôt de cérémonies religieuses tantôt de combats, ici de choses de ce monde, la de choses de l'enfer. Dans les descriptions je comprends les récits, parceque ces récits décrivent longuement soit les souffrances des personnages du drame, soit leurs fureurs, soit leurs morts violentes.

"Les déclamations sont tantôt des dialogues, tantôt des monologues. Dans les dialogues, deux personnages soutiennent deux

* *Dram. Lit.* i, 295. † *Gesch. der Alten-u-Neuen, Lit. i.*

thèses philosophiques contraire, par exemple: Antigone pretend qu'il y a de la vertu à survivre à ses malheurs; Œdipe qu'il n'y a que de la sottise. Dans les monologues c'est un personnage qui analyse sa situation, ou qui fait une prière aux divinités infernales, ou qui chante les douceurs de l'obscurité, ou qui developpe un thême stoïcien.

"Les sentences sont le fonds commun des déclamations, dialogues ou monologues. Aux raisons tirées des faits particuliers les personnages ajoutent des raisons générales qui se résument en un vers, quelquefois en un démi-vers. Ces raisons sont tantôt vraies tantôt fausses, mais toujours froides et trop absolues pour la situation de celui qui les invoque. Tous les héros, et héroïnes, enfans, vieillards, jeunes filles, femmes, dieux, déesses, magiciennes, prodiguent ces sentences. Tous parlent avec concision et dans un style dogmatique, tournant leur propre opinion en une sentence absolue et universelle."

M. Nisard subsequently gives a valuable and clever analysis and comparison of the Œdipus of Sophocles with the Œdipus of Seneca; but the selection of Sophocles, and of his best tragedy, though well adapted to illustrate the difference between a drama and an oration, is an unfair one to Seneca, who more resembles Euripides.*

The reader has now the tragedies of Seneca placed in their true light, and can look at them and judge for himself--we will stereotype no new opinion—enough if we quote one passage, which has always appeared to us conceived in the intense spirit of our old dramatists. It is at the close of the Œdipus, when that unhappy king is left with the corpse of his mother on the ground, and his eyes torn out with his own frantic hands; after addressing Apollo, and accusing him of his misfortunes, he determines to leaves Thebes—the scene of his incest and misery: he feels his way forward for a pace or two, when he arrests his steps for *fear of stumbling against his mother!*

"Siste—ne in matrem incidas!"

This is very grand and pathetic, and in the highest dramatic spirit.

But a more interesting inquiry for our present purpose is the reason of these tragedies being written for public readings, rather than for the stage. M. Nisard has a long section on the causes why tragedy was not possible at Rome, which, though ingenious, we think imperfect and one-sided. He takes Athens as the standard of illustration, and, examining the history of the Greek drama, he finds its conditions to have been impos-

* See Lessing, *Werke*, xi, 122, for a comparison of Euripides with Seneca.

sible at Rome. Herein lies the error, unless he could have shown (what we have before attempted) that Rome could not possess other than a literature of imitation, consequently a drama imitated from the Greek. He distinguishes the conditions of Greek tragedy into, "1° Conditions littéraires; 2° Conditions politiques et religieuses; 3° Conditions de mœurs." Of these three the third only is to the point. He finds the Greek tragedy to have been preceded by the Homeric epos, from which all its materials were drawn—in it he sees the two first conditions.

"Tout vient d'Homère; la grande querelle de l'Iliade, qui se prolonge jusque dans les postérités des rois est toujours l'unique fond des tragedies. Les tragiques n'ont eu à inventer ni les hommes, ni les mœurs; ils les ont recueillis dans Homère."

This is doubly erroneous; all the subjects are *not* from Homer; *e. g. Persians, Prometheus, Seven against Thebes, Heraclidæ, Trachiniæ*, &c.; and the characters taken from Homer are often varied. M. Nisard further observes—

"Rome n'avait pas dans son passé les élémens d'un drame national. La Gréce avait des origines, des epopées, des mythes, des legendes, une histoire inepuisable à laquelle les dieux avaient concurru par égale moitié avec les hommes; Rome n'avait rien de tout cela. En fait de dieux Rome n'avait que d'importés; en fait de demidieux, elle présente son Romulus fort suspèct."

This appears to us a confusion of reasoning, arising from his having taken the Greek drama as the sole possible standard; and all his specious reasoning is blown into atoms by the irresistible artillery of facts. Where was the epos or national history from which Shakspeare, Racine, Schiller, Alfieri, &c., drew their drama? Where, except in that universal epopee of human passion which every dramatist has read with tearful eyes and intense sympathy?*

The reason, we take it, lies deeper. We before asserted that the Romans at this period could not produce a poet; we will now apply our principle to the drama, and show how the epoch repulsed it. M. Nisard himself admirably says—

"Le drame n'est l'œuvre littéraire la plus indigène et la plus originale d'un pays que parcequ'il ne peut pas se faire sans le peuple, et parceque il faut que le peuple le debatte en plein théâtre. On peut faire sans le peuple toute une très belle littérature d'imitation—*moins le drame*."

True; and the Roman public were not fitted for the drama.

* Besides, had there been the poet and the public, what a glorious dramatic history was theirs! and how succeeding poets have resorted to it!

Processions, or exaggerated scenic exhibitions, alone pleased their tastes. Pomp, vulgar, glittering pomp, they could understand; but how could they understand pathos? After their brutified minds had once been stimulated with the fights of wild beasts and of gladiators, how were they to be moved by imaginary woes? Having seen the gladiator stabbed in earnest, what excitement could there be in seeing a pretended murder? During that awful period when the whole empire was acting a bloody, bombastic, dream-like, fantastic melodrama, how were its actors to be touched with the plaints of an Antigone or Prometheus? In that licentious city, when, at the *fêtes* of Flora, the noble Roman ladies rushed about the streets, stark naked, with their hair floating in wild disorder; when actresses stripped themselves on the stage on being incited thereto by the pit—in that city who could sympathise with the chastity of Hippolytus, or the heroic self-sacrifice of Alcestis? When incest and matricide were the crimes of emperors, how could the people sympathise with the tremendous horror and despair of an Œdipus? If anything in the sublime Greek drama could have touched them, it would have been the *Philoctetes*, and there it would not have been the betrayed friendship, his pitiable but sublime solitude—αοικον εισοικησιν—the pathos of his delight at again hearing the sound of his countrymen's voices—no, it would have been the physical agony of his wounded foot, which made him roll upon the ground, and utter those piercing accents of woe!

And this is proved by Plautus, the successful dramatist. The public, who delighted in dancing elephants, as M. Nisard observes, would also find pleasure in the tricks of sharpers, the loves of prostitutes, the cries of women in labour, the disappointments of misers, and the greediness of valets—especially if the writer uses the language and patois of the people.* Horace tells us that there were some attempts at national tragedy, wherein the imitation of the Greeks was relinquished, and *domestic subjects* treated.

> "Nil intentatum nostri liquere poëtæ:
> Nec minimum meruere decus, *vestigia græca*
> *Ausi deserere, et celebrare domestica facta.*"†

* Was it cutting irony of Cicero to call Plautus a model of elegance and ingenious wit? "Duplex omnino est jocandi genus: unum illiberale, petulans, flagitiosum, obscenum; *alterum elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum facetum.* Quo genere Plautus noster," &c.—*De Offic*, i, 29.—Or was Plautus in that obscene age really a model of purity? See how our old dramatists compliment each other on being free from the obscenity of others, even asserting that their plays could excite no blush on a maiden's cheek!

† *Ars. Poet*, v, 285.

These attempts were unsuccessful; Horace attributes it to the idleness of the poets preventing the necessary *limæ labor et mora*—diligent polishing and correcting. But this is the reasoning of a scholar and laborious writer, not of a philosopher. Did the polished verse and elegant diction of Terence avail? Among the *élite*—not with the public.*

The tragedies of Seneca have all been translated or paraphrased into French. Ludovico Dolce rendered eight of them into Italian, according to Lessing;† but Ginguéné‡ says that four of them, viz., 'Jocasta,' 'Iphigenia,' 'Hecuba,' and 'Medea,' were imitated from Euripides, and that only two—the 'Agamemnon' and 'Thyestes'—were from Seneca. Ginguéné here obviously overlooks the *Ercole Furioso* (Hercules Fureus), which is a mere translation from Seneca. Salfi (*Saggio Storico Crit. del. Commedia Ital.*) in his notices of Dolce, is silent on the point. Into English they were rendered by Heywood, Nevyle, Nuce, Studely, and Newton,‖ but were never acted.

Persius or Stoicism and the Stoics, and *Juvenal or Declamation*, are two excellent portions of our author's inquiry; and we heartily admire his conscientious boldness in breaking up those opinions so long set up in type, respecting their merits. With unpitying wit and logic he combats the immense, but undeserved reputation of Persius, and robs him of all the "blushing honours" which commentators have showered so "thick upon him;" the daw has been detected, and his peacock-feathers mercilessly torn from him.

"Pérse présentait aux commentateurs," he wittily insinuates, "tout l'attrait d'une enigme à déchiffrer; ceux qui l'ont deviné ou ont cru le déviner ont trouvé Pérse admirable; c'est tout simple: ils ne pouvaient pas s'être donné tant de peine pour arriver à du vide!"

Queen Elizabeth truly characterised him as "crabstick Persius."

The passive echo of that solemn farce which was got up at Rome under the title of 'Stoicism'¶—the writer without a single idea of his own, and most of those he obtained from others false; who destitute of observation or acute analysis, which should feed the bilious wit of satire—Persius, the com-

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* See Baden, *De Causis Neglect. Roman. Tragœdiæ*, and Fred. Schlegel *Alten ü Neuen Lit.*, i.

† *Werke*, xi, 152.

‡ *Hist. Lit. d'Italie*, vi, 78

‖ Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poet*, iii, 14.

¶ All the Stoics were not quacks—Marcus Aurelius for example—but Stoicism was a quackery, and a more or less conscious quackery in most of its professors.

mented, admired Persius, was obliged to have recourse to the facile tricks of obscurity and owl-eyed gravity, fantastic torturing of language and blustering loudness, to attract attention. Persius had nothing of the satirist but the bile. He was one of a numerous class; unable to stand with dignity or elegance on his feet, he turned them up in the air, and standing on his head, bade the world admire! Persius has every fault which a writer can have, except insincerity: want of ideas, of observation, of wit, of imagination, of music, of style. His language is obscure and corrupt, and his rhythm perfectly ludicrous; his verses are the gaspings of a premature and asthmatic muse, and Mr Alfred Jingle (in 'Pickwick') would have despaired at ever attaining the exquisite propriety of jerk, the charm of compression, to be found in Persius. Take as an example, from the fifth satire,—

> "Manè, piger, stertis: surge! inquit Avaritia; eia
> Surge. Negas; instat: surge, inquit. Non queo. Surge.
> Et quid agam? Rogitas!" &c.

In blaming a bad poet he says that he did not thump his desk enough, and his verses do not betoken the bitten nails of laborious meditation.

> "Nec pluteum cædit, nec demorsos sapit ungues."

Had Persius bitten his nails to the quick, he would never have been a poet. His obscurity is pure wilfulness; it is the gravity of an ass, conscious that if he speak he must bray. Casaubon's notion of its being "se defendendo" for fear of Nero, is worthy of a commentator!

As no one, whatever his admiration, ever discovered Persius to have liveliness or observation, many have discoursed with pleasing fervour on his "lessons of morality," and we were surprised to find Dryden awed into a similar opinion; thus he does not hesitate to say that "what Persius teaches might be taught from pulpits."* But the truth is, Persius was not only a pupil of the empty Stoics, Palæmon Rhemmius and Flaccus, but his very denunciations are vague generalities, without force, truth, or point; he knew nothing of the vices he was decrying,—he knew nothing except upon hearsay, and spent his short life amongst rhetoricians, stoics, and parchments. Yet there is something unspeakably melancholy in the picture of this young man's life: weak and sickly of body; chaste, gentle and generous of mind; loving the good and noble, but

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* *Essay on Satire.*

seeing them only in imagination; living amidst every species of corruption and debauchery, physical and intellectual; hearing daily, hourly, of things which must have wrung his heart, and having no better wisdom, no more elevated philosophy upon which to rest his aching head, from which to draw consolation, than the arid, pompous, and most absurd stoicism taught by the professors. There he was, with faculties which might have ripened under better influences into fruit, and a heart to sustain them, placed in the hot-bed of sophism, and forced into a maturity which was death. But Persius had one great virtue —sincerity.

If Juvenal wanted anything to complete him as a satirist, it was this greatest of qualities—sincerity. A startling assertion, we are aware, and M. Nisard, who is the first we have met with to make it openly, admits that on a first consideration he seems to be one suffering with insupportable indignation the misery of seeing his countrymen so degraded by vice; but on a profounder study, it becomes evident that all this indignation is of the head, not of the heart—that it is a mere habit of declamation. M. Nisard adduces, in proof of this, that Martial, who was his intimate friend, has addressed three epigrams to Juvenal, in all of which there are the grossest impurities; further, that Juvenal

"Ne se faisait pas scrupule de hanter le quartier bruyant de Suburra, où demeuraient les courtisanes, ni de se fatiguer sur le grand et le petit Cælius, à faire sa cour aux grands, ni d'eventer son visage avec le pan de son toge, au seuil de leurs palais."

Moreover, he often betrays himself—

"Soit par une conclusion moqueuse et froide qui termine un morceau de passion, soit par quelque trait déclamatoire qui glace tout à coup l'indignation du lecteur;"

and lastly, that he mocks at the gods in the very satire (XIII) in which he attributes all the evils on earth to contempt for the gods! To these we will add another reason. He himself tells us that "fecit indignatio versus"—but indignation at what? At the crimes and vices of his age? So he would have us believe; we, however, for one, "*doot* the fact." He did not begin to write till he was forty—a late period, except for a philosopher: what, then, was his indignation about all these forty years? One is tempted to believe, from his minute familiarity with the vices he decries, and from a certain gusto of description, that he joined in them as freely as another during his "hot and lusty youth;" but, arrived at an age of satiety, they presented themselves as good subjects for declamation.

Examine his satires closely, and you will detect an air of trick about them very different from the earnestness of Persius, or the *insouciance* of Horace. They may be illustrated by those celebrated speeches of Marc Antony,* which are fine instances of oratorical passion substituted for passionate oratory. Shakspeare's art, which never deserts him, has here achieved what Antony himself would have wished to achieve. The calm spectator, however, sees through the calculated oratory which feigns "a fine passion."

"Juvénal," says M. Nisard, "se sert peu de la forme du dialogue: il enseigne, il declame, comme du haut d'une chaire; il soutient une thése à la manière des rhéteurs; il déploie un art infini qui éblouit et qui fatigue; il applique la pompe de l'épopée aux choses les plus vulgaires, et il est si grave, jusque dans ses obscénités, qu'on voit bien qu'il ne s'y plait pas comme à des souvenirs de libertinage, mais comme à des façons nouvelles de montrer son art."

Juvenal, nevertheless, has the power of invective with a greater air of sincerity than any other satirist. His lines sometimes roll over the mind like the music of a great poet. Hence none but Dryden among translators has done him justice. Dryden's rhythm, power, and gusto fitted him for the task, and he sometimes exceeds his original in wit as well as in obscenity. The opening of the sixth satire is so fine in both that it is difficult to award a preference.

> "In Saturn's reign, at Nature's early birth
> There was a thing called chastity on earth."

Juvenal, with greater gravity, says,—

> "Credo pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam
> In terris."

The "credo" with which this opens has infinite gusto. But we will not detain the reader by criticisms on a poet so well known and appreciated.

Martial, or the Life of a Poet, is one of the best of these *études*. In it he not only graphically paints the life of the literary man under the emperors, but also completely rescues Martial from the charges of having flattered the living Domitian, and outraged him when dead; and he softens the objection to his obscenity by a reference to the manners of the time; and from his universal popularity contends that these passages could not have been regarded as anything more than *gaudri-*

* *Julius Cæsar*, act iii, scene 3.

oles. Pliny, certainly, in his strange mention of Martial, takes no notice of any such defect.

"Erat homo," he says, "ingeniosus, acutus, acer, et qui plurimum in scribendo et salis haberet et fellis nec candoris minus."*

Martial himself has the assurance to say that even young girls might read him! His doctrine is curious:

> "Innocuos censura potest permittere lusus:
> Lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba est."†

This has been frequently reiterated by those whose writings wanted an excuse, and could only get this one. Don Tomas de las Torres, in the preface to his amatory poems, seriously contends (or pretends to do so) that if an author's morals be pure it signifies nothing what his books may be.

"Con tal que las costumbres de un autor sean puras y castas importa muy poco que no sean iguale severas sus obras."

Nevertheless, as Shelley so energetically says, "obscenity is blasphemy against the divine beauty in life;" and neither Martial nor Las Torres will ever persuade us to the contrary.

M. Nisard has, however, a great liking for Martial, and defends him stoutly on every score. In these pages we have a mournful but striking account of the life which the poet must lead when forced to look to other patrons than the public. In Rome, unless the poet had a competence or lucrative office, he was in a false position; he could not live by his pen, for there was no public to purchase his works. What, then, was his alternative?—Either burn his books and turn to a trade, or else become the flatterer of the Emperor and courtiers, who alone constituted his public. Without too severe a moral scrutiny, we may ask, what is the effect of reading Dryden's prefaces and dedications? Is there any flattery more servile? is there any greater prostration before the patron in Martial?‡

* *Plin. Epist., lib.* iii.—It is to be observed, however, that this praise was given on the occasion of Martial's having written some verses to him, of which he is then speaking to his friend. Besides, as we have seen in a former note, contemporary opinions are of no value on this point, for the fastidiousness of one age becomes the pruriency of the next. Martial is filthy to us, but he may have been commonplace to the Romans, to whom his filth was but soot to a chimney-sweeper.

† *Ep.* i, 5.

‡ Or to take an example from our own century: Dr Francklin, in the dedication of his translation of Sophocles to the Prince Regent, in complaining of the neglect that poet has received in this country, observes, "but Sophocles seems *purposely to have waited* for the *present happy opportunity* of making his first appearance amongst us *under the patronage of your Royal Highness; a circumstance* which has made him *ample retribution* for all former slight and neglect of him." Sophocles rejoicing in the patronage of George IV!

Was it not in either case inevitable? Must they not have flattered or starved? A sad alternative, it is true, but the indignity should not be visited on the poet. In our own days this alternative does not exist, so we may, the meanest of us, button up our coats with an intensity of independence, and remain "highly-respectable." In Martial's day, Petronius said you might know a poet by his threadbare toga, and Martial expresses the same. The poverty of poets, however, though still a standing joke, has become an obsolete fact: authors have become an honoured, sometimes even wealthy race. In Germany and France they are important personages in the Government; even in our country they are respected. It may do, therefore, for them "suspendere naso" at their brothers in past times, and become rhetorically heroic about "independence," "majesty of mind," "never stooping," &c., but to a candid criticism these disreputable brothers stand excused and deplored. Think of Martial, whose name was in every mouth, —who was read throughout the empire,*—to whom statues were erected,—who sent epigraphs to his friends to place under his portraits,†—who dined with the Emperor, and sat on the same bench as the aristocracy, and who was himself a man of rank (the Emperor having paid for his flatteries in honours, not money),—think of him at the same time poor, humiliated, obliged to mock his own poverty, not to appear to suffer from it, and yet begging for food, for raiment, for money, with a half-serious, half-jesting air, in case he should be refused;— and then wonder at his flatteries! Moreover, as M. Nisard proves, Martial only praises those things in the Emperor in themselves praiseworthy—never crimes; he exaggerates the importance of any good action in an hyperbolical strain— never honours a bad one. Those who think he ought never to have flattered at all we answer in the words of our author, that for Martial—

> "Il fallait végéter sous les combles d'une maison; en porter la clef sur soi, user sa tunique jusqu'à la corde: il fallait aller dès le matin sa sportule sous le bras, recevoir de l'intendant d'un patron quelques pièces de monnoie, et, pour une si misérable paie, lui faire cortége tout le jour comme à un Empereur; il fallait vivre d'aumônes, aller manger en cachette, dans quelque coin du marché, des poissons rances et des légumes crus, et pourtant savoir qu'on etait lu et admiré jusqu'aux confins du monde romain; ou bien il fallait s'addresser à César: et comment s'addresser à César sans le flatter?"

It is indeed a sad spectacle, this life of Martial! What sadder than to see the aristocracy of mind crouching servile before

* *Ep. lib.* xi, 3. † *Ep. lib.* ix, 1.

the aristocracy of wealth? And yet, we repeat, Martial has more excuses than many a less reprobated man; he, at least, was bent down by the fierce instincts of five hungry senses; he mixed with the nobles; he had their privileges, but he knew not where to get to-morrow's dinner; he was a "toady," impelled thereto by want;—but alas! how many have we seen, with equal talents, become "toadies" to the great, and from no more pressing cause than their own diseased vanity of moving in the "first circles!"

We have no space to follow M. Nisard in his interesting details on the epoch of Martial, but refer the reader to him and his excellent, though partial critique.

Lucain, ou la Décadence, forms the last and by far the most comprehensive subject of M. Nisard's inquiry; in it he has given a biography of the poet; a long and conscientious criticism on the 'Pharsalia,' and on the nature and tendency of epic poetry at that epoch; a comparison of that period with the present one in France; and finally, a laborious, learned, and most useful analysis of the first four cantos of the 'Pharsalia.' As it is impossible for us, just at the close of our article, to follow him through this inquiry, we shall merely throw together an observation or two towards the clearing away of some critical rubbish which the subject, in rolling over the vast field of time, has necessarily accumulated.

Corneille, as is well known, admired Lucan more than Virgil,—a natural consequence of his own poetry, which is only great in passages; but the world at large have not been of his opinion. Posterity, indeed,—the most infallible of critics, because the most unbiassed by personal predilections, because instinctively appropriating that only of which it has need—posterity has condemned Lucan to comparative oblivion. He lives but to scholars; he has passages, no doubt, as fine as any in Latin poetry, descriptions as picturesque and flights as bold. But passages do not form poems; poets do not *think in italics.* The creative harmony and the sustained feeling which characterise true poetry was wanting in Lucan. Peele, Greene, Middleton, Deckar, and others of our dramatists, were magnificent in passages, but incompetent to the production of a whole; they have been pushed aside only to be consulted by the curious. It is not the Hierocles brick, but the proportioned house, which posterity regards and values.

To regard the 'Pharsalia' as an epic, in the Homeric acceptation, would—to use the words of Dr Johnson on some play of Shakspeare's,—"be wasting criticism on unresisting imbe-

cility; on faults too gross for aggravation, too evident for detection." It is an historical poem, like the 'Araucana' of Ercilla, except that it does not, like that poem, strictly record the truth. Quinctilian says,—

"Lucanus ardens et concitatus et sententiis clarissimus et, ut ita dicam, magis oratoribus quam poetis adnumerandus;"*

But this, though a good antithesis, is an incorrect description. M. Nisard says of the 'Pharsalia,'

"Ou n'en apérçoit pas le but; ou y trouve tantôt un Pompéien, qui écrit un pamphlet en vers contre César; tantôt un ami et un disciple de Caton qui ne ménage guère plus le gendre que le beau pére; tantôt un sceptique qui ne croit ni à Caton, ni à Pompée, ni à César, ni aux vieilles lois, ni à la liberté, ni aux dieux; tantôt un fataliste, qui ne voit dans les événemens que les coups de fortune; tantôt une poéte qui trouve son compte à dire le vrai comme le faux, et qui se décide pour l'un ou l'autre, non pas d'après ses convictions, mais d'après ce qu'il en peut tirer de développemens poétiques; qui par exemple met sans façon les anecdotes du camp de César dans le camp de Pompée, prete aux Pompéiens les belles mortes des Césariens, fait des scenes, des drames avec des actions insignificantes, et convertit des pauvres soldats en héros."

Lucan also has been accused of having exalted the Emperor (Nero), and afterwards degraded him.

"It excites astonishment," says F. Schlegel, "and even disgust, to remark how he stoops to flatter that odious tyrant, in expressions the meanness of which amounts to a crime."†

And this is natural on a first view, as we always associate the name of Nero with that of every atrocity, forgetting that (like our own Henry VIII) whatever his pampered self-will and satiated senses might have subsequently made him, his early life was one of the greatest promise. We may say of Nero's virtues what M. Nisard so finely says of his verses:—

"Il a barbouillé de tant de sang ses poésies qu'il ne s'est pas même trouvé un commentateur pour en déchiffer les titres."

Nor must it be forgotten that Lucan was a fellow-pupil with Nero, under his uncle Seneca, and that an early friendship and rivalry existed between them;—this rivalry was afterwards destined to make them enemies, when Lucan would not consent to withdraw his claims for the laurel-crown, but roused the Emperor's jealousy by the unheard-of and disloyal practice

* Inst. Or. xi, 90; see also *De Causis Corrup. Eloquen.* apud *Tacitum,* 20.
† *Alten ŭ Neuen Lit.* i.

of writing better verses than his Emperor! Nevertheless, there was a period of friendship between them—when Lucan's feelings expressed themselves by ardent flatteries, and Nero's by places and honours. Both young, ambitious, clever, and self-willed, they could not long agree. Lucan, carried away by his vanity, would not write worse than the Emperor; the public, enchanted with his verses, forgot for a moment everything but their delight; the Emperor saw his friend preferred to himself, and forbade him in future to read in public! From that moment they became enemies.

Now it has been conjectured with great plausibility that the first three books of the 'Pharsalia,' wherein alone Nero is praised, were composed during the first five years of that Emperor's reign,—when he had given the warmest expectations of future greatness; and that the last seven books were written after the tyrant had shown himself as such,* when Lucan's love of liberty had become sharpened by his hatred to Nero. To this must be added, that each of the first cantos having been recited and circulated soon after composition, whatever changes Lucan's opinions might have undergone, his works could not be corrected by them. We too often forget that the process of publishing was very different in those days from that in our own, and that as "second editions" were never heard of, there could be no modification of a former statement, except in a subsequent work. Now all the cantos of the 'Pharsalia' are to be regarded as separate pamphlets, and contradictory opinions are recorded in them without affecting the morality of the author.

We here take our grateful leave of M. Nisard, whose work merits the attention of every scholar and critic. It is a profound view of a neglected portion of the history of literature, and may be classed as an offspring of the modern school of history, whose labours in the field of humanity are daily becoming more appreciated: it is an attempt to resuscitate a portion of the life of the past—of that past which we can never contemplate without melancholy, relieved by the hopes which spring from its ashes of a glorious future,—of that past whose meanest monuments are cherished by us with a not unphilosophic veneration, and whose intellectual history is enwoven with all our associations. These *études* should form the accompaniment to every study of the History of the Decline and Fall; for in it we read those portions of the moral and intellectual

* Compare Bähr's *Geschichte der Römischen, Lit.* 143.

conditions which historians mostly omit. M. Nisard promises a similar work on the prose writers of that epoch if the present one be encouraged; but seven long years have elapsed since these *études* were published, and we have no indication of the other: are, then, his countrymen indifferent? or are his hours occupied in arid journalism? If a friendly cheer from this side of the channel—from "cette grande cette insolénte Angleterre"—will encourage him to proceed, we are sure that when his book is known here he will have it. G. H. L.

ART. III.—1. *Court and Times of Frederick the Great.* Edited by Thomas Campbell, Esq. H. Colburn.

2. *Friederich der Grosse und seine Widersacher, eine Jubelschrift* (Frederick the Great and his Adversaries: a Jubilee Memorial). By K. F. Köppen. 1840.

3. *Geschicte Friederichs des Grossen* (History of Frederick the Great). By Francis Kugler. With 500 original designs by Adolph Menzel. 1840.

THE character of Frederick the Great has of late been much canvassed in Germany, and it must be confessed that his detractors have abundant evidence to show that his fame as a general rests upon a much better foundation than his reputation as a Christian statesman and philanthropist. The eulogists of Frederick cannot defend the exclusion of Catholics from nearly all the civil offices of state, his severe treatment of the Jews, his abominable recruiting system, and many abuses of power committed during his reign worthy only of an absolute and barbarous despotism.

When the celebrated Jew philosopher, Mendelsohn, was proposed as member of the Academy of Berlin, Frederick struck his name out of the list of candidates, with the memorandum, "Neither Jew nor priest shall ever be a member of my academy." A young recruit having cut off two of his fingers to avoid military service, he was condemned to a severe flogging, in addition to two years hard labour in a fortress. One of the officers, urged by feelings of humanity, interceded for him with the King, in order, at least, to delay the execution of the sentence until

after his recovery from his self-inflicted tortures, adding, at the same time, that the culprit's father, a venerable man of eighty years of age, had offered to substitute another recruit if the punishment of his son were remitted; to which representation Frederick is said to have replied, "*Quelle faiblesse!* (what weakness!) the law must have its course, and an example must be made." In the famous battle of Colin, he is said to have called out to his soldiers, when urging them on to a seventh attack, "Do you wish to live for ever, you dogs?" A secular clergyman at Glatz, named Faulhaber, was hanged, and Farber, the governor of Spandau, was beheaded, on the authority of a mere cabinet order by the King, and without any previous examination by the proper legal authorities. These, and many other acts of a similar nature, were certainly not to be expected from a monarch deserving to be called "Great." But, to enable the reader to judge fairly and impartially of the real merits of the case, Frederick must be tried by the standard of his own times, and the circumstances of his early education, and the spirit of his power and government, must be properly understood before a correct estimate can be formed.

The faults of severity in Frederick's character are sufficiently accounted for by the martinet discipline to which he was subjected in youth. In reading the life of his father, Frederick William, the wonder is, not that the son should occasionally give way to the impulse of passion, but that he did not grow up a savage. No conduct could well be more brutal than the treatment by Frederick William of his children when thwarted in some favourite object. Take the following as an instance.

"As soon as he saw the Prince he collared him, tore up his hair by the root, and struck him in the face with the knob of his stick till the blood streamed from his nose. 'Never,' exclaimed Frederick with smothered rage, 'did the face of a Brandenburg suffer such indignity.' Colonels Von Waldow and Rochow interfered to prevent further violence, and begged permission to remove the Prince into another boat, which was at length granted. His sword was taken from him, and from that moment he was treated as a state criminal.

* * * * *

"In these dispositions they arrived at Wesel. The King went on before; the Prince followed with his two keepers. On reaching the Bridge of Boats, at the entrance of that town, he begged those gentlemen to permit him to alight, that he might not be known. Not aware of his intention, they granted him this trifling favour. No sooner was he out of the chaise than he set off running as fast as he could: he was stopped by a strong guard under Lieut.-Colonel Borck, whom the King had sent to meet him, and conducted to the Town-house, contiguous to that where his Majesty lodged. Not a

word was said to the King about this last attempt. Next day the Commandant, Major-General Von der Mosel, who had raised himself to that rank by his bravery and merit, was ordered to bring the Prince before his Majesty. 'Why would you have run away?' he asked in a furious tone.—'Because,' replied the Prince firmly, 'you have not treated me like your son, but like a base slave.'—'Then you are an infamous deserter, who have no honour.'—'I have as much as you,' rejoined the Prince; 'I have done no more than I have heard you say a hundred times that you would have done were you in my place.' The King, incensed in the highest degree by this answer, drew his sword, and would have run him through, had not General Mosel, perceiving his design, stepped between them to prevent the blow. 'If, sire,' said he, seizing the King's arm, 'you must have blood, stab me; my old carcase is not good for much: but spare your son!' These words checked his fury, and he ordered the Prince to be taken back into the house."*

The Queen and princess, from their friendly disposition towards Frederick, were treated with similar and, if possible, still greater barbarity.

"The Queen was by herself in the King's apartment when he entered. As soon as he saw her he cried,—'Your good-for-nothing son is no more; he is dead!'—'What!' exclaimed the Queen, 'can you have had the barbarity to murder him?'—'Yes, I tell you,' rejoined the King; 'but I want the portfolio.' The Queen went to fetch it. I availed myself of that moment to see her: she was almost frantic, and never ceased crying, 'Good God!—my son! my son!' I fell fainting into the arms of Madame de Sonsfeld. As soon as the Queen had delivered the portfolio to the King, he tore it in pieces, and took out the letters, which he carried away. The Queen seized this opportunity to come into the room where I was: I had revived. She related what had passed, exhorting me to be firm. Ramen somewhat raised our hopes, by assuring the Queen that she knew from very good authority that my brother was alive. Meanwhile, the King came back. We all hastened to him to kiss his hand; but no sooner did he set eyes on me than, inflamed with rage and fury, he turned quite black in the face, his eyes glared, and he foamed at the mouth. 'Infamous blackguard,' said he to me, 'darest thou appear in my presence? Go, keep thy scoundrel of a brother company!' As he thus spoke, he seized me with one hand, and gave me several blows with his fist in the face, one of which, upon the temple, was so violent that it knocked me backwards; and I should have split my skull against a corner of the wainscot if Madame de Sonsfeld had not caught hold of my dress. The King, unable to control himself, would have struck me again and trampled upon me, but was prevented by the Queen, my brothers and sisters, and the other persons present. They surrounded me, and thus

* 'Life of Frederick the Great,' vol. i, p. 296. Colburn.

allowed time to Mesdames Kamecke and Sonsfeld to lift me up and place me in a chair in the embrasure of a window which was close by. Seeing that I got no better, they dispatched one of my sisters for a glass of water and a smelling-bottle, by which means they somewhat revived me. I reproached them for the trouble they took with me, as death would have been infinitely preferable to life in the then state of things."

When Frederick ascended the throne a large standing army was necessary to sustain his power. Even his father seems to have been instinctively impressed with the necessity for keeping up a large and effective standing army, having occupied nearly the whole of his time in drilling, disciplining, and maintaining a superior and effective military force, without, however, knowing exactly what use to make of it. Such an army could not always be kept in an effective state in a small kingdom as Prussia then was, except by the adoption of extraordinary measures; hence the recruiting system, of the artful manœuvrings attendant on which the King could not have been ignorant. Not only travellers in Prussia, but even young men of the adjoining states, were entrapped, carried off, and forced to enlist as soldiers.

In an army thus composed severe discipline became absolutely indispensable, although Frederick endeavoured to imbue his soldiers with feelings of patriotism and principles of morality, and partially succeeded in his efforts, as is evident from the fact of his being the idol of his troops, and their superiority to all others both in discipline and humanity.

The cane, however, playing a very important part in keeping the soldiers in proper subjection, a very strong line of demarcation was drawn between the officer and the private. The nobility, though exempt by law from military service, pressed in crowds into the army, and were made officers, to the entire exclusion of the sons of citizens and tradesmen, although the latter were destined from their birth to serve in the army, and even in their tender childhood were forced to wear the distinguishing mark—a red cravat. Nor would it, indeed, have been practicable to place men who regarded the cane as a symbol of slavery on equal terms with the free nobility. The private soldiers of that age, having but limited notions of liberty, considered their own exclusion from preferment an unavoidable evil; but among the better educated classes of citizens the service was regarded with horror, and they devised all possible means of escaping it. The nobility, on the contrary, accustomed themselves to consider the military profession the most exalted in the state, and looked on the civilians with the greatest contempt, heaping on them the grossest insults,

and treating them as the negroes of the southern states of the American Union are treated by their owners. The utmost that can be said in extenuation of their conduct is, that it accorded with the spirit of the age, though it by no means harmonised with Frederick's philosophical theories.

As a philosopher, Frederick derided the pride of birth, and the vanity that induced people only to reckon in their ancestral line those who had distinguished themselves by wisdom or bravery. He also spoke in very contemptuous terms of the inferior education of the German nobility in general, and expressed his firm conviction "that everything is lost in a state where birth prevails over personal merit, and that a government doing homage to such absurd principles is sure, sooner or later, to experience the most fatal consequences from them." Yet the same prince, who declared "a peasant or a beggar is as good a man as a king," excluded brave and deserving soldiers from preferment solely on account of their plebeian extraction, and carried the prejudice so far as to declare "that the nobility are, upon the whole, men of honour, and the citizens are cowards and villains." Carrying out this principle, he bestowed the higher civil offices in the kingdom on foreign noblemen, in preference to the distinguished and meritorious citizens among his own subjects.

In the disasters which befel Prussia in 1806 we may perhaps see the partial accomplishment of his before-mentioned prophecy, his own genius and activity of mind having in a great degree delayed, until a later period, "the fatal consequences a government is sure to experience when doing homage to such pernicious principles." It was reserved for the few years succeeding those disasters to bring into full operation those principles of humanity and liberality of which Frederick was the preacher rather than the actor. Could he have risen from the grave in the memorable years 1813—1815, he would have looked with complacency at those hosts of brave citizen soldiers forming the Prussian lines whose existence was owing to the fact that the theories of humanity of him who complained "that he was not born for his age," had been far exceeded even in practice by the late monarch, his successor.

Judging from the foregoing circumstances, it would appear almost certain that Frederick was at heart a staunch aristocrat, particularly as he favoured the nobility on all occasions. We must not, however, draw a hasty or rash conclusion. The truth is, Frederick was too much of an autocrat on the one hand, and too much of a philosopher on the other, to harbour any great predilection for the aristocracy. In the latter character he theoretically admitted the equal worth and merit of all classes promiscuously, while in the former capacity he looked at both the

nobility and citizens as the mere instruments of his arbitrary will. He certainly considered the nobility better fitted for the management of the higher functions in civil and military affairs, yet he was far from conceding to them any distinct authority independent of his own, or being in the least biassed by their opinions. Frederick was, moreover, no friend of experimental reforms, and adhered, therefore, in many points, though perhaps reluctantly, to custom and usage, for fear of rendering matters worse by unsuccessful alteration. He was, in short, more a conservative than an aristocrat, though he scarcely understood that which the misfortunes of a later day have taught, viz., that true conservative wisdom consists in keeping pace with the spirit of the age and its exigencies, and in laying open to the competition of merit those spheres of operation which prejudice would fain hallow as the sanctuary of a privileged caste.

The question of the importance and present position in society of the German nobility is one of so much interest in Germany at the present moment, it will be excusable here to offer a few remarks on the subject.

The true end and object of the French Revolution, and its immediate influence on the reforms which have since taken place throughout Europe, was the entire demolition of the barriers that previously separated the various classes of society. The imprudent Frenchman insisted on the *literal* execution of that principle, while other nations were more just and moderate in their demands, and evinced satisfaction at an *approach* to equality, caused by abolishing those unjust privileges previously enjoyed by the aristocracy, and which were no less hurtful to the interests of the people than they were revolting to humanity. Amongst these reforms were the abolition of the feudal system, the grant of the right to possess landed property, and of filling the higher offices of state. The Prussian government was also not deaf to the remonstrances of the people. The spirit of the age had previously enforced many salutary reforms in the internal economy of the state, while the school of adversity had completed the rest. But in thus suddenly changing its political position and system from one extreme to the other—from absolute Conservatism to absolute Liberalism, acting in all matters of preferment, appointment, and distinction, solely on the score of *personal* merit, the state had inflicted a mortal wound on the pecuniary and political interests of the nobility, who then lost all influence, importance, and even respect, in the vast stream of intellectual competition, and the injury they suffered was the more considerable because they were almost unprepared for such a change, by which they were affected just as the American planters would be by the sud-

den emancipation of their slaves. Urgent circumstances, however, and the reduced state of the resources of broken Prussia, compelled the nobility to suffer in silence, and wait for a more propitious time to seek redress and compensation.

After the termination of the war with Napoleon, and the entire restoration of the Prussian power, the nobility deemed it high time to set up their claims for indemnification, which the Prussian government has in part responded to by now and then allowing family connexions to kick the beam, when the scale of merit was balancing between the plebeian and the aristocrat. On the other hand, the Liberal party in Prussia regards the government with much jealousy and suspicion, considering it favours the aristocratic candidates, to the prejudice of the citizen. However true this may be in a few isolated instances, where the influence of noble or distinguished families may not have been exercised in vain, it certainly cannot be cited as a systematic proceeding, as it is well known that even latterly many of the most exalted offices in the state have been conferred on meritorious individuals of humble birth, thus clearly showing that the principle of exclusion is no longer acted upon. Nay, more; in the Prussian capital a sort of literary aristocracy of the superior kind has sprung up, so powerful and overbearing as to crush all minor talent, and it even threatens to usurp all the respect and distinction of the various departments of civilised life. The attention of the government has been called to this, and it is now endeavouring to equalise all competition, in order to prevent competent aspirants losing all chance of success, because their genius may be less brilliant than that of the chosen few of Parnassus. To effect this object with more ease, the present monarch contemplates the creation of a new class of nobles, probably with a view to counterbalance the preponderant weight and influence of the existing aristocracy.

Let us now turn to Frederick's external polity, and the wars connected with it. The most redoubted and admired hero of his age, in one of his letters written during the seven years' war, says,—

"The most civilised nations war with each other like ferocious beasts. I am ashamed of humanity, and blush for the age I live in. Let us not mince the matter. Philosophy and the arts now have but few votaries, while the bulk of the people and the inferior nobility remain as nature made them—*fierce animals*. . . . Do you think there is much pleasure in leading such a foolish life?—to cause the deaths of men we know not, to see our friends and acquaintances fall around us day by day, to have our reputation continually exposed to the waywardness of chance, to live throughout the year in

turmoil and anxiety, with life and fortune always at stake. I am surely not insensible to the value of peace and quiet, the pleasures of society, and the joys of a peaceable life, nor am I less desirous of happiness than other men; but philosophy teaches us to do our duty to our country, to shed our blood in its defence, and to sacrifice everything—peace of mind, nay life itself, to its welfare."

Who, on reading this and many other similar passages in Frederick's writings, can withhold his admiration for the royal hero who found himself so constantly compelled by urgent circumstances to encircle his brow with fresh laurels, the price of which he so pathetically lamented? But, unfortunately for Frederick, there is one circumstance connected with the stern circumstances of which he complains, that considerably lessens the sympathy we might otherwise feel for him; we allude to his first invasion of Silesia, the source and cause of the seven years' war, for which nothing can be urged in extenuation, as it was evidently caused by sheer wanton ambition and love of conquest. In his public manifestos, it is true, he rested his claim to Silesia on property-right, because it once formed part of his ancestor's dominions, though neither his father nor grandfather ever pretended to have any claim to it; but his private confession relative thereto is entitled to far more credit than all the reasons thus publicly alleged in extenuation of this act of violence. In a letter to his intimate friend Jordan, during that war, he says:—

"Really if people would only take the trouble to reflect, they would take less heed of this phantom glory, which causes them so much care, anxiety, and suffering, and forces them to spend in grief and travail those days of their life intended by heaven for enjoyment. My youthful ambition, love of glory, wilfulness, and, to conceal nothing from you, an undefinable, though irresistible instinct, have deprived me of the sweet pleasures of a quiet life, which I sacrificed to the gratification of seeing my name in the newspapers, and afterwards in the pages of history. I am a great fool, my dear friend, for having exchanged that tranquillity for the poor glory of precarious results. There are, however, so many follies hallowed by time and custom, that I am inclined to include this among their number."

In his 'History of My Own Time,' in enumerating the motives by which he was urged on to complete his great undertakings, he dwells more particularly on the strong desire he had to raise the hermaphrodite monarchy of Prussia to the rank of a well established kingdom, thus plainly avowing, that ambition, and not strict love of justice, gave the first impulse to that war, the evils whereof he so much deplored.

Frederick's first war, the object and fruit of which was the con-

quest of Silesia, must therefore be considered the first important link in the grand chain of his external polity, as it was his first voluntary political act, to which he was not urged on by circumstances or laudable motives; and all his subsequent wars were but the necessary results of this first act of aggression. Even the share he bore in the first division of Poland, that indelible stain on the page of modern policy, may be partly excused by the attendant circumstances, by his actual relations with Russia and Austria, and the absolute necessity of strengthening Prussia by an increase of territory, in order to keep her power on a level with that of other continental monarchies. But his first invasion of Silesia, undertaken as it was without the slightest provocation or necessity, forms, as it were, the corner stone to the whole course of his subsequent complicated policy, and will ever render him obnoxious to the charge of unchivalric conduct towards the heiress of Austria.

The success of his arms may inspire us with admiration for his military talents, and the change which the population of Silesia have experienced for the better may entitle him to praise, but can never justify his primary act of open aggression, although it must be confessed it is rather a difficult task to measure national policy by the moral standard of private concerns. That Frederick was not blind to the injustice done to Poland is evident from the laconic answer he gave one of his ministers who proposed excluding Austria from her share of that unhappy kingdom. "Ay, by all means," was his reply, "let her have her share; she will then help us to bear the burden of public censure." In order to judge of this affair in a purely political point of view, it will be necessary to take into consideration Frederick's position with regard to Russia. Even Frederick's all-controlling genius found it impossible to eradicate the treacherous and paltry spirit which then pervaded the politics of the different European courts; but he made such a judicious use of political aspects that he secured peace and importance to his country for a period of twenty-three years from the termination of the seven years' war. He was the ruler of only five millions of souls, and in order to attain the desired end he was compelled to proceed with great circumspection, tact, and judgment in his negotiations with the various powers. Abandoned by France, his ally in the first Silesian war, he sought support from England in the seven years' war, and was next reduced to the necessity of seeking a Russian alliance, his enemies having brought Russia upon the German seat of action by promising her a share in the conquered dominions of Prussia. Thus, the seven years' war, the fault of Austria alone, had not a little fur-

thered the views of Russia in the affairs of Germany; and the pressure of circumstances compelled Frederick to convert an active and meddling foreign foe into an ally, although he was by no means blind to the consequences that would probably result from the encouragement of Russian power and influence. In 1746 he wrote—

"Everything announces that the population, prosperity, and strength of that empire (Russia) will make rapid progress. Ever since the unhappy fate of Charles XII, Russia has been the true empire of the north, and formidable to all;"

and concludes by asserting that Russia is unassailable from her geographical position alone. Still later Frederick evinced great alarm at the increasing power and influence of Russia, which, far from being able to check, he was obliged to promote, although indirectly.

"Such rapid progress," says he, "is enough to frighten the allies of Russia, no less than her foes. Prussia must fear that her northern ally, in growing too powerful, may presume to prescribe laws to her, as she did to Poland. The prospect," he concludes, "is both probable and frightful."

The progress of Russia had indeed been remarkable since the time even of his father, Frederick William, in the early part of whose reign the Prussian court itself was scarcely considered one remove from barbarism. In the first volume of the work edited by Campbell a curious account is given of Peter the Great and his court, in which article neither the monarch nor his suite appear to great advantage. The occasion was a visit of the Czar Peter to the court of Berlin.

"The Queen, in order to prevent that havoc which the Russians had made in every other place where they had lodged, caused the whole house to be disfurnished, and everything most fragile to be removed. Some days afterwards, the Czar, his wife, and their whole court, arrived by water at Mon Bijou. The King and Queen received them on the bank of the river. The King gave his hand to the Czarina to conduct her to land. As soon as the Czar had landed, he held out his hand to the King, saying, 'Brother Frederick, I am very glad to see you.' He then went up to the Queen and would have kissed her, but she would not let him. The first thing the Czarina did was to kiss the Queen's hand, which she did several times. She then presented to her the Duke and Duchess of Mecklenburgh, who had accompanied them, and four hundred *ladies*, as they were called, of their retinue. These were mostly German servant wenches, who performed the duties of ladies in waiting, bedchamber women, cooks, and washerwomen. Almost all these creatures had each an infant, richly dressed, in her arms; and, when

asked if they were their own, they replied, making obeisances in the Russian fashion, 'The Czar did me the honour to help me to this child.' The Queen would not salute these creatures. The Czarina, to be even with her, treated the princesses of the blood with great disdain; and it was not without much difficulty that the King prevailed upon the Queen to salute them."

From Austria Frederick could never expect anything like friendship, for even after the conclusion of peace the courts were continually watching each other with jealousy and suspicion, even after the accession of the Emperor Joseph II, who was evidently an admirer of Frederick. The close alliance of the Austrian and French courts consequent on the marriage of Maria Antoinette with Louis XVI rendered the breach between Russia and France still wider, so that Frederick had no alternative but to cultivate a good understanding with Russia, notwithstanding his apprehensions of the increasing power of that colossal empire, then under the sway of Catherine II. From several causes, both local and national, Russian influence in disordered Poland had become too firmly established to be shaken, and the least attempt to control her power might have involved Frederick in a war, the results of which he had reason to fear; and the part of Poland which fell to the share of Russia, on the partition of that kingdom, at least tended to diminish the power and influence of Russia therein.

The acquisition of that part of Poland now known as Western Prussia secured immense advantages to Frederick, not only by uniting more firmly the Prussian dominions, which were previously scattered and without a solid territorial link to connect them, but also by enlarging the commercial relations of Prussia, by enabling her to command the whole of the Vistula and part of the coast of the Baltic, though, as regarded extent of territory and population, her share was less than that of either of the other two powers.

Thus Frederick's consent to the first partition of Poland may in some measure be excused by passing extenuating circumstances; but his share in the entire annihilation of Polish independence, which followed after the second conference of the three powers, cannot be justified, and was in fact accompanied by a breach of faith, against which the Empress Maria Theresa nobly protested in terms of the strongest indignation, declaring it vile and mean. Frederick, however, attempted to palliate his conduct by the necessity that existed for preventing a great war; and even took credit to himself for acting the part of pacificator in the collision. His conduct on all occasions towards the unhappy Poles was distinguished by the most ruthless violence: he transplanted more than 12,000 families into Prussia Proper, and

compelled the free towns of Dantzic and Thom to give up the last shadow of their independence, while he gradually extended the boundaries of his acquired territory. All these arbitrary and violent acts, so opposed to moral integrity, were done in the very teeth of his solemn promise, and were certainly destructive of those national rights which Frederick the philosopher so admirably expounds in his writings, and have affixed an everlasting stigma on his character, while they necessarily promoted the growing power and influence of Russia, which had caused him so much uneasiness.

The lack of confidence between the Prussian and Austrian courts led Frederick to seek the alliance of foreign powers, in preference to that of his own countrymen. United with Austria, he might have defied the threatening attitudes of both Russia and France; but the clear insight into the true interests of Germany, which would have dictated such an union, was reserved for a later and more enlightened period, and after a severe schooling. Even the so-called *Fürsten-bund* (Germanic confederation), which was brought about by Frederick in 1785, and added so much to his popularity in Germany, instead of being founded on motives of true patriotism, was in reality directed against Austria, and for that reason alone met with the ready acquiescence of the foreign powers. Frederick's popularity in Germany was indeed of no ordinary kind. The seven years' war had signalized him as the greatest hero of his time. Admired by all, he was regarded by many as a champion sent from heaven to protect the Protestant religion and liberty of conscience. To this belief there is no doubt the Pope in some measure contributed by his sending General Daun a sword wherewith to combat the heretic King. In the war of succession in Bavaria, Frederick saved the independence of that country from the Austrian yoke, which act so operated on the esteem and gratitude of that German race, that they had his image placed side by side with those of their saints.

As early as 1764 Frederick had responded to the call of the Wurtemberg states, and had taken the field against their Duke, whom he compelled to restore the constitution and the evangelic church of the country, against which he had made attempts. Thus Frederick stood in the eyes of most of his countrymen; they saw in him the representative of national honour, power, and heroism, the disinterested champion of the right, the preserver of the independence of the weak, and the protector of protestantism, freedom of conscience, and liberal polities.

The question here naturally occurs, how far have Frederick's principles and system of internal economy affected the government of other continental countries, and whether their influence is in any way connected with the future prospects of Germany.

That Frederick was in practice an autocrat, no one can deny. Nevertheless, the apparent contradiction between a practical despot and a professed liberal and philosopher will, on examination, be less striking.

As King of Prussia, Frederick was, by early custom and usage, in duty bound to acknowledge the constitution of the realm, while, as a prince of the German empire, he was far from being an independent sovereign. Following, however, the example of his father, he paid but little attention to those restrictions, and never even convoked the states during his reign, nor was he reminded of this breach of duty by his subjects. To rule alone, and exclusively alone, was his determination, and in this he persevered with unparalleled pertinacity until the last hour of his existence. From his cabinet issued all the measures, regulations, and proceedings respecting both the internal and external economy of the state, whilst the humblest subject in the realm was allowed to lay his private grievances, however trifling they might be, before the King by way of petition, and was sure to have speedy justice done him. His ministers were merely his reporters, whom he scarcely ever consulted. In his last will he recommended his successor to avail himself of the advice of the clerks of the cabinet, as they were in possession of many facts unknown even to his ministers.

The usual ceremonies and customary pageantry attendant on the coronation he despised and rejected, because, in theory, he denied the divine right and authority as assumed by other monarchs. He laughed at the idea of the *image de Dieu* in a human prince, and did not at all relish the prefix "by the grace of God." In his will he says, "Chance, which rules the destiny of man, also determines primogeniture, thus rendering a king of no more worth than another man." Although, in these fine phrases, he avowed that he owed his dignity as king solely to chance and historical right, and notwithstanding he considered the power of a monarch merely the creation of a social compact, evidenced by his having frequently said "a prince is not the absolute master of his people, but their first magistrate; in truth, their first servant," Frederick was nevertheless far from foregoing the smallest iota of the prerogatives arrogated by other despots. His views relative to this subject may be reduced to the following system: —Originally, it was his belief, the people exercised that sovereignty which belongs to them by right of nature and the usages of society. Circumstances, however, induced, or perhaps compelled, them afterwards to choose a head, and to resign into his hands voluntarily and irrevocably the sovereign power. To the maxim, "everything *for*, but nothing *with*, the people," he remained staunch with unswerving consistency. For an uninter-

rupted period of nearly 46 years he literally sacrificed his time, his pleasures, and even his health, for the prosperity of his subjects, without, however, allowing them to interfere in the least in their own affairs, treating them, in fact, just as an affectionate father treats his children of tender age. The well-known exclamation of Louis XIV, "*L'etat cest moi,*" may with justice be put in the mouth of Frederick, but in a different and nobler sense. He so sympathised with the people, and identified himself with their interests and exigencies of the state, as to become its very life and soul, instead of being, like Louis XIV, its all-devouring stomach. Nor must it be forgotten that Frederick, however arbitrary in national concerns, never interfered in private affairs, and abstained from any violation of private rights or persons. Except in two or three isolated instances, the cabinet of Frederick never assumed the character of a court of justice, but constituted merely the inspecting body, enforcing the quick and even-handed administration of justice by the proper tribunals, in all pending suits, according to the established laws of the land.

During his reign, liberty of speech on all subjects, religion included, was allowed to the fullest extent; but with regard to politics, the despotism of the King again came in collision with the liberal theories of the philosopher. Soon after his accession to the throne, it is true, he granted to the editor of the Berlin newspaper unlimited permission to express his opinions freely in political matters, but that freedom was but of short duration; it was withdrawn at the expiration of six months, and thenceforward all opinions and speculations on the affairs and politics of the state were prohibited publication. This prohibition even extended to the importation and circulation of foreign works whenever their contents did not harmonize with the interest and opinions of the Sovereign. That he did not act with consistent rigour regarding this, is evident from the circumstance of his having ordered a caricature, representing himself with a coffee-mill between his legs (in allusion to the heavy duty he had imposed on coffee), which had been stuck up during the night rather high on a wall close to the palace, to be lowered considerably, so that the public might have a better view of it. This act of forbearance contrasts strangely with another of a most illiberal nature—we allude to his having ordered one of Voltaire's works (in which that unprincipled wit had indulged in some satirical remarks respecting the Royal Academy and its resident *Maupertius*) to be burnt by the public executioner.

Frederick himself aimed at being thought a wit, and was not unsparing of caustic remarks upon his best friends. The following

is not a bad specimen of his talent for smart, though somewhat irreverent punning.

"The uniform of the Hulans consisted of white Turkish mantles and light blue clothing underneath; this was changed, but in memory of it the new hussars had white sheepskins and light blue dollmans. The Austrians sought to throw ridicule upon this regiment by calling the hussars *sheep*. This contemptuous appellation kindled in those to whom it was given an ardent desire of revenge; and an opportunity of gratifying that sentiment occurred in 1758, when an Austrian regiment which had jeered the Prussians with that name was almost entirely cut in pieces. The Prussian leader, General Puttkammer, had great difficulty to save a few of the officers, including the commander. The latter, on being conducted to the King, complained that no quarter had been given. Frederick, aware of the cause of this proceeding, asked, 'Did you ever in your life read such a book as the Bible?'—'O yes, your Majesty,' replied the officer, with some degree of surprise.—'Well, then,' said the King, 'that will explain the matter to you, for there it is said, "Beware of those who come to you in sheep's clothing, for inwardly they are ravenous wolves."'"

Frederick's over-exertion in the sole management of state affairs was fraught with evils of a peculiar nature. It brought on him, especially in his latter days, fits of petulance, nervousness, and jealousy, and often rendered him whimsical, and in some few instances made him unjust. Even his immediate attendants became shy and timid; and when they now and then ventured to remonstrate with him on what they thought the injustice of some of his acts, they more relied on his good sense and love of justice for reparation than expected him to make any acknowledgment of error. These remonstrances, as may be surmised, were not always received in good part, but were frequently replied to by some severe rebukes. His ministers, though they were all men of talent and great ability, hardly ever had an opportunity of cultivating and bringing into play their dormant faculties, for they had no sphere of action and no will of their own, always waiting the King's decision on all matters relating to every department of the state; neither had his most intimate friends the slightest influence with him on politics or state affairs, although they took the greatest liberties with him in every other respect.

To point out the brilliant parts of Frederick's reign, it would be necessary to enter into details of too comprehensive a nature to be included in our brief space. Among them we may mention the beneficial and wise regulations, and great reforms, he introduced into the various departments of the administration; his

diplomacy, and negotiations with foreign powers; the numerous institutions which he either established or improved; the measures he took to secure the better administration of justice; the introduction and composition of new codes of laws; his steps for the encouragement of agriculture and industry; the discipline of his army; his own frugal manner of living and prudent economy; his open-handed liberality; the reclamation of numerous large tracts of waste land, which he caused to be made arable; the great number of towns and villages he built; and lastly, the immense number of autograph resolutions he issued in consequence of petitions from communities, corporations, or private individuals, which he always attentively read, and promptly attended to. We refer such of our readers as seek information on these points to the work recently published by Colburn, and shall here content ourselves with stating the general results of Frederick's government and reign, which may be comprised in the following summary.

Prussia, at the demise of Frederick, possessed the best army in Europe, a rich treasury, the best regulated finances, a most enlightened population, and an administration well ordered in all its branches. But where light exists, shadow is its necessary attendant, and the many acknowledged benefits conferred by Frederick on his country are obscured by much that merits condemnation. Among the graver accusations brought against him are, the maintenance of an army disproportionately large, compared to the number of the population; the severe discipline enforced; the barbarous means resorted to for keeping up the number; the heavy taxes imposed on the people; the bad coinage; the monopolies allowed; the Custom-house regulations, to the management of which he called into the country hundreds of the French, who favoured smuggling, corrupted the morals of the people, cheated them out of the little money they possessed, causing the foreign residents to leave a country where they were exposed to the vexatious extortions practised by the French functionaries. If to these we add the successful attempts to circumscribe the power and independence of the municipalities, the continuing the peasantry in their feudal bondage to the nobility, the little that was done for educating the lower classes (the only teachers in most of the national schools being old invalid soldiers), we think the reader will exclaim, "What a contrast these proceedings afford to the theories and principles of Frederick the philosopher!"

Some of these charges are indeed too well established to be refuted, and must be attributed either to wilful motives or to short-sighted ignorance of those principles which have since elevated political economy to the rank of a science; but the major part of the acts complained of may be justified by the imperative nature

of existing necessities. The power, policy, and consequence of Prussia could not be supported in those stirring times without a large standing army, the source of all the other evils complained of. The maintenance of such large bodies of troops, as well as the long protracted wars, necessarily involved an immense expenditure, to meet which the King was compelled to resort to unfair, and at times even impolitic measures, and was also prevented doing more for the welfare of his subjects.

His influence on the governments of other German courts was, upon the whole, of an injurious tendency. The despotism of the great King was readily enough imitated by other German princes, but they could not confer like benefits on their subjects, not having adequate talents, and being deficient in that energy and restless activity of mind, united with truly benevolent sentiments, which so eminently distinguished Frederick. The system of maintaining large standing armies is continued in our own times, though the causes that gave rise to their establishment by Frederick no longer exist.

Frederick's true German and patriotic character is shown in his personally taking the lead of his army in the field, and sharing with the troops the fatigues and dangers of the campaign, thus verifying the words of Tacitus, "Principes pro victoria pugnant, comites pro principe;" as also in the indefatigable manner in which he discharged his self-imposed and laborious duties, and the ready attention he paid to the private grievances of his subjects. He used to say, "It is not necessary that I shall live, but it is necessary for me to be active."

The last, but not the least, of the charges brought against him is "*Gallomania*" in the fullest acceptation of the term, for he exhibited the strongest partiality for the French language and literature, the belles lettres and freethinking, the French finance system and French alliance. He spoke and wrote his mother tongue but indifferently, and has betrayed his utter ignorance of the advanced state of German literature by his treatise on that subject published in 1780. In speaking of Goethe's drama, 'Götz von Berlielimgen,' he says, "A few years ago a new drama, called 'Götz of Berlielimgen,' appeared on our stage, and it is a wretched imitation of those bad English pieces (Shakspeare's!). The public is, however, enraptured with the execrable stuff, and demands its repetition." However, at the conclusion of that treatise, he manifests his patriotic feelings by prophesying thus:—

"We, too, shall have our classical writers; they will be read by everybody; our neighbours will learn German, and it will be spoken in preference at the different courts. Nor is it impossible that our authors may bring the German language to such a degree of refine-

ment and perfection as to cause it to be spoken in every corner of Europe. These glorious days are not yet come, but they are approaching with certainty. For my own part, I am like Moses; I see the land of promise from a distance, but am never to enter it."

Frederick wrote this at the commencement of the golden age of German literature, when Wieland, Herder, and Goethe were already the ornaments of the intelligent court of Weimar. These facts alone are quite sufficient to brand him with ignorance of what was going on in the literary world around him, but we must not be too severe in our criticism respecting it. It is very certain, if young Frederick had, in 1730, evinced the same taste for German literature in its then barbarous state as he did for the French, he would never have become that great, wise, and ever active prince he proved himself to be. With him literature was more an amusement, and relaxation from his heavy state labours, than a professional study. In fact, when we consider how diplomatic and government duties had multiplied on his hands, we are struck with astonishment that he could find time to make himself acquainted even with the current French literature of the day. His literary genius was certainly not of that superior kind that he could become the reformer of his then but barbarous native language; and of his inferiority in authorship even in the French tongue, to which he had devoted nearly all the leisure hours of his life, he was well aware, modestly confessing, in one of his letters to Voltaire, "I feel that if I were not a prince, I should be almost nothing."

It is, however, to be regretted that Frederick took so little heed of German science and literature (foreigners, such as Guilchard and Lucchesini, drew his attention to them); and although, towards the latter part of his life, he perceived the commencement of a new era, his advanced age prevented his studying them. It must nevertheless be confessed that in his reign German literature enjoyed all the liberty requisite for its development; and although the German muse was neither patronised nor appreciated by the greatest of the German monarchs, his person and exploits had done much good for German literature by rousing and strengthening the feeling of national importance, and giving energy to the national character. Perhaps even Lessing* would not have wielded the scourge of sound criticism so energetically against the French, had not Frederick so soundly beaten them at Rossbach.

M. N.

* In his 'Dramaturgy.'

ART. IV.—*First Anniversary Address before the Association of American Geologists at their Second Annual Meeting in Philadelphia, April 5, 1841.* By Edward Hitchcock, LL.D. New Haven. Hamlen, 1841.

THIS address comes to us recommended by the Association of American Geologists, at whose request it has been published, and by whom it is described as "embracing all the points at present most interesting" in the geology of their country. As the science of which it treats claims the whole globe for its subject, the address will be quite as welcome in England as in the country to which it is devoted. Geologists in our land will peruse these interesting details with pleasure, and will feel obliged to the author for the valuable addition he makes to their stores. Before, however, proceeding to a brief analysis of the address, it may perhaps be permitted us to remark, that Dr Hitchcock is duly careful to indicate the superior geological advantages of his own country. When speaking of the state geological surveys, he says,—

"I regard this feature as peculiarly American, for I am not aware that any general survey of a large district has been ordered in any other part of the world till after it had been done in this country." —P. 6.

He tells us that America has "perhaps the largest belt of limestone in the world;" that America has a deposit of transition rocks which is "the largest undoubtedly on the globe;" that America "may lay claim probably to the largest coal-fields in the world;" and that "America presents so full a development of the European formations, that it would not be strange if at no distant period this country should become classic ground for their study." These traits of national vanity—for they are nothing else—are certainly not in good taste in a paper which should be exclusively scientific, and in the discussion of a theme whose vast range, as it knows nothing of geographical boundaries, should swell the heart with larger feelings than the love of country and the pride of possession.

As the result of the state surveys and of individual enterprise, Dr Hitchcock is enabled to furnish a general sketch of the geological features of his country, of which we shall now present an epitome.

The vast chain of mountains commencing in Alabama, and running on to New York, and thence diverging and going in one direction, probably to Labrador, and in a westerly and northwesterly line to the Rocky Mountains, and being in some parts

not less than 80 or 100 miles broad, are all primary. These rocks, from the very limited examination they have as yet received, have presented very little that is remarkable. The address mentions that there is "a vast deposit of Labrador feld-spar and hypersthene rock" in that part of these chains north of New York; that "injected veins of limestone," "metamorphic in a high degree," occur in the granite of the county of St Lawrence; and also that in the rocks of Pensylvania, Virginia, and Eastern New York, "where the limestone comes in contact with mica and talcose slates, they are often highly impregnated with carbon for several feet or rods from the line of junction;" on which phenomenon Dr Hitchcock observes, "There can hardly be a doubt that the carbonic acid, which has penetrated the slates, has been decomposed to produce this result."—P. 12. It is probable that these primary rocks will produce a large supply of tin, the oxide of that valuable metal having last year been discovered in a promising locality.

In passing to the transition and stratified rocks, it may be proper to give the valuable fact so pleasingly expressed by Mr Conrad, that

"An instance never occurs in this country (North America) where the species of one formation are continued into an upper one in such numbers as to cause the least perplexity or dispute regarding its geological age. All the various eras are admirably recorded, each by its peculiar group of animal or vegetable remains; and to him who has carefully studied them they are quite as intelligible as if the hand of nature had arranged them in a cabinet for his use."—P. 14.

The area occupied by the older secondary rocks is indeed vast.

"A single basin, extending from the Apalachian chain nearly to the Rocky Mountains, and from the centre of Alabama, in a northern direction, perhaps even to the Arctic Sea, not less than two thousand miles long and twelve hundred broad, and consequently covering about two and a half millions of square miles,—this wide region forms almost one uninterrupted deposit of older secondary or transition rocks."—P. 13.

"Besides the principal basin of the transition rocks just described, detached deposits are sometimes met with in our country, as, for example, in the eastern part of Massachusetts and Rhode Island; and I mention this just to say that I have recently come to the conclusion, that even that limited district probably contains, in a descending order, coal measures, the old red sandstone, and beneath these older transition strata."—P. 15.

The Silurian system is developed on a grand scale, and among its organic remains are found some species not yet discovered in England. Mr Conrad identifies

"All the important subdivisions of this group, except, perhaps, the Llandeilo rocks, which are the lowest. The Caradoc sandstone, the Wenlock shale and limestone, and the Ludlow rocks, are distinctly marked."—P. 14.

Dr Hitchcock speaks of the old red (or Devonian system) as having only a probable existence. Mr Murchison, however, lately presented to the Geological Society of London a note on 'A Section and List of Fossils from the State of New York,' by James Hall, Esq., stating that

"The red sandstone of Blossburgh, in Pensylvania, is proved to be the representative of the old red sandstone or Devonian system of Great Britain, in consequence of its inclosing remains of holoptichius and coccosteus."*

Mr Hall makes this group 400 feet thick.—P. 14.

On the carboniferous series our author observes :—

"It is difficult to read the reports of the Ohio geologists, especially that of Dr Locke, and those of Dr Houghton, Mr Featherstonhaugh, Professor Froost, and that of Dr Owen, on the mineral lands of Wisconsin and Jowa, and that of Mr Conrad on the New York survey for 1841, without being convinced that the carboniferous or mountain limestone is extensively developed from Pensylvania westward at least fifteen hundred miles; while here, as in England, it forms the repository of an immense accumulation of lead ore."—P. 13.

"The upper member" of the older secondary series, "that which embraces the bituminous and anasphaltic coals of Pensylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Missouri, seems now to be well identified with the coal measures of Europe."—P. 13.

It is highly probable that this coal-basin was at one time much larger, extending over the vast region of the Mississippi, and subsequently worn away, as in England, by the process described in Bakewell's 'Geology.'

Professor Hitchcock notices in this part of his address a remarkably interesting fact, which deserves much attention, and which may perhaps suggest an adequate cause for the absence of bitumen in the culmniferous districts.

"It is a fact of great interest, that the coal along the eastern part of the great valley, or in the vicinity of primary rocks, as has been abundantly shown by Professors Rogers and Johnson, is almost destitute of bitumen; and that, as we go west, it becomes more and more bituminous."—P. 15.

It is a remarkable feature in the geology of America, "that gypsum and salt springs should usually be found below the coal measures, and not above them, as in Europe."—P. 15.

* Athenæum, 1841, p. 833.

Professor Hitchcock next carries us to the new red sandstone, without, however, noticing the millstone grit which occurs so plentifully in England, and is, we find, likely to become of great use in the arts. The "new red" is extensively developed in America.

"In extensive troughs of the primary rocks along the Atlantic slope of the United States, there occurs a formation of fine and coarse sandstones and shales, with a predominant colour associated with beds of limestone and calcareous breccia."—P. 15.

After more fully describing this formation, the writer says, "I see no escape from the conclusion that it is the new red sandstone." It is in these rocks that the ornithichnites, or foot-marks of extinct birds, have been traced by the author of this address, whose opinions on this interesting subject have been confirmed by the committee lately appointed to investigate them. The corresponding formation in our country becomes increasingly interesting, and the *vestigia* of extinct races are being discovered in considerable numbers. We have lately seen them in great abundance in a quarry at Lymm, in Cheshire, near Warrington, in the museum of which place we hope they have by this time found a safe lodgment. In this quarry we have seen a foot impression covered with minute papillæ, which at first appeared like rain-marks; but on more careful inspection were evidently organic, and confirmatory of the opinion of Professor Owen, who has placed the theiorethereum in the Batrachian order.

We now come to a great *hiatus* in the American series. It is remarkable that hitherto neither of the Americas has presented the liassic, oolitic, or wealden groups. All that the author of this address is at present able to notice respecting them is, that "Mr Conrad has just announced the existence of well characterized and undoubted oolite in the state of Ohio."—P. 17. We should congratulate our friends on the other side of the Atlantic if this "undoubted oolite" should present to them any of those wonderful creatures who have so obligingly deposited their bones among us. Indeed they would seem naturally more at home in that land of wonders than in our little isle. In those vast savannahs the iguanodon might have safely wagged "his fifty foot tail," and the icthyosaurus, plesiosaurus, and the pterodactyl would have found room enough to soar or swim or creep, as the case might be; and geological science would receive increased *éclat* if American professors could discourse of such "skeleton relics and fossils" as we read of in the 'Wonders of Geology,' and see in the British Museum. We would urge our brethren

of the hammer, therefore, to be on the *qui vive* in the state of Ohio.

On the cretaceous group, the professor shall speak for himself.

" When we rise still higher on the geological scale we meet with a remarkable group of rocks, occupying a wide belt from New Jersey to Alabama, and much surface also in Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Arkansas, and, as I am informed by Mr Nicollet, extending from Council Bluffs on the Missouri, several hundred miles westward, nearly to the Rocky Mountains, all of which was identified, I believe, first by Professor Vanuxen, with the cretaceous formation of Europe, although it contains no chalk. The subsequent extensive and accurate researches of Dr Morton, Mr Conrad, and others, have completely confirmed this opinion. . . . From the recent memoir of the veteran geologist, Von Buck, just referred to, it appears that this same formation extends through a considerable portion of South America, and decidedly predominates among the secondary rocks of the Andes."—P. 17.

On the tertiary series Dr Hitchcock says:—

" Equally successful as in the case of cretaceous rocks have been the labours of Conrad, Vanuxen, Morton, Lea, the brothers Rogers and others, in developing the tertiary deposits of this country. The most northerly point along our coast where these are found is the island of Martha's Vineyard, or perhaps Nantucket. Thence, in passing southerly, we find them occupying Long Island and the eastern part of the Atlantic states from New Jersey to Florida, and the southern part of the Mississippi valley. These, too, correspond to the other features of our geology in being of vast extent and of decided characters. Three principal groups of these strata, as described by Conrad and Morton, viz. the lower or eocene, the medial, and the upper or newer pliocene, seem to be well made out on this side of the Atlantic. The group named port-tertiary by Mr Lyell is found also in the northern part of New York and in Canada, containing shells of a more arctic character than those now living in the same latitudes."—P. 18.

Mr Lyell is now in North America, engaged in the study of its tertiary series, his favourite department; and from the statement made by Mr Featherstonhaugh at a late meeting of the Geological Society at Somerset house, we feel confident that he will meet with success as great as has rewarded his late researches among the Faluns of the Loire, and in various parts of Britanny.

We are glad to find that the author of the address has given a due share of his attention to the last object in the ascending series which claims the notice of the geologist. It is remarkable that we should be so familiar with the more ancient formations, while we have comparatively so little knowledge of the diluvium (we use the term apart from theory), the phenomenon which is

the first to meet the eye, and which speaks to us of the changes by which our own age has been immediately preceded. We may, however, sufficiently account for this apparent inconsistency if we consider that this branch of the study is at first less attractive and pleasing than the others; loose sand and gravel, clay and boulders, having little to interest compared with the metallic and fossiliferous rocks; and still further, if we consider that an extensive acquaintance with rocks, and the habit of weighing geological evidences, are necessary qualifications for the profitable study of diluvial phenomena. The subject is now being prosecuted with that vigour, and nicety of discrimination, which justify the assurance that eventually it will be as well understood as any other that the wide range of geology exhibits.

Dr Hitchcock thus describes the diluvium of America, and its identity with that of Europe:—

"The principal mass of drift consists of coarse sand, pebbles, and boulders, often several feet in diameter, usually mixed together confusedly, but sometimes exhibiting, at least for small distances, more or less of a stratified arrangement. This mass of detritus, not unfrequently one hundred feet thick, occupies the lowest position; that is, it rests immediately on the smoothed and striated rocks in place. Sometimes there is mixed with it fine sand or mud, and occasionally a limited mass of clay, appearing as if out of its original position. Above this deposit in most of the larger valleys, as those of the Hudson, Connecticut, and Penobscot, and in many smaller ones, we find horizontal layers of fine blue clay, rarely as much as one hundred feet thick. Above the clay, and of less thickness, we have a bed of sand, becoming coarser towards the top, and exhibiting sometimes at its surface marks of a stronger movement in the waters by which it is deposited than could have taken place while the clay was in a course of formation. Scattered over the whole surface, but confined chiefly to the region abounding in gravel, we find insulated blocks, sometimes rounded and sometimes angular. Now, if I have not mistaken the recent descriptions of European drift, its composition and arrangement correspond with those of the drift of this country, and scarcely anything seems wanting to make out a complete identity."—P. 19.

On these phenomena the following valuable observations are made:—

"1. They must have been the result of some very general force, or forces, operating in the same general direction; that is, southerly or south-easterly. 2. This agency has operated at all altitudes, from the present sea level, and probably beneath it, to the height of three or four thousand feet. In New England, most of our hills and mountains, not excepting insulated peaks not higher than three thou-

sand feet, are distinctly smoothed and furrowed on their tops and northern slopes, and upon their east and west flanks, to the bottom of the lowest valleys. 3. The smoothing and furrowing of the rocks exhibits almost equal freshness at all altitudes, which introduces an approach to synchronism in the producing cause. 4. The almost perfect parallelism preserved by the grooves and scratches over wide regions, shows that they were made by projecting angles of very large and heavy masses of great extent, moving over the surface with almost irresistible force by water, or some other mighty agent. 5. This agency appears to be less and less powerful as we go southerly. 6. The relative levels of the surface have not been essentially changed by vertical movements since the epoch in which this agency was exerted. 7. The North American continent must have attained essentially its present height above the ocean previous to the exertion of this agency. 8. Water must have been one of the forces employed in this agency. 9. Ice must have been another agent employed to produce this phenomena of drift. 10. This agency must have been exerted previously to the existence of man upon this continent, and have been of such a nature as to destroy organic life almost entirely; for the remains of man and other existing animals have not been found in drift, but those occurring belong chiefly to extinct species, while the deposits of clay and sand made during the same period scarcely contain a species of animal or plant. 11. Yet this agency must have been comparatively recent. 12. This agency must have been far more powerful than any now operating upon the globe."—Pp. 20-23.

This valuable series of observations is succeeded by a reference to the glacier theory, which M. Agassiz and Dr Buckland have lately advocated in this country, and which now receives a large share of patronage from American geologists, and on which Dr Hitchcock makes the following remarks:—

"While reading this work (the 'Etudes sur les Glaciers'), and the abstracts of some papers by Agassiz, Buckland, and Lyell, on the evidences of ancient glaciers in Scotland and England, I seemed to be acquiring a new geological sense; and I look upon our smoothed and striated rocks, our accumulations of gravel, and the *tout ensemble* of diluvial phenomena, with new eyes. The fact is, that the history of glaciers is the history of diluvial agency in miniature."—P. 24.

As the glacial theory may not be known to some of our readers, we shall present it briefly, availing ourselves of the following excellent passage:—

"The glaciers are vast masses of ice, often leagues in extent, formed of melting and freezing snow, which are sent out from the summits of the Alps by the force of expansion into the valleys below, often to the distance of twelve or fifteen miles. Those elevated and

wide *plateaux*, called in Switzerland *mers de glace*, exhibiting only one thick sheet of ice, through which the crests and summits of the mountains sometimes rise like volcanoes, are the grand source or birth-place of the glaciers. In their descent they plough their way through the soil, pile up pebbles and sand along their sides and at their extremities, and even upon their backs; which, upon the retreat or melting of the glacier, constitute *moraines*, and correspond exactly in composition and shape to those accumulations of gravel and boulders that have been ascribed to diluvial action. The stones and sand frozen into their lower surface also, like so many fixed diamonds, smooth and furrow the surface of the rock in precisely the same manner as they are abraded over all northern countries. Vast blocks of stone are likewise conveyed without abrasion by the advance of the glaciers, and lodged in particular situations."

"From year to year the evidence has been increasing of the prevalence of intense cold in the northern regions during the period immediately preceding the historic. The elephant and rhinoceros found undecayed in the frozen mud of Siberia, the arctic character of the few organic remains found in the post-tertiary strata of Scotland and Canada, and described by Lyell and Bowman, and of the borders of Lake Champlin, as described by Emmons and Conrad, and the great extension of the ancient moraines in the Alps, are the evidences from which Agassiz infers that in that period all northern countries were covered with a vast sheet of ice, filling the valleys, and extending southerly as far as diluvial phenomena have been observed. Glaciers would then be found on mountains of moderate altitude; and, indeed, he supposes that all the northern parts of the globe might have constituted one vast *mer de glace*, which sent out its enormous glaciers to the south, thus giving the same direction to the drift and the striæ on the rocks. As these vast masses of ice melted away when the temperature was raised, immense currents of water were the result, and would lift up and bear away huge icebergs, whereby extensive erosions would be produced, and blocks of stone be transported to great distances. Subsequently lakes would be found where moraines had produced barriers, clay and sand would be there quietly deposited, and the waters be ultimately drained by the wearing down of the barriers of detritus."—P. 25.

We are glad to find that America is so rich in fossil infusoria.

"They form extensive deposits, covering many acres, and sometimes several feet thick, beneath the peat bogs." . . . "Over the primary regions they have been found from Maine to Winsconsin and south to Virginia. So numerous are the localities, that in New England at least I am confident they may be found in nearly every town based on primary rocks. Professor Rogers, in his 'Geological Report of 1841,' announces the discovery of a deposit of these infusoria in tertiary strata of Virginia. It is composed almost entirely of their silicious shields, occupies areas of considerable extent, some-

times attaining the enormous thickness of twenty-five feet, and is rarely less than twelve feet thick. If such is the beginning, what, gentlemen, will be the end of this infinitesimal geology?"—P. 30.

What indeed!—especially as, in a single specimen from West Point, Ehrenberg has "detected 14 species of silicious infusoria."

It would gratify us to dwell on this instructive and valuable address at still greater length; but we must content ourselves by presenting the following passage, the length of which will be justified by the strength and eloquence of its argument.

"The cultivation of this science carries with it its own reward. It is continually disclosing to its votaries facts and inferences of most thrilling interest. How eagerly does the antiquary unrol the newly-discovered papyrus, that reveals an earlier chapter in a nation's history, or the existence of some hitherto unknown race! The farther back the new record carries him the deeper is his interest and enthusiasm. Such developments of lost races and lost ages in the world's history are continually rewarding the labours of the geologist; and, in point of antiquity, I had almost said, that the most ancient event in chronology, the six days' work of creation, is the most recent in geology. From that beginning of registered time, we wander back through cycles of duration, which we can measure only by a succession of events, and not by chronological dates, except to be assured that they are inconceivably long;—and yet the relics of those early periods are as fresh as if entombed yesterday. The fossil reptile, or fish, or shell,—nay, even their most delicate parts,—are as perfect as when alive; although tens, and perhaps hundreds of thousands of years, have rolled away since they died. We see their footmarks following one another in regular succession, as distinct as those of living animals upon the snow or the mud; and even the pattering of a shower, that fell thousands of ages ago, is as fresh before us as if every drop had been instantly petrified. In short, there passes before us a series of distinct creations of organic beings, adapted to the varying condition of our planet; each successive group becoming more and more perfect, until everything in nature was prepared for the existing races, with man as the crown of all.

"Such developments as these are no longer to be regarded as the dreams of disordered fancy, but as the sober and legitimate deductions of science. And what large and refreshing views do they present of the plans and the benevolence of the Deity! They open back a vista as far and as wide into the arcana of time as astronomy discloses into the arcana of space. They show us that the brief space of man's existence on the globe is but one of the units of a vast series of cycles that have passed already away; and the time is at hand when geology, equally with astronomy, will be celebrated for its power of liberalizing the mind, and filling it with noble concep-

tions of the universe and its infinite author. Surely in such ennobling thoughts the geologist finds a rich reward for all his toils.

"I know, indeed, that our science has been regarded as coming into collision with that sacred volume to which, as Christians, we are bound to bow as the invariable standard of religious truth. Geologists, too, have been represented, and, I must say, without any proof from their writings, as exulting in the supposed collision; but I am happy to believe that such apprehensions are rapidly passing away. Theologians of enlarged and impartial minds are beginning to study geology; and, instead of finding its truths hostile to revelation, they find that it furnishes them with new and interesting matter, such as no other science can, for illustrating the perfections and government of Jehovah;—and such men as Drs Chalmers and Smith have already reaped from it a rich harvest. I trust that the day is not distant when the supposed geological objection to revelation will be as little remembered as is now the analogous objection derived from the Copernican system of astronomy; and which, two or three hundred years ago, was supposed to be fraught with so much danger.

"Another mode in which practical geology carries with it its own reward, is by bringing us into constant communion with unsophisticated nature in her most sublime and interesting aspects. It is hardly possible to place the geologist in any spot on the globe where he does not witness around him the marks of mighty agencies and revolutions, that are unheeded by the common mind, but which furnish him with a rich fund for reflection. But his most appropriate place is among the wildest scenery of nature; now plunging into the deep cavern, studded with glittering spars, and perhaps the charnel-house of the antediluvian world; now tracing his way through the dark gorge, with jutting rocks rising around him, as if they formed the battlements of heaven; now mounting the lofty ridge, and drinking in the glories of the vast landscape; and now standing upon the edge of the yawning precipice to witness the roaring cataract, as the waters thunder down their steep and rocky bed, until, escaping from their narrow passage, they flow out quietly as the calm and majestic river, to fertilize and beautify the extended plain. In all these scenes he sees the arm of Omnipotence laid bare, and is initiated into the sublimest mysteries of nature. There, while his body and his mind are invigorated, he acquires a permanent relish for all in creation that is sublimely great and elegantly little. Henceforth he possesses a source of gratification of which all the fluctuations and calamities of life cannot deprive him. Other sources of happiness, as circumstances change and age advances, will pass away; but a genuine attachment to nature clinging to the heart will buoy it up when the powers begin to fail, and the floods of affliction to roll over us; and, like the volcano, surrounded by polar snows, the flame will seem more bright and beautiful amid the frosts of age.

'Hæc studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugiam ac solatium prœbent; delectant domi, non impediunt foris; pernoctant nobiscum, perigrinantur, rusticantur.'—Cicero, Orat. pro Archia.

"Gentlemen, in these remarks I am confident that I am describing your own experience; for this love of nature, and not governmental or individual patronage, has been your chief stimulant in geological research. Should that patronage, which is now extended to your efforts, be withdrawn,—of which I have little fear,—and should the tide of popular favour turn against you, I know that you will not, therefore, be diverted from your favourite pursuit. No; let us rather pledge ourselves to more vigorous efforts in this noble enterprise, which has already done so much, and is destined to do much more to develop the resources of our beloved country; so much to awaken youthful genius; so much to promote our personal happiness; so much to enlarge the boundaries of science; and, above all, so much to unfold the glories and illustrate the perfections of the infinite Deity."—Pp. 43-46.

W. O.

Art. V.—*First Report of the Children's Employment Commissioners: Mines and Collieries.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament, by command of her Majesty, April 21, 1842.

Legislation to control industry, for the supposed advantage of the public, in the quality or price of the article produced, or in the employment afforded to a number of citizens engaged in its production, has long been known to us in our apprenticeship laws and in our protective duties. These have, however, in recent times rapidly declined in public estimation, and appear to be in the course of expulsion from our statute book, under a conviction that, so far from conferring material benefits, they inflict positive injury, not the less serious because spread over a wide surface.

But legislation to control industry expressly on behalf of humanity and public morals, marks a new era in our social life. The absence of such legislation, prior to the first act of factory regulation, affords no argument to prove, on the one hand, its needlessness, or, on the other, that there has been any remarkable improvement in the moral perceptions of our legislature. It has been called into existence, in fact, by the change in our industry, consequent upon the increased use of

machinery. Whether or not we may assume, from the fact of the moral relations of the young with their employers, under the old systems of industry, being brought little under public notice, that there was little demanding the interference of the legislature, it was certainly the obvious change effected in the manufacturing system by the factories which brought these relations under legislative regulation.

It may safely be asserted that, in a community sufficiently advanced in civilization to undertake to preserve every one of its members from absolute destitution by laws for the relief of the poor, every child has a moral right to maintenance and education, exempt from any such amount of labour as shall prevent its attaining a physical development, and a religious, moral, and intellectual cultivation, sufficient to enable it to provide for its own future wants and happiness with benefit to the community at large. No encroachment upon this right can be accompanied by countervailing advantages either to the individual or to the community at large, whatever may be the convenience to the parents or guardians of the child or to its employer; and all labour or restraint interfering with this right is "undue," as is legally asserted by the existing Factories Regulation Act.

That we have not earlier legal definitions of what is "undue" labour for the young with reference to their age, has arisen, as the terms of various statutes requiring young people to be put to labour plainly indicate, from a reliance upon the feelings of the parents [illegible] them rather to keep their children too long idle than to put them too soon to work; but the ancient customs with regard to service and apprenticeship sufficiently indicate what was considered "due" in their regard, which differs exceedingly from what prevails under the modern system of infant labour. New systems of industry, unknown to former ages, have now so extended the demand for the labour of children as to expose them to a violation, through "undue" labour, of their moral right to a maintenance and education proportioned to the means and the wants of society; and, all considerations of humanity aside, it is the duty of society to protect itself from being defrauded out of the health and moral energies that may thus be destroyed.

The necessity of such legislative protection of the children betokens, it is true, a degradation, or a relative weakness, on the part of the parents and guardians, which, under the competition of material interests in new combination, is itself a formidable disease in society. It is one, indeed, from which it is necessary to rescue the children, that they may ultimately

occupy that more healthy position, in which legislative interference, it is to be hoped, will be needless, when they, in their turn, become parents.

Such appear to have been the considerations on which Lord Ashley moved, on the 4th of August, 1840, for the present Commission, issued on the 20th of October following, to inquire "into the employment of the children of the poorer classes in mines and collieries, and the various branches of trade and manufacture in which numbers of children work together, not being included in the provisions of the acts for regulating the employment of children and young persons in mills and factories." It was not, however, until the 4th of February, 1841, that, by supplemental instructions, its investigations were extended to "young persons;" a term which is defined by the Factories Act to embrace all who are past childhood but under the age of eighteen; and therefore little more than a year has elapsed between the conferring of complete powers to investigate, and the presentation of this first Report, which, with its Appendix, occupies upwards of 2,000 folio pages.

The Commission names a board of four: Mr Thomas Tooke, the author of the 'History of Prices;' Dr Southwood Smith, whose writings and labours towards improving the sanatory condition of our large towns are well known; Mr Leonard Horner and Mr Robert Saunders, the factory inspectors; and, as secretary, Mr Joseph Fletcher, late secretary to the Hand Loom Inquiry Commission. This board conducted its local examinations by the aid of twenty sub-commissioners named by the Home Office; and its first Report, which is restricted to the labour connected with Collieries and Mines, is accompanied by an Appendix of two volumes, containing the local reports of such of these sub-commissioners as were employed in subterranean investigations, and the minutes of the evidence taken by each.*

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* The attention of government was first drawn to the fact of the employment of children in mines by one of the Hand Loom Commissioners, in a private report (afterwards printed by order of the House of Commons), entitled 'Notes and Observations, made during a Tour through the Weaving Districts. By W. E. Hickson, Esq.' We subjoin his statement as embracing the leading facts in a condensed shape, and as acceptable, perhaps, to those of our readers who may not have time to peruse the important confirmatory details furnished by the Children's Employment Commission.—Ed.

"While in the north of England I took some pains to inquire into the fact which I had heard asserted in several quarters, that one effect of the Factory Regulation Bill (or rather of the partial application of a sound general principle) had been to send many of the children formerly employed in factories to work in coal-pits. I found the statement correct, but to what extent I have of course no means

Even in regard to the employment of children and young persons in connexion with collieries and mines, this first Report of

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of judging. The number of children and young persons employed in collieries has always been great. I found in some instances, out of about 400 hands employed, one-half under 20 years of age, and of that number about 50 under the age of 13. Among the children employed there are almost always some mere infants; and although I was assured by Miss Martineau that Lord Durham, in the mines with which he is connected, had exerted himself to check the evil, the practice of employing children only six and seven years of age to work in mines is all but universal, and there are no short hours for them. The children go down with the men usually at four o'clock in the morning, and remain in the pit between 11 and 12 hours. When they come up they are allowed to play about for a little while by their parents, but are sent early to bed that they may rise again at the same early hour the next morning. I was much struck with the enormity of this evil; I could not conceive of circumstances more prejudicial to animal existence than shutting up a little child throughout the day in subterraneous confinement, at the very period when air and light are as necessary to its growth as to a young and tender plant. One pit-man told me, that his brother went to work in a coal-mine when but five years of age. I inquired what effect it had produced on his health; the reply was, 'Why, he is a poor stunted fellow, sure enough.' At one of the collieries I visited, a crowd of pit-men gathered round me while making these inquiries, and I endeavoured to ascertain their feelings on the subject. Some who had children in the mine of their own, were evidently influenced by the wages the children earned to disregard all other considerations, but an old man among them said, with an air of deep earnestness, 'Sir, the practice is shameful; the children are sacrificed, and they ought not to be allowed to go down so young.'

"To ascertain the nature of the employment of these young children, I embraced an opportunity of visiting a pit in the neighbourhood of Newcastle. Descending a shaft 600 feet deep, I went some distance along a subterraneous road, which, I was told, was three miles in length (the overman going before me with a Davy lamp in one hand, and, as if to neutralize the precaution, a lighted candle in the other). To the right and left of one of these roads, or 'ways,' are low galleries, called 'workings,' in which the 'hewers' are employed in a state of almost perfect nudity (on account of the great heat), digging out the coal. To these galleries there are traps or doors, which are kept shut, to guard against the ingress or egress of inflammable air, and to prevent counter-currents disturbing the ventilation. The use of a child of six years of age is to open and shut one of these doors when the loaded corves, or coal-trucks, pass or repass. For this object the child is trained to sit by itself in a dark gallery for the number of hours I have described. The older boys drive horses, and load the corves, but the little children are always trap-keepers. When first taken down they have a candle given them, but gradually getting accustomed to the gloom of the place, they learn to do without, and sit, therefore, literally in the dark the whole time of their confinement. It is impossible to imagine a more monotonous and dismal occupation for a child; and yet I was told the children were not unhappy, although it was generally admitted, 'they did fret a good deal at first.' The truth is, that by blunting the sensibilities and deadening the faculties, the mind may be rendered callous to a lot which would otherwise be too bitter for human endurance. The poor children are not the less to be pitied on that account. I have seen men living on the diet of swine, clothed in rags, and wallowing in filth, and yet their miserable circumstances did not excite my commiseration so much as the recklessness with which they regarded their state, and the utter prostration of mental energy, which deprived them almost of the wish, and certainly of the power, of making a single effort to better their condition.

"In some of the collieries young girls, as well as boys, appear to be employed; but I had no opportunity of verifying the fact from my own personal observation;

the Commission describes only its "effects on their bodily health;" leaving its effects upon their "morals" to be "brought into view in a subsequent Report, in connexion with the intellectual, moral, and religious state of the whole of that portion of the working population which is included under the terms of the Commission."* But the circumstances which affect the physical condition of children employed in underground labour present so ample and so novel a field of observation, that it will be most to the satisfaction of our readers if we adopt the like limits; deferring our review of the moral circumstances of the mining population until after the appearance of the promised supplemental Report, when we may resume our glance at the progress of modern restrictions upon industry for moral purposes.

The published Report embraces the mining industry of the whole of the United Kingdom, and describes the childhood and youth of the entire population employed by the "subterranean interest." This interest is divided into two distinct branches,—that of the coal and iron mines, and that of the mines of tin,

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and I should not have known it, had not my attention been called to an account which appeared in the 'Yorkshire Herald,' about the time of which I am speaking, of an accident attended with loss of life, through an inundation which occurred in one of the Silkston collieries. When the water burst in there were in the mine 44 children, of whom 18 escaped and 26 were drowned; of these 11 were girls, and the rest boys; and nine out of the number were under 10 years of age. It is singular that none of the pit-men were drowned with the children; but the fact strengthens the statement made to me in several collieries, that when the men are working short shifts, the lads are not allowed to leave with the men, but work full time.

"Poverty of the parents is not the cause of this immolation of infancy. The pit-men of the north of England collieries are a better paid class of operatives than any body of working-men equally numerous. I found their average earnings to be 24s. a week; and when a colliery is not limited in the quantity of coal allowed to be raised (which by agreement among the coal-owners is sometimes done to keep up prices), a pit-man often earns 30s., and even 40s. in a week. Besides this amount of money wages, he is allowed a cottage rent-free, or at a mere nominal rent of sixpence a fortnight; the cottage frequently containing four good rooms. He has also a bit of garden-ground rent-free, sufficient for the growth of his vegetables; and, moreover, another important advantage, for which he may well be envied by London operatives,—as much coal as he wishes to burn the year round, free of charge. All I have observed, however, only strengthens my conviction that high wages and corresponding benefits are thrown away upon those who have received no moral culture, and are incapable of self-guidance. I went among the colliers the day following that on which they had received a fortnight's wages, and found every cottage deserted, and every public-house filled. I went into a beer-shop at two o'clock in the day, in which I counted 15 pit-men drinking, and found among them only one sufficiently sober to answer intelligently the questions I put to him. Drunkenness and quarrels are much more frequent among Newcastle colliers than among the miners of Cornwall. Comparing the one class with the other, the Cornish miners are far superior in intelligence and morals; but of neither class could I paint a very flattering picture."

* Report, p. 261.

copper, lead, and zinc. These are as distinct in locality as in the nature and division of the labour employed in them. It is the former which afford the chief employment to children and young persons underground.

"The 'Coal Measures,' as the geological formations comprising the strata of coal are designated, are variously dispersed in the midland, northern, and western portions of South Britain, and in a broad belt of country which traverses the centre of Scotland, from the shores of Ayrshire to those of the Frith of Forth. There are likewise some coal tracts of far inferior importance in Ireland.

"The most important of the midland coal tracts, or coal fields, as they are geologically termed, is that of South Staffordshire, which, lying to the west and north of Birmingham, is remarkable for the extent to which its vast beds are worked, as well for the purpose of smelting the iron ores, which are raised from strata interspersed among the coal strata, as for the consumption of the neighbouring populous towns, which are the seat of the metal manufactures, and for an extensive 'land sale,' as the supply of the surrounding country with fuel is frequently designated; the country southward, where canals extend, as far as the Thames, being in great part supplied from this region. The Shropshire district of Coalbrookdale, lying midway between Wolverhampton and Shrewsbury, though much smaller in extent, is in like manner the seat of great iron works, and is the source of a supply of fuel for a large part of the vale of the Severn, and the country to the west of it, to the borders of Wales. The Warwickshire coal field occupies a large tract on the north-eastern verge of that county, from Coventry to Tamworth; and the Leicestershire coal field surrounds the town of Ashby-de-la-Zouch. The coal of the latter is far more extensively wrought than that of the Warwickshire field; but both being without iron furnaces, their produce is required only for the land sale, which extends southward even through Buckinghamshire to the Thames.

"In North Staffordshire, besides the coal field of the potteries, in which there are extensive ironworks at Kidscrew, there is a smaller tract contiguous to the town of Cheadle. The consumption of the produce of both, however, extends little beyond the northern parts of that county.

"In the vale of the Trent, between Nottingham and Derby, commences the great coal field of Derbyshire and Yorkshire, which extends hence northward, and of which the southern, or Derbyshire portion, occupies the eastern side of that county, and extends at one extremity into Nottinghamshire. Besides supplying with fuel a vast surrounding region, especially to the east and south, in the counties of Leicester, Nottingham, and Lincoln, it has a considerable home consumption in ironworks.

"The northern, or Yorkshire portion, which is wholly comprised in the West Riding, has extensive ironworks, and supplies with fuel the whole of Yorkshire, except the coast, and even makes some shipments down the Humber for London.

"On the opposite side of the mountains which enclose Yorkshire on the west, are the great coal fields of Lancashire, extending southward into the eastern part of Cheshire, and worked to an enormous extent for the supply of the manufactures and the manufacturing and commercial population which have congregated in their neighbourhood and upon their surface, although there is no manufacture of iron from native ores.

"North of this is the Cumberland coal field, in which, likewise, the pits are wrought only for sale, to supply the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and for shipment, chiefly at Whitehaven, to Ireland and the opposite shores of Scotland.

"Again crossing the mountains to the eastern side of the island, we find a large portion of the counties of Durham and Northumberland occupied by the coal tract, which, of all the districts having pits wrought almost wholly for sale, and only to a very small extent for the manufacture of metals, is by far the most important. It supplies not only the whole of those counties, the North Riding of Yorkshire, and the contiguous Scottish counties, but the whole of the eastern and southern coasts of England as far as Cornwall, including the metropolis itself, and the great south-eastern region into which the sales of the inland coal districts do not penetrate, because of the greater cost of land carriage and the want of canals. The export to foreign parts is likewise very extensive; and the whole region is so important as to have rendered necessary, for the purposes of investigation, its division into two districts; that of South Durham, south of the river Wear, and that of North Durham and Northumberland, comprising the rest of the field.

"The coal districts of the East of Scotland encircle the Frith of Forth in tracts of very irregular form, occupying large portions of the counties of East Lothian, Mid-Lothian, and West Lothian, of Stirlingshire and part of Dumbartonshire, of Clackmannanshire and Perthshire; and of Fifeshire, in the districts of Dunfermline, Kirkaldy, Cupar, and St Andrew's: the coal of the whole of these districts is extensively wrought, chiefly for land sale to Edinburgh and the surrounding counties, though partly for shipment coastwise, and for the celebrated ironworks of the Carron Company in Stirlingshire.

"Lanarkshire, Ayrshire, and Renfrewshire comprise nearly the whole of the irregularly scattered coal fields of the west of Scotland, and their mines have been chiefly wrought, like those of Lancashire, for the supply of the manufactures, and of the great manufacturing and commercial population which have seated themselves upon their surface, or in their vicinity, with Glasgow for a centre; but of late years the district of Airdrie, to the east and south-east of Glasgow,

has so rapidly extended its importance in the manufacture of iron from the excellent ores there found, as greatly to have augmented the working of its coal for that purpose also.

"Returning southward, we find, on the eastern border of North Wales, in the counties of Denbigh and Flint, where they border upon Cheshire, a large coal field, heretofore possessed of considerable iron works, which, however, seem now to be sinking before the competition of those in the west of Scotland, and other districts; it still, however, supplies with fuel nearly the whole of North Wales and a large portion of Cheshire and Shropshire.

"But the greatest coal basin of the west is that of South Wales, which, commencing in the politically English county of Monmouth, occupies a considerable portion also of the counties of Glamorgan, Carmarthen, and Pembroke. The internal consumption of its coal in the manufacture of its native ores of iron, and of those of copper and tin brought from Cornwall and other parts, is enormous; and besides supplying with fuel the whole of South Wales and its borders, Cornwall, and a considerable part of Somersetshire, it exports large quantities of stone coal, even to London.

"The Forest of Dean is a singular detached coal field in Gloucestershire, between the confluent rivers Wye and Severn, in which pits are wrought for the manufacture of its excellent iron ores, and for the supply not only of the contiguous parts of Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, but also for a considerable land sale eastward towards Oxford. South Gloucestershire is, in great part, occupied by a coal field which extends northward from Bristol, and supplies that city and the contiguous country with fuel.

"It is for a similar land sale that the valuable mines of North Somersetshire, on the other side of the Avon, are wrought; the principal being those to the south-west of Bath, which not only supply the contiguous country, but have an extensive sale eastward in Wiltshire and Berkshire.

"Of the comparatively unimportant coal fields of Ireland, the principal are those of Castlecomer in Kilkenny, and the Queen's County, where pits are worked for country sale by three proprietors; that near Killenaule, in the county of Tipperary, where there are three pits worked by the Mining Company of Ireland; and that of Dromagh and Dysart, in the county of Cork, where there are pits worked by Messrs Leader. There are also a few pits at Drumglass and Coal Island, in the county of Tyrone, which, with the Arigna coal pits at the northern extremity of Roscommon, supplying some contiguous ironworks, complete the list of the Irish coal mines which are now worked.

The number of juvenile hands employed in the Irish collieries is so limited, and the circumstances of labour in Ireland so peculiar, that, in our own brief notice of these reports, we

must confine our attention to the coal districts of Great Britain alone.

In all these districts the coal is found in beds, interstratified for the most part with various qualities of gritstone and shale, in which, in some of the districts, occur layers of ironstone, generally thin, but sometimes forming large masses, as in the Forest of Dean. The beds variously approach a horizontal position, but are seldom perfectly flat, and commonly have one edge cropping out to the alluvial surface; and sometimes a large portion of their circumference is thus exposed. The inclination is commonly gentle, but in some places, especially in the east of Scotland and in Pembrokeshire, it is very rapid; and as all the subterranean workings must, under such circumstances, be necessarily conducted, as it were, on the side of a steep hill, the character of the labour is much influenced by this fact. When the surface of the coal country is mountainous, and intersected by deep ravines, as in South Wales, and to a much less extent on the borders of Lancashire and Yorkshire, the mineral deposits are approached by levels driven into the sides of the hills; but the common access to them is by vertical shafts or well-holes, from the bottoms of which horizontal roadways are extended in long and confined passages through the coal strata, to bring all that is hewn to the "pit's eye," or bottom of the shaft, for winding up. The depth to which the shafts are sunk varies from the shallowest possible, to that of Monkwearmouth, which is 1,600 feet, or nearly the third of a mile perpendicular.

It is requisite to have more than one shaft in the same workings; but where the coal lies so deep that the sinking of a distinct shaft requires an enormous outlay of capital, only one large shaft is sunk; and this is divided by wooden partitions, or "brattices," into several distinct channels. There must always be one shaft or channel, called the "downcast pit," for the air to descend; and another, called the "upcast pit," for the return draught to ascend; and the description given of the ventilation in a part of Lancashire by Mr Fletcher, explains in few words the plan of ventilation generally adopted.

"The current is generally quickened by a furnace in the upcast shaft, which, rapidly drawing off the air in the passages below, brings a brisk current through the whole distance from the downcast pit, however great that distance, by its purposed tortuousness, may have been made. The mode in which the current between the two shafts is made to circulate to all the places where the works are carried on is very simple. The advances from the bottom of the drawing pit, to whatever distances and in whatever direction they may be required, are made always in double galleries about six feet apart, one

for the air in its course from the downcast shaft, which is also the drawing road, and the other for its return towards the upcast shaft. When these have been pushed about five yards onward; or as far as the quality of the strata will permit without danger from accumulated fire-damp, a 'cut-through,' or short transverse gallery is made between them, which, by the stoppage of all more direct communication between the two shafts, becomes the channel of the whole current between them, which rushes down the one gallery and up the other, so as to clear both from the accumulation of any noxious gases."*

The drawing shaft, or that up which the coals are drawn (generally by a steam-engine, though sometimes by a horse-gin, or even by hand labour), and by which the labourers in the mine go to and return from their work, is generally the upcast shaft, because it is convenient to have the pumping apparatus in a distinct shaft, and this is generally the downcast shaft, or that which is sunk most towards the dip of the coal strata, because it is best that the cold air, which has to rise to the surface after ventilating the works, should be introduced at the lowest point of them; and to this point the drainage water descends.

The thickness of the seams that are wrought varies from the eighteen-inch seams of the Lancashire and Yorkshire hills, to the ten-yard coal of South Staffordshire; but two, three, and four feet are the more common thicknesses of the beds that are wrought; and each bed, though its identity can be traced under a great extent of country, varies somewhat in its thickness in different localities. When there is a good roof, or hard rock, immediately over the coal, with a tolerably solid floor beneath it, thin coal seams can be worked with advantage, because the outlay of capital for propping is then very limited; but the very hardness of the contiguous strata would require an outlay almost as great to make the roadways of a proper height for human beings of any age to work in; and this is what the commissioners describe as—

"One case of peculiar difficulty, viz. that in which all the subterranean roadways, and especially the side passages, are below a certain height: by the evidence collected under this Commission, it is proved that there are coal mines at present at work in which these passages are so small, that even the youngest children cannot move along them without crawling on their hands and feet, in which unnatural and constrained posture they drag the loaded carriages after them; and yet, as it is impossible, by any outlay compatible with a profitable return, to render such coal mines, happily not numerous nor of great extent, fit for human beings to work in, they never will be placed in such a condition, and consequently they never can be

* Report by Mr Fletcher, App. pt. ii, pp. 822-3, § 19-20.

worked without inflicting great and irreparable injury on the health of the children."*

"When," however, "the roads are six feet high and upwards there is not only ample space for carrying on the general operations of the mine, but the coals can be drawn direct from the workings to the foot of the shaft by the largest horses. When the main roads are four feet and a half high, the mine may still be rendered sufficiently convenient for the work people, and the coals may be conveyed along these roads to the foot of the shaft by ponies or asses. But when the mainways are under four feet, the coals can no longer be conveyed along these roads by ponies or asses, or even by adult or young men; they can only be conveyed by children. Yet it is in evidence that, in many mines which are at present worked, the main gates are only from twenty-four to thirty inches high, and in some parts of these mines the passages do not exceed eighteen inches in height. In this case not only is the employment of very young children absolutely indispensable to the working of the mine, but even the youngest children must necessarily work in a bent position of the body, in a manner hereafter described."†

The depth at which the seams are found materially affects both the temperature and the efficiency of the ventilation in the workings. Coal pits are generally warm; and the deeper they are, the hotter.

"Oppressive heat," however, "may always be regarded as an indication of imperfect ventilation. It is stated that in the mines of the Yorkshire coal fields the thermometer stands in the main roads at from 50° to 60°, in the side roads from 60° to 65°, and at the workings from 64° to 72°. In the deep mines in the northern coal field the temperature is considerably higher. In one of the Hetton pits in South Durham the temperature was found to be 66° at the bottom of the shaft, and 70° in the workings; but in the Monkwearmouth colliery, the deepest in the northern coal field, the average temperature ranges from 78° to 80°, in some parts of this mine it occasionally rises to 89°;"‡ and this high temperature is by no means confined to a single pit. "From the evidence it appears that in all the districts there are particular mines in which, often at great expense to the owners, every precaution is taken which intelligence and skill can devise to render the mine healthy and safe; but that there are great numbers of mines in which both ventilation and drainage are grossly neglected, and in which, as a necessary consequence, there is often a frightful destruction of human life."§

Both ventilation and drainage are also affected by the inclination of the strata, which, where it is considerable, causes all the workings to be on inclined planes, out of the mainways,

* Report, p. 259.
† Report, p. 45, § 200.
‡ Report, p. 47, § 211.
§ Report, p. 46, § 208.

which are run nearly on a level along the face of the dip; and this gives great advantages for the fall of the water to the pumping shaft, and sometimes for the rise of the inflammable gas to the upcast shaft; but it is attended with the disadvantage of greatly augmenting the labour where the workings are towards the dip; and exposing the young labourers in the roadways to severe minor accidents, in descending the inclined planes with their loads, out of one level into another. When the inclination is so great as to get the strata the name of "pitching seams," as in parts of the east of Scotland and of South Wales, the whole system of labour has to be changed. In the pits of almost every district the influx of water, of fire-damp (carburetted hydrogen gas), and of choke-damp (carbonic acid gas), into the workings, has to be contended against by pumping and by ventilation; but there is every variety in regard to the copiousness with which each of these dangerous elements is poured out from the contiguous strata.

To encounter all these natural obstacles, and to overcome them, to the extent of enabling his labourers to bring the coal from its resting place to the surface, is the object of a varying outlay by the capitalist employer, in providing the means of access, of drainage, of ventilation, and of raising the coal to the surface; and the ironstone which is found in thin beds in the coal measures is wrought in the same method as the coal itself, but the workings are "less perfectly ventilated and drained than the coal mines, and, therefore, still more unhealthy; and productive of the same physical deterioration, and the same diseases, but in a more intense degree." *

The coal-worker has also to provide viewers and underlookers to preserve discipline in the pits, and to see that the work is properly executed; but the degree of superintendence exercised by the coal owner over the hands in his employment, varies considerably with the mode in which they are hired.

"Sometimes the proprietors enter into a contract with certain persons, variously designated as butties or charter masters, who engage to get the coal and bring it to the foot of the shaft at a certain rate, and these contractors hire all the persons required to work the pits. Sometimes the proprietor himself engages all the work-people, and sets persons over them to see that they perform their duty; but in other cases the proprietor contracts with the chief workmen, who hire every one who is employed in getting the coal and bringing it to the foot of the shaft."†

When the proprietor employs the whole of the hands, not

* Report, p. 259. † Report, p. 39, § 172.

only will his viewer be a respectable person, but his "under-lookers" will generally be taken from the more intelligent, honest, and industrious of the labouring colliers. Elsewhere, the rulers in a pit are just such as the most uncultivated class is likely to produce. The great body of the children and young persons are, however, of the families of the adult work-people employed in the pits, or belong to the poor population of the neighbourhood. But there is in some districts an unfortunate minority of defenceless creatures who pass the whole of their youth in the most abject slavery, into which they are thrown chiefly by parish authorities, under the name of apprenticeship.

"There is one mode of engaging the labour of children and young persons in coal mines, peculiar to a few districts, which deserves particular notice, viz. that by apprenticeship. The district in which the practice of employing apprentices is most in use is South Staffordshire; it was formerly common in Shropshire, but is now discontinued; it is still common in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and the west of Scotland: in all the other districts it appears to be unknown. In Staffordshire the sub-commissioner states that the number of children and young persons working in the mines as apprentices is exceedingly numerous; that these apprentices are paupers or orphans, and are wholly in the power of the butties; that such is the demand for this class of children by the butties, that there are scarcely any boys in the union workhouses of Walsall, Wolverhampton, Dudley, and Stourbridge; that these boys are sent on trial to the butties between the ages of eight and nine, and at nine are bound as apprentices for twelve years, that is, to the age of twenty-one years complete; that, notwithstanding this long apprenticeship, there is nothing whatever in the coal mines to learn beyond a little dexterity readily acquired by short practice; and that even in the mines of Cornwall, where much skill and judgment is required, there are no apprentices, while in the coal mines of South Staffordshire the orphan whom necessity has driven into a workhouse is made to labour in the mines until the age of twenty-one solely for the benefit of another."*

The treatment which these defenceless creatures receive, and the "bringing up" which their "guardians" thus provide for them, may be estimated from the particulars given by one or two of the witnesses. In Staffordshire, John Greaves, a collier, states:—

"It is the butties' apprentices who are worst used. These lads are made to go where other men would not let their own children go. If they will not do it they take them to the magistrates, who commit them to prison. Mr * * * caused his apprentices to go where another person would not go. I have seen him take up his foot and kick them to make them go."†

* Dr Mitchell, Report, § 159: App. pt. i, p. 19.
† Dr Mitchell's Evidence, No. 11, p. 67, l. 62.

Edward Oakley, forty years of age, collier:—

"I first went down to the pit at eight. I was an apprentice to a butty collier; I never received any wages till twenty-one; I served thirteen years' apprenticeship; I was bound when I first went down; I think apprenticeship a very bad thing. Butties get apprentices from parishes, and send their own children to learn other trades. The boy would learn his trade just as well if he were not an apprentice; not a morsel of difference. Sometimes fathers bind their own children, being induced by the present of a suit of clothes, or a watch, or some other enticement. I had thirteen years of it; it was a hard time. The last part of it I thought very hard. The butties here in general do very well, and build lots of building. The apprentice can learn nothing. The colliers are very ignorant, being always buried alive in the pits. The butties never put their own sons to be colliers, but send them to learn other businesses."*

In Yorkshire, Thomas Moorhouse, collier-boy, says:—

"I don't know how old I am; father is dead; I am a chance child; mother is dead also; I don't know how long she has been dead; 'tis better na three years; I began to hurry when I was nine years old for William Greenwood; I was apprenticed to him till I should be twenty-one; my mother apprenticed me; I lived with Greenwood; I don't know how long it was, but it was a goodish while; he was bound to find me in victuals and drink and clothes; I never had enough; he gave me some old clothes to wear, which he bought at the rag-shop; the overseers gave him a sovereign to buy clothes with, but he never laid it out; the overseers bound me out with mother's consent from the township of Southowram; I ran away from him because he lost my indentures, for he served me very bad; he stuck a pick into me twice in my bottom. [Here I made the boy strip, and found a large cicatrix likely to have been occasioned by such an instrument, which must have passed through the glutei muscles, and have stopped only short of the hip-joint: there were twenty other wounds, occasioned by hurrying in low workings, upon and around the spinous processes of the vertebræ, from the sacrum upwards.] He used to hit me with the belt, and mawl or sledge, and fling coals at me; he served me so bad that I left him, and went about to see if I could get a job. I used to sleep in the cabins upon the pit's bank, and in the old pits that had done working; I laid upon the shale all night; I used to get what I could to eat; I eat for a long time the candles that I found in the pits that the colliers left over night; I had nothing else to eat; the rest of the hurriers did not know where I was; when I got out in the morning, I looked about for work, and begged of the people a bit; I got to Bradford after a while, and had a job there for a month while a collier's lad was poorly; when he came back I was obliged to leave; I work

* Dr Mitchell's Evidence, No. 8, p. 65, l. 50.

now here for John Cawtherly; he took me into his house and is serving me very well; I hurry for him now, and he finds me in victuals and drink."*

In Lancashire, says Mr Kennedy—

"A case which occurred during the month of February last was related to me by Mr Milner, of the firm of Lamb and Milner, surgeons, at Rochdale, who were called upon to visit the case. It appeared the boy Edmund Kershaw had been apprenticed by the overseers of Castleton to a collier of the name of Robert Brierly, residing at Balsgate, who worked in a pit in the neighbourhood of Rooley Moor.

"Mr Milner examined this boy, and found on his body from 24 to 26 wounds. His posteriors and loins were beaten to a jelly; his head, which was almost cleared of hair on the scalp, had the marks of many old wounds upon it which had healed up; one of the bones in one arm was broken below the elbow, and, from appearances, seemed to have been so for some time.

"The boy, on being brought before the magistrates, was unable either to sit or stand, and was placed on the floor of the office, laid on his side on a small cradle bed.

"It appeared from the evidence that the boy's arm had been broken by a blow with an iron rail, and the fracture had never been set, and that he had been kept at work for several weeks with his arm in the condition above described. It further appeared in evidence, and was admitted by Brierley, that he had been in the habit of beating the boy with a flat piece of wood, in which a nail was driven and projected about half an inch. The blows had been inflicted with such violence that they had penetrated the skin, and caused the wounds described by Mr Milner. The boy had been starved for want of food, and his body presented all the marks of emaciation. This brutal master had kept him at work as a waggoner until he was no longer of any use, and then sent him home in a cart to his mother, who was a poor widow, residing in Church lane, Rochdale."†

This testimony gives but too true a picture of the brutality which prevails among the most barbarous of the men and in the most undisciplined pits. The want of instruction, and the seclusion from the rest of the world, which is common to the colliers, give them a sad pre-eminence over every other class of labourers in ignorance, callousness, and consequent foolhardiness, notwithstanding the progress which the humble efforts of the sectarian missionaries have undoubtedly made towards rendering them amenable to feelings of religion and habits of civilization. When this barbarism is taken into account, together with the

* S. S. Scriven, Esq., Evidence, No. 58: App. pt. ii, p. 118, l. 11. See also Witnesses, Nos. 64 and 65.

† Report of Mr Kennedy, App. pt. ii, p. 218, § 260-3.

natural difficulties to be encountered, the imperfectness of the means employed to overcome them, and the limited superintendence exercised by the servants of the employer, who, perhaps, never himself descended into a pit, we shall have made some progress towards appreciating the character of the coal-mines as places of work.

It is well observed by Mr Symons, that—

"It is difficult to describe the impression of dark confinement and damp discomfort conveyed by a colliery at first sight. The springs which generally ooze through the best cased shafts, trickle down its sides, and keep up a perpetual drizzle below. The chamber or area at the bottom of the shaft is almost always sloppy and muddy, and the escape from it consists in a labyrinth of black passages, often not above four feet square, and seldom exceeding five by six. As you proceed the dampness decreases, and the subterranean smell increases. Still these unpleasant sensations rapidly depart, even on a slight familiarity with the scene."*

And a vast variety of evidence substantiates the statement of the commissioners,—

"That in many instances much that skill and capital can effect to render the place of work unoppressive, healthy, and safe, is done, often with complete success, as far as regards the healthfulness and comfort of the mines; but that to render them perfectly safe does not appear to be practicable by any means yet known; while in great numbers of instances their condition in regard both to ventilation and drainage is lamentably defective."† And further, that "the coal mine, when properly ventilated and drained, and when both the main and the side passages are of tolerable height, is not only not unhealthy, but, the temperature being moderate and very uniform, it is, considered as a place of work, more salubrious and even agreeable than that in which many kinds of labour are carried on above ground."‡

But it appears, from the evidence adduced by the sub-commissioners, that at present this degree of perfection in coal mining is far from being generally attained.

Whatever may be the natural circumstances of the coal deposit, so that they do not absolutely preclude its being worked to a profit, the disadvantages under which it lies may all, where there is ample capital, be overcome nearly to the same extent, whether they be great or small; and the outlay, where there is a mineral treasure worth incurring it, is sometimes enormous, especially in the Northumberland and Durham districts. But

* Mr Symons's Report on the Yorkshire Coal Field, App. pt. i, p. 183.
† Report, p. 255, § 6. ‡ Ibid. p. 258.

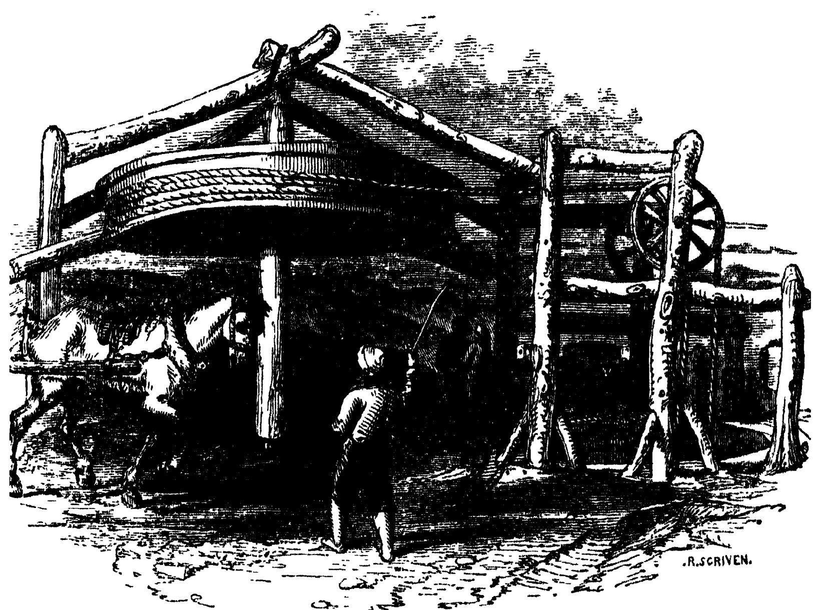
the natural disadvantages which the labours of the miner encounter are seldom overcome to the extent of making his occupation either safe or salubrious to the full extent that is practicable. Under the competition which exists among the coal owners and coal proprietors in each district for the supply of their several markets, no more outlay is incurred than is sufficient to overcome the most obvious physical difficulties; and under that which prevails among the labouring colliers, who are ordinarily more numerous than the work to be done requires, a large amount of danger and of exposure to the most noxious influences will gladly be encountered for wages a little in advance of those of the agricultural population around them, in an occupation in which they can moreover make a profitable use of their children. This double competition is certainly not so great as in many other branches of industry, but it is quite sufficient to cause a large proportion of the pits to be worked with the most imperfect drainage and ventilation; often with ill-constructed shafts, bad gearing, incompetent engineers, and ill-constructed and ill-propped bays and roadways; causing a destruction of life, and limb, and health, the statistics of which would present an appalling picture, though one perhaps equalled in some few surface occupations, in which men, the more readily in proportion to their ignorance and want of foresight, expose themselves to danger and death on very cheap terms.

Generally speaking, however, the best places of work for the children and young persons are found in the thick-seam mines, in which the roadways are the largest, the ventilation the freeest, and the application of capital commonly the most extensive; for in coal mining nothing appears to exercise a more direct influence upon the circumstances of the labour than the scale on which it is carried on; for though large mines may be, and too often are, in a bad state, small mines are almost universally so. Perhaps in no two collieries, however, are the circumstances determining the character of the place of work, even in essential particulars, precisely the same.

Even where the steam-engine, the very safest instrument for drawing, is employed, as at all considerable pits, it is, in some districts, as near Oldham, "a general system to employ mere children to tend these engines, and to stop them at the proper moment; and if they be not stopped, the two, or three, or four, or five persons wound up together, are thrown over the beam down into the pit again;"* a catastrophe which has there repeatedly occurred.

The sketch subjoined shows the common horse gin; and

* 'Evidence collected by Mr Fletcher,' No. 359, p. 86, § 31.



the succeeding sketch (see next page) the mere well-handle by which the humblest pits in the West Riding of Yorkshire are worked.

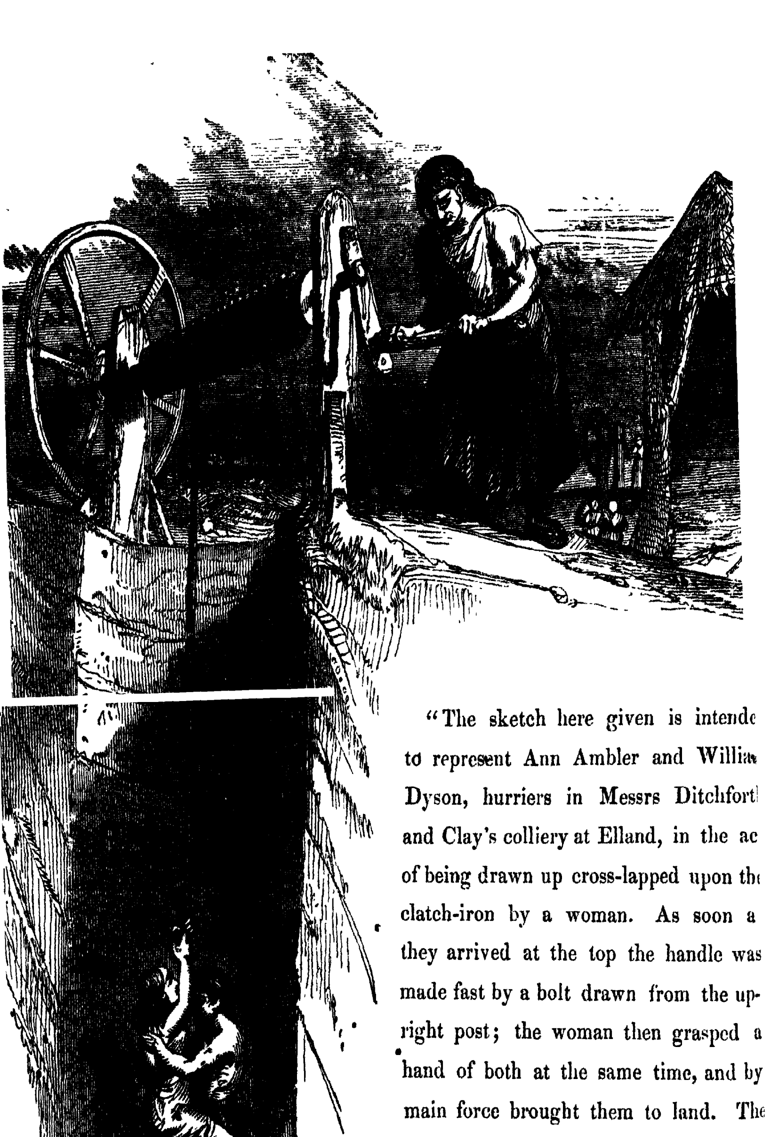
Mr Scriven's graphic description of his own progresses through the pits of the Halifax district will improve our appreciation of such places:—

"I know but of two gates that will admit of the use of horses (Messrs Rawson's Swan Bank and the Junction Pit at Low Moor). In some of them I have had to creep upon my hands and knees the whole distance, the height being barely twenty inches, and then have gone still lower upon my breast, and crawled like a turtle to get up to the headings. In others I have been more fortunately hurried on a flat board mounted upon four wheels, or in a corve, with my head hanging over the back, and legs over the front of it, in momentary anticipation of getting scalped by the roof, or of meeting with the still more serious infliction of a broken head from a depending rock; whilst in others I have been able to accomplish my journey by stooping."*

In pits in the Yorkshire district, where the main gates are only 28 or 26 inches high, and the side gates are not above 24 or even 22, Mr Symons states that—

"The youngest children must necessarily crawl on their hands

* S. S. Scriven, Esq., Report, § 33-35, p. 62.



"The sketch here given is intende
to represent Ann Ambler and Willia
Dyson, hurriers in Messrs Ditchfort
and Clay's colliery at Elland, in the ac
of being drawn up cross-lapped upon th
clatch-iron by a woman. As soon a
they arrived at the top the handle was
made fast by a bolt drawn from the up-
right post; the woman then grasped a
hand of both at the same time, and by
main force brought them to land. The
corve on these occasions is detached from
the hooks to render the load lighter."*

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* S. S. Scriven, Esq., Report, § 26: App.
pt. ii, p. 61.

and feet; and in this posture they drag after them their loaded corves of coal, without wheels, along roads without trams. It is only the main road which it has been thought worth while, in the instances mentioned by the witness No. 73, to heighten from the thickness of the seam (26 inches) to a yard. Here alone trams are laid down; in what are properly the board-gates no trams are laid, and only the height of the seam itself is left." The same witness adds—"The children are well tired at night. Not many fall ill."*

Of this district he adds—

"I may, with truth, state that ventilation is not sufficiently attended to for the health and comfort of the work-people in a majority of cases, whilst in some it is so imperfect that it is positively dangerous.† In many collieries in this district the children work all day long in water and mud, and in some the men actually hew the coals in water."‡

The thin-seam pits of Lancashire appear to be as ill-constructed and ill-drained as those of Yorkshire. In Shropshire the passages through which the children have to drag the loaded "dans," or low waggons, are sometimes not more than eighteen inches high; and in Derbyshire, though the mainways are made large enough for asses to drag the waggons, yet so imperfect is the ventilation, that—

"Fatal explosions frequently take place; the work-people are distressed by the quantity of carbonic acid gas which almost everywhere abounds, and of which they make great complaint; and the pits are so hot as to add greatly to the fatigue of the labour. But while efficient ventilation is neglected, still less attention is paid to drainage. It is stated by all classes of witnesses that some pits are dry and comfortable, but very many are so wet that the people have to work all day over their shoes in water, at the same time that the water is constantly dripping upon them from the roof. In other pits, instead of dripping, it constantly 'rains,' as the people themselves term it, from the roof, so that in a short time after they commence the labour of the day their clothes are drenched, and in this state, with their feet also in water, they work all day. The children especially, and in general the younger the age the more painfully this unfavourable state of the place of work is felt, complain bitterly of this, and it must be borne in mind that it is in this district that, according to the evidence, the regular hours of a full day's labour are fourteen, and occasionally sixteen."§

In the coal-mines of Durham and Northumberland, where the strata vary from two to seven feet in thickness, and in some

* J. C. Symons, Esq., Report, § 98: App. pt. i, p. 179; and Evidence, No. 73, p. 241, l. 58.

† Mr Symons's Report, p. 183.

‡ Report, p. 53, § 236. § Report, p. 50, § 230-1.

parts are followed to the perpendicular depth of upwards of a quarter of a mile,—

"Carburetted hydrogen gas abounds so much that great attention to ventilation is absolutely indispensable. Ventilation is here universally effected by means of the double shaft, or by one great shaft divided into upcast and downcast channels; and a current of air sufficiently powerful to force its way to the remotest parts of these immense mines is created by a furnace in the upcast shaft, which is kept constantly burning day and night."*

Yet so copious is the outpouring of the inflammable gas, that the whole of extensive pits are sometimes involved in one common destruction; and the oppressive heat at great depths combines, too often, with insufficient drainage, to make the labour of the mines very oppressive.

In the east of Scotland the roads underground being carelessly attended to, and the workings very irregularly carried on, the oppression of the labour is as much increased by the want of good surveillance as by the irregularity of the work-people themselves.† The ventilation is so bad as to cause the frequent loss of life by carbonic acid gas, and an early decay of health, though the sudden extinction of life be avoided.

"In general the drainage in this district is quite as bad as the ventilation. The roads are most commonly wet, but in some places so much so as to come up to the ankles; and where the roofs are soft the drippy and slushy state of the entire chamber is such that none can be said to work in it in a dry condition, and the coarse apparel the labour requires absorbs so much of the drainage of water as to keep the workmen as thoroughly saturated as if they were working continually in water."‡

In many of the mines of North Wales the roads are low and narrow, and the air foul; and in great numbers of coal mines in the South Wales district ventilation is grossly neglected; a neglect which is in part occasioned by the comparative immunity of these mines from carburetted hydrogen gas.

"The prevalence of carbonic acid gas, although it undermines the health of the work-people, does not kill instantaneously like fire-damp. The presence of a quantity of carbonic acid gas sufficient to produce the most injurious effect on the people, may yet not be sufficient absolutely to stop the working of the mine; but the evidence shows that as long as it is possible to go on, as long as a candle will burn, as long, that is, as there is air enough to support the degree of combustion necessary to afford light, the labour is continued. When this noxious gas so far prevails over the quantity of atmospheric air supplied to the workings that the combustion of a candle can no longer be maintained, then the

* Report, p. 57. † Mr Franks's Report, p. 383, § 8.
‡ R. H. Franks, Esq., Report, § 7: App. pt. i, p. 383.

people leave off work for a few days, and the necessity which compels this temporary cessation of labour under such circumstances is regarded as a hardship by some of the proprietors. 'We have carbonic acid gas in the workings,' says Morgan Thomas, Esq., Craigyrat Colliery, parish of Eglwysilan, Glamorganshire: 'I nearly lost my life once in it. I lost a great deal by bad air preventing the work the summer before last.'* 'Air-doors are not necessary,' says Mr Jonathan Isaacs, agent, Top Hill Colliery, Glamorganshire: 'there is no fire-damp; there is some little choke-damp in this and the other pits in the neighbourhood, and many men suffer from the asthma which it creates at the age of from thirty-five to forty.'"†

The state of the mines in the other coal districts of the west appears to be no better, and our attention will again be called to it by a reference to the destruction of human life by accidents in mines, the avoidance of which involves their improvement as to salubrity; for no such simple requisition as that imposed on the factories in regard to "whitewashing" would be of much avail in a coal mine.

The employment of the adult colliers is almost exclusively in the "getting" of the coal from its natural resting place, of which there are various methods, according to the nature of the seams and the habits of the several districts. That of the children and young persons consists principally either in tending the air doors where the coal carriages must pass through openings the immediately subsequent stoppage of which is necessary to preserve the ventilation in its proper channels, or in the conveyance of the coal from the bays or recesses in which it is hewn, along the subterranean roadways, to the bottom of the pit shaft; a distance varying from absolute contiguity even to miles in the great coal field of the north of England, where the depth requires that the same expensive shaft shall serve for the excavation of a large tract of coal.

Startling as the fact may appear, it is into the pits, which "never can be worked without inflicting great and irreparable injury on the health of children," that children are taken at the earliest ages, if only to be used as living and moving candlesticks, or to keep rats from a dinner; and it is in pits of this worst character, too, in which *female children* are most employed. It would appear, from the practical returns obtained by the commissioner, that about one-third of the persons employed in coal mines are under eighteen years of age, and that much more than one-third of this proportion are under thirteen years of age.

"In the districts in which women and girls are employed in under-

* R. H. Franks, Esq., Evidence, No 120: App. pt. ii, p. 523, l. 58.
† Ibid. No 144, p. 527, l. 63.

ground-labour, the proportion of adult women to adult men, and of young women and female children to young men and male children, varies in different districts, as appears from the following table:—

"Proportion (nearly) of Females to Adult Males, and of Females under age to Males under age.

DISTRICTS.	Adults.	From 13 to 18.	Under 13.
Yorkshire	1 to 45	1 to 28	1 to 25
Lancashire	1 to 12	1 to 13	1 to 37
EAST OF SCOTLAND:			
Mid Lothian	1 to 3	1 to 5½	1 to 20
East Lothian	1 to 3	1 to 3½	1 to 10
West Lothian	1 to 5	1 to 7	1 to 10
Stirlingshire	1 to 4½	1 to 8	1 to 10
Clackmannanshire	1 to 5	1 to 5	1 to 11½
Fifeshire	1 to 5½	1 to 10	1 to 30
WALES:			
Glamorganshire	1 to 53	1 to 53	1 to 83
Pembrokeshire	1 to 2½	1 to 8½	1 to 53*

In the Shropshire district, it is stated, by a resident surgeon, that "there are *very few under six or seven* who are employed to draw weights with a girdle round the body; and those only when the roof of the pit is so low for short distances as to prevent horses of the smallest size, or asses, from being employed."† Five, six, and seven appear to be the common ages for commencing underground labour in the Derbyshire district. In the West Riding of Yorkshire, it is not uncommon for infants of five years old to be sent daily and regularly into the pits with adults, and it is very common for them to begin work at six years of age; and one case is recorded, in the vicinity of Halifax, in which a child was regularly taken into the pit of his father at three years of age. It was made to follow him to the workings, there to hold the candle, and when exhausted with fatigue, was cradled upon the coals until his return at night.‡

Although there are scarcely any districts in which children are not, in some instances, employed at five and six years of age, yet in none are they taken down in numbers at that early age so much as in the east of Scotland. In the South Wales district it is no very unusual thing for children to be taken into the pits as early as four years of age, and common at five. For instance, the sub-commissioner finds Mary Davis, near seven years old,—

"A very pretty little girl, fast asleep under a piece of rock near the

* Report, p. 39. † Dr Mitchell's Evidence, No 48, p. 81, l. 67.
‡ Mr Scriven's Report, § 48: App. pt. ii, p. 65.

air-door below ground: her lamp had gone out for want of oil, and, upon waking her, she said the rats, or some one, had run away with her bread and cheese, so she went to sleep. The overman who was with me thought she was not so old, though he felt sure she had been below near eighteen months."*

We have not space, however, for the thousands of artless answers in which these little creatures themselves describe their own age, and that at which they commenced their underground labour.

It may appear somewhat extraordinary, too, that the earliest employment of the children in the pits should generally be to open and shut the doors, upon the proper custody of which the ventilation and safety of the whole mine depends. This is, in fact, the universal occupation of the very youngest children, except when their parents take them down as little infant servants of all work in the recesses where they are working, or put them at once to the dragging of the coals in places where it is almost impossible for any but infants to move a load. Dr Mitchell's quaint description of the life of a trapper in the great coal mines of the north of England, is the *beau ideal* of that mode of existence; it is a pit pastoral, if one may be allowed the solecism, but contains so much truth and nature well linked together that we cannot refrain from quoting it.

"The little trapper of eight years of age lies quiet in bed. It is now between two and three in the morning, and his mother shakes him, and desires him to rise, and tells him that his father has an hour ago gone off to the pit. He turns on his side, rubs his eyes, and gets up, and comes to the blazing fire, and puts on his clothes. His coffee, such as it is, stands by the side of the fire, and bread is laid down for him. The fortnight is now well advanced, the money all spent, and butter, bacon, and other luxurious accompaniments of bread, are not to be had at breakfast till next pay-day supply the means. He then fills his tin bottle with coffee, and takes a lump of bread, and sets out for the pit, into which he goes down in the cage, and walking along the horseway for upwards of a mile, he reaches the barrow-way, over which the young men and boys push the trams with the tubs on rails to the flats, where the barrow-way and horse-way meet, and where the tubs are transferred to rolleys or carriages drawn by horses.

"He knows his place of work. It is inside one of the doors called trap-doors, which is in the barrow-way, for the purpose of forcing the stream of air which passes in its long many-miled course from the down shaft to the up shaft of the pit; but which door must be opened whenever men or boys, with or without carriages, may wish to pass through. He seats himself in a little hole, about the size of a common fireplace, and with the string in his hand; and all his work is to pull that string

Mr Franks's Evidence, No 46, pt. ii, p. 513, l. 5.

when he has to open the door, and when man or boy has passed through, then to allow the door to shut of itself. Here it is his duty to sit, and be attentive, and pull his string promptly as any one approaches. He may not stir above a dozen of steps with safety from his charge, lest he should be found neglecting his duty, and suffer for the same.

"He sits solitary by himself, and has no one to talk to him; for in the pit the whole of the people, men and boys, are as busy as if they were in a sea-fight. He, however, sees every now and then the putters urging forward their trams through his gate, and derives some consolation from the glimmer of the little candle of about 40 to the pound, which is fixed on their trams. For he himself has no light. His hours, except at such times, are passed in total darkness. For the first week of his service in the pit his father had allowed him candles to light one after another, but the expense of three halfpence a-day was so extravagant expenditure out of tenpence, the boy's daily wages, that his father of course withdrew the allowance the second week, all except one or two candles in the morning, and the week after the allowance was altogether taken away; and now, except a neighbour kinder than his father now and then drop him a candle as he passes, the boy has no light of his own.

"Thus hour after hour passes away, but what are hours to him, seated in darkness, in the bowels of the earth? He knows nothing of the ascending or descending sun. Hunger, however, though silent and unseen, acts upon him, and he betakes to his bottle of coffee and slice of bread; and, if desirous, he may have the luxury of softening it in a portion of the water in the pit, which is brought down for man and beast.

"In this state of sepulchral existence an insidious enemy gains upon him. His eyes are shut, and his ears fail to announce the approach of a tram. A deputy overman comes along, and a smart cut of his yard-wand at once punishes the culprit, and recalls him to his duty; and happy was it for him that he fell into the hands of the deputy overman, rather than one of the putters; for his fist would have inflicted a severer pain. The deputy overman moreover consoles him by telling him that it was for his good that he punished him; and reminds him of boys, well known to both, who when asleep had fallen down, and some had been severely wounded, and others killed. The little trapper believes that he is to blame, and makes no complaint, for he dreads being discharged; and he knows that his discharge would be attended with the loss of wages, and bring upon him the indignation of his father, more terrible to endure than the momentary vengeance of the deputy and the putters all taken together.

"Such is the day-work of the little trapper in the barrow-way.

"At last the joyful sound of 'loose, loose,' reaches his ears. The news of its being four o'clock, and of the order, 'loose, loose,' having been shouted down the shaft, is by systematic arrangement sent for many miles in all directions round the farthest extremities of the pit. The trapper waits until the last putter passes with his tram, and then he follows, and pursues his journey to the foot of the shaft, and takes an opportunity of getting into the cage and going up when he can. By five o'clock he may probably get home. Here he finds a warm dinner, baked

potatoes and broiled bacon lying above them. He eats heartily at the warm fire, and sits a little after. He dare not go out to play with other boys, for the more he plays the more he is sure to sleep the next day in the pit. He therefore remains quiet at home, until, feeling drowsy, he then repeats the prayer taught by our blessed Lord, takes off his clothes, is thoroughly washed in hot water by his mother, and is laid in his bed."*

The stupefaction of every faculty produced by the solitary confinement of little children in the dark bowels of the earth, is well described by Mr Scriven, who says,—

"I can never forget the first unfortunate creature that I met with; it was a boy of about eight years old, who looked at me as I passed through with an expression of countenance the most abject and idiotic—like a thing, a creeping thing peculiar to the place. On approaching and speaking to him he slunk trembling and frightened into a corner, under an impression that I was about to do him some bodily injury, and from which neither coaxing nor temptations would draw him out. Happily but few children are sacrificed here, as their services are not much needed in the thin seams of this district."†

The recapitulation of the commissioners sums up the life of the trapper, and the commencement of the severe labours of the children in the fewest possible words, in stating—

"That the nature of the employment which is assigned to the youngest children, generally that of 'trapping,' requires that they should be in the pit as soon as the work of the day commences, and, according to the present system, that they should not leave the pit before the work of the day is at an end.

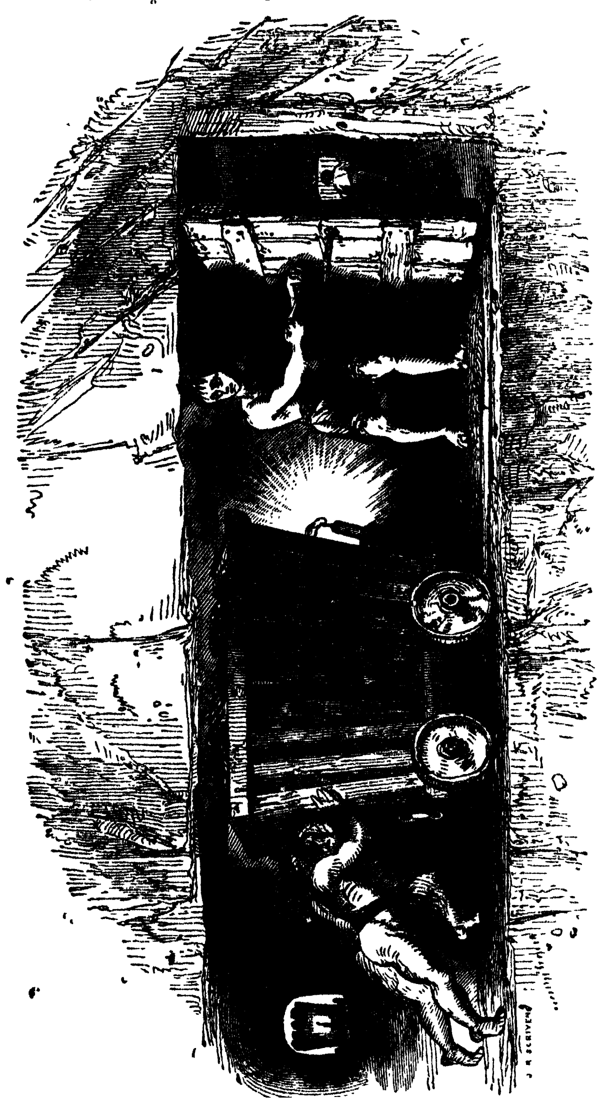
"That although this employment scarcely deserves the name of labour, yet, as the children engaged in it are commonly excluded from light and are always without companions, it would, were it not for the passing and repassing of the coal carriages, amount to solitary confinement of the worst order.

"That in those districts in which the seams of coal are so thick that horses go direct to the workings, or in which the side passages from the workings to the horseways are not of any great length, the lights in the mainways render the situation of these children comparatively less cheerless, dull, and stupifying; but that in some districts they remain in solitude and darkness during the whole time they are in the pit, and, according to their own account, many of them never see the light of day for weeks together during the greater part of the winter season, excepting on those days in the week when work is not going on, and on the Sundays.

"That at different ages, from six years old and upwards, the hard work of pushing and dragging the carriages of coal from the workings to the mainways, or to the foot of the shaft, begins; a labour which all

* App. vol. i, p. 129-130, § 100-107.
† App. pt. ii, p. 72, § 87.

classes of witnesses concur in stating requires the unremitting exertion of all the physical power which the young workers possess."*



Wherever the seams of coal are thinnest, the capital vested in

* Report, p. 255-6.

raising it the smallest, and the population employed in working it the most ignorant and remote, there do the methods of work appear to be more oppressive, in like proportion as the place of work is less healthy and less secure; the degradation of the parents combining with the necessities of the employer to make the labour as unfit for human beings to perform, as the place of it is "unfit for human beings to work in." The commissioners state that—

"The labour in which children and young persons are chiefly employed in coal mines, namely, in *pushing* the loaded carriages of coals from the workings to the mainways or to the foot of the shaft, so far from being in itself an unhealthy employment, is a description of exercise which, while it greatly develops the muscles of the arms, shoulders, chest, back, and legs, without confining any part of the body in an unnatural and constrained posture, might, but for the abuse of it, afford an equally healthful excitement to all other organs; the physical injuries produced by it, as it is at present carried on, independently of those which are caused by imperfect ventilation and drainage, being chiefly attributable to the early age at which it commences, and to the length of time during which it is continued."*

But this description certainly applies only to one of the most favourable forms of this labour, which, according to the thickness of the seams, the extensiveness of the works, and the habit of the country, is variously performed, either with the assistance of horses, ponies, and asses, drawing upon subterranean railways, and driven by boys (who have by far the best and most cheerful occupation connected with the collieries, and are thus employed in considerable numbers, in all the largest coal fields); or by boys and youths pushing the wheeled carriages along such railways, either to the foot of the shaft or to the horseways, which is the very prevalent description of labour referred to by the commissioners; or by boys dragging the wheeled carriages along such railways by straps over the shoulders, as in North Staffordshire, the Forest of Dean, and the east of Scotland, and partially also in Derbyshire, and the Durham district; or by uniting this mode of dragging with pushing from behind, whether with or without proper railways, as in the same district; or by dragging wheeled carriages on sledges by a belt or girdle fastened round the loins, and a chain attached to it in front, and passing between the legs to the waggon or sledge, which the child drags on all-fours, either for the whole distance from the workings to the foot of the shaft, or from the workings to the mainways; or by "bearing" the coal on the back, which is the most barbarous form of this labour, now everywhere

* Report, p. 258-9.

abandoned, if ever in use, except in the east of Scotland, where its perpetuation is a national disgrace.

The loaded waggons are drawn by the girdle and chain, in the narrowest seams generally, and commonly without rails; a form of labour upon which an old collier rationally exclaims—"Sir, I can only say of it what the mothers say; it is barbarity! barbarity!" *

"This practice is not totally unknown in South Staffordshire in working some thin seams of coal, and is still more in use in the thin beds of ironstone; but it is not nearly so common as in Shropshire. About thirty years ago it was a very general custom to employ young boys, both in the coal pits and iron pits, to draw carriages by this means. The custom is not yet entirely out of use, though the respectable companies have many years discontinued it, and have substituted instead small iron railways, and small carriages called dans, which the boys push before them. All persons who have spoken of the girdles, both in Staffordshire and Shropshire, have described the labour as very severe, and the girdle as frequently blistering their sides, and occasioning great pain." †

The best illustration which we can present of this labour is the description of it, as practised in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in the neighbourhood of Halifax.

"The loaded corves drawn by the hurriers weigh from two to five cwt.; these carriages are mounted upon four cast-iron wheels of five inches in diameter, there being in general no rails from the headings to the main gates. The children have to drag these carriages through passages in some cases not more than from sixteen to twenty inches in height. Of course, to accomplish this, the youngest children must crawl on their hands and feet. To render their labour the more easy, the sub-commissioner states that 'they buckle round their naked person a broad leather strap, to which is attached in front a ring and about four feet of chain terminating in a hook.'"

The illustration, however, on the following page, of the circumstances of this degrading labour, will be found much more forcible than any verbal description.

* Dr Mitchell's Evidence, App. pt. i, p. 35, § 279.
† Dr Mitchell, Report, § 276; App. pt. i, p. 35.

The Report continues,—

"As soon as they enter the main gates they detach their harness from the corve, change their position by getting behind it, and become 'thrusters.' The vehicle is then placed upon the rail, a candle is stuck

fast by a piece of wet clay, and away they run with prodigious celerity to the shaft, pushing the load with their heads and hands.

The command they hold over it at every curve and angle, considering the pace, the unevenness of the floors and rails, and the mud, water, and stones, is truly astonishing. The younger children thrust in pairs."*

The description of the roadway labour of the young people in the mines near Oldham, by Mr Fletcher, appears to be of very extensive application. After "trapping," the next labour in the ascending scale to which the children are put is "thrutching"

* S. S. Scriven, Esq., Report, § 49-52: App. pt. ii, p. 65-6.

(thrusting or pushing), which consists in being helper to a "drawer" or "waggoner," who is master, or "butty," over the "thrutcher."

"He is chiefly employed in 'thrutching,' or thrusting, behind the loaded tubs of coal, with his hands and head, which latter is generally protected by a thick cap, although the thrutcher in the thin-seam mines works in all other respects naked, or nearly so (Nos. 3, 20, 25, 26). In other pits he will keep on his trousers and clogs. The size of the loads which he has to thrutch varies with the thickness of the seam; and with the size varies his butty's method of proceeding, which is either as a 'drawer' or a 'waggoner.'

"The 'drawers' are those who use the belt and chain, which is now seldom employed, except in the thinner seams. Their labour consists in loading, with the coals hewn down by the getter, an oblong tub without wheels, measuring 27 inches long, by 24 inches wide, and 9 inches high, and containing 3 cwt., or a basket and a half; and dragging this tub on its sledge bottom by means of a girdle of rough leather passing round the body, and a chain of iron attached to that girdle in front, and hooked to the sledge. The drawer has, with the assistance of his 'thrutcher,' to sledge the tub in this manner from the place of getting to the main-way, generally down, though sometimes up, a 'broo,' brow, or incline, of the same steepness as the inclination of the strata; in descending which, he goes to the front of his tub, where his light is fixed, and, turning his face to it, regulates its motion down the hill, as, proceeding back foremost, he pulls it along by his belt. When he gets to the main-way, which will be at various distances, not exceeding 40 or 50 yards from his loading-place, he has to leave this tub upon a low truck running on small iron wheels, and then to go and fetch a second, which will complete its load, and with these two to join with his 'thrutcher, in pushing it along the iron railway to the pit bottom, to have the tubs successively hooked on to the drawing-rope. Returning with his tubs empty, he leaves the mainway, first with one, and then with the other tub, to get them loaded, dragging them up the 'broo' by his belt and chain, the latter of which he now passes between his legs, so as to pull, face foremost, on all fours. In the thin seams this labour has to be performed in 'bays,' leading from the place of getting to the main-ways, of scarcely more than 20 inches in height; and in main-ways of only 2 feet 6 inches, and 3 feet high, for the seam itself will be only 18 inches thick.*

"'Waggoning' is the form of 'drawing' the coals, which comes into use with the more extensive employment of railways in the thicker seams. Rails are here laid by the miners at the charge of the employer, up to the very spot of getting; and the tubs, which increase in size from those carrying 3 cwt. to others for 4 cwt. 6 cwt., and 8 cwt., according to the thickness of the seam, are all mounted on their own wheels. The weight of the waggons or tubs will be from ½ cwt. to 2 cwt., in addition to the coal which they carry; making those of the largest size, when loaded, about half a ton in weight. The 'waggoners' of the larger tubs

* See No. 20, &c.

are youths of seventeen or eighteen, when one person has to manage the whole load; but younger boys often join two together, to 'make a waggoner,' receiving the pay of one, and dividing it between them according to their relative ability; the younger one calling himself a 'thrutcher' only, and designating the older one his 'butty.' From the place of getting, the loads are pushed by the waggoners with hands and head to the bottom of the pit along the levels; and where they have to descend from one level into another, this is generally done by a cut at right angles directly with the dip, down the 'broo' or hill which it makes. Here there is a winch and pinion for jigging the waggons down the incline, with a jigger at the top, and a hooker-on at the bottom of the plane, where it is such as to require these. The jiggers and the hookers-on are children of 12 or 13. Sometimes, however, the descent from one line of level into another is by a diagonal cutting at a small angle from the levels, called a slant, down which the waggoners can and do, in some instances, take their waggons without jigging, by their own manual labour; and a very rough process it is, owing to the impetus which so great a weight acquires, notwithstanding the scotching of the wheels."*

Mr Kennedy, in noticing the combined drawing and thrutching, describes very graphically the positions of the children.

"The child in front," he says, "is harnessed by his belt or chain to the waggon; the two boys behind are assisting in pushing it forward. Their heads, it will be observed, are brought down to a level with the waggon, and the body almost in a horizontal position. This is done partly to avoid striking the roof, and partly to gain the advantage of the muscular action, which is greatest in that position. It will be observed the boy in front goes on his hands and feet: in that manner the whole weight of his body is in fact supported by the chain attached to the waggon and his feet, and consequently his power of drawing is greater than it would be if he crawled on his knees. These boys, by constantly pushing against the waggons, occasionally rub off the hair from the crowns of their heads so much, as to make them almost bald."†

Even, however, where animal strength is employed to draw the coals to the bottom of the shaft, there is often a want of the simplest mechanical appliances to render its use perfectly safe, as in the instance of the Cumberland pits, where, for want of shafts, the boy driving has to put his own body between the buttock of the horse and the first waggon of a train in going down an incline; and in that of the Derbyshire pits, where the waggon is fastened to a girdle round the driver's loins, to enable him to keep it in the track.

The filling of the coals in the bays, gates, rooms, or stalls where they are hewn, into the corves, tubs, or waggons in which they are conveyed to the shaft, is performed by the young people,

* Report by Mr Fletcher on the neighbourhood of Oldham: App. pt. ii.
† Mr Kennedy's Reports, § 110, pp. 164, 165.

assisted in various degree by the adults, with whom, in some districts, they at the same time join in separating the large coal from the slack by "riddling." In others this is accomplished by screening after the coal has been brought to the surface, an occupation which affords employment to a number of children; as also do various subsidiary services in the largest mines, which it is impossible here to detail.

In Derbyshire, the sub-commissioner reports that in some neighbourhoods boys do the entire labour of the pits, hewing the coal as well as waggoning it.

"The seams," he says, "are so thin, that several have only a two-feet headway to all the workings. The pits are altogether worked by boys; the elder one lies on his side, and in that posture holes and gets the coal; it is then loaded in a barrow or tub, and drawn along the bank to the pit-mouth, without wheels, by boys from eight to twelve years of age, on all-fours, with a dog-belt and chain, the passages being very often an inch or two thick in black mud, and are neither ironed nor wooded. In Mr Barnes's pit these poor boys have to drag the barrows, with 1 cwt. of coal or slack, 60 times a day 60 yards, and the empty barrows back, without once straightening their backs, unless they choose to stand under the shaft, and run the risk of having their heads broken by a coal falling."*

Mr Symons and Mr Scriven show that in Yorkshire also the hewing of the coal is often required from hands very young; and the latter gentleman illustrates his statements by drawings which give a better idea of the circumstances than a volume could convey without them.

"In the Halifax district, in which, as has been shown, the seams of coal in many of the mines are not more than 14 inches in thickness, and rarely exceed 30, the space at the workings is sometimes too small to allow the adult colliers to carry on their operations even in a stooping posture; they are obliged to work 'lying their whole length along the uneven floor, and supporting their heads upon a board or short crutch,' as is shown in the illustrative woodcut at p. 63, in pt. ii of the Appendix. When they are able to obtain a little more space, they work 'sitting upon one heel, balancing their persons by extending the other.' In these 'low, dark, heated, and dismal chambers they work perfectly naked."†

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* J. M. Fellows, Esq., Report, § 26: App. pt. ii, p. 254.
† S. S. Scriven, Esq., Report, § 40; Figs. 4, 5, 6: App. pt. ii, p. 63, 64.

In Lancashire, the labour of getting is commenced at a very early age in the thinner seams. In the east of Scotland, say the commissioners, it is scarcely to be credited, but the sub-commissioner reports, and the evidence proves, that this labour is performed by male children from nine years old and upwards. And in South Wales this labour is sometimes commenced yet younger, viz., at seven years old.

If the employment of male *infants* (for truth will allow us to use no other term) in subterranean labour, be abhorrent to every

feeling of humanity, how shall we express ourselves with reference to the immersion of female children in the same abyss of darkness and toil at the like early age; and how describe the feelings of disgust with which we read of their being engaged, in the years of opening womanhood, in the same occupations as their male companions, in circumstances repugnant to the remotest idea of decency; nay, even in the performance of labours which the other sex will scarcely submit at any age to share, such as the "coal-bearing" of the east of Scotland?

"In England, exclusive of Wales, it is only in some of the colliery districts of Yorkshire and Lancashire that female children of tender age, and young and adult women, are allowed to descend into the coal mines,

and regularly to perform the same kinds of underground work, and to work for the same number of hours, as boys and men; but in the east of Scotland their employment in the pits is general, and in South Wales it is not uncommon.

"In many of the collieries in the West Riding of Yorkshire, as far as relates to the underground employment, there is no distinction of sex, but the labour is distributed indifferently among both sexes, excepting that it is comparatively rare for the women to hew or get the coals, although there are numerous instances in which they regularly perform even this work. In great numbers of the coal-pits in this district, the men work in a state of perfect nakedness, and are in this state assisted in their labour by females of all ages, from girls of six years old to women of twenty-one, these females being themselves quite naked down to the waist.*

"'They hurry with a belt and chain, as well as thrust,' says Mr Thomas Pearce; 'there are as many girls as boys employed about here.'† 'One of the most disgusting sights I have ever seen,' says the sub-commissioner, 'was that of young females, dressed like boys in trousers, crawling on all fours, with belts round their waists, and chains passing between their legs, at day pits at Hunshelf Bank, and in many small pits near Holmfirth and New Mills. It exists also in several other places.'

"'On descending Messrs Hopwood's pit at Barnsley,' states the same sub-commissioner, 'I found assembled around a fire a group of men, boys, and girls, some of whom were of the age of puberty, the girls as well as the boys stark naked down to the waist, their hair bound up with a tight cap, and trousers supported by their hips. (At Silkstone and at Flockton they work in their shifts and trousers.) Their sex was recognisable only by their breasts, and some little difficulty occasionally arose in pointing out to me which were girls and which were boys, and which caused a good deal of laughing and joking. In the Flockton and Thornhill pits the system is even more indecent; for though the girls are clothed, at least three-fourths of the men for whom they hurry work stark naked, or with a flannel waistcoat only, and in this state they assist one another to fill the corves 18 or 20 times a-day: I have seen this done myself frequently.'‡

"Ebenezer Healey, aged thirteen: 'There are girls that hurry in the same way with belt and chain. Our breeches are often torn between the legs with the chain. The girls' breeches are torn as often as ours; they are torn many a time, and when they are going along we can see them all between the legs naked; I have often; and that girl, Mary Holmes, was so to-day; she denies it, but it is true for all that.'"||

"In the neighbourhood of Halifax, it is stated by the sub-commissioner that there is no distinction whatever between the boys and girls in their coming up the shaft and going down; in their mode of hurrying or thrusting; in the weights of corves; in the distance they are hurried; in wages or dress; that the girls associate and labour with men who are

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* Report, p. 24, § 119-20. † Ibid. No. 33, p. 233, l. 20.
‡ J. C. Symons, Esq., Report, § 111, *et seq.*: App. pt. i, pp. 181-2.
|| Ibid. No. 284, p. 295, l. 41.

in a state of nakedness, and that they have themselves no other garment than a ragged shift, or, in the absence of that, a pair of broken trousers, to cover their persons.

"Susan Pitchforth, aged eleven, Elland: 'I have worked in this pit going two years. I have one sister going of fourteen, and she works with me in the pit. I am a thruster.'*—'This child,' says the sub-commissioner, 'stood shivering before me from cold. The rags that hung about her waist were once called a shift, which was as black as the coal she thrust, and saturated with water—the drippings of the roof and shaft. During my examination of her, the banksman, whom I had left in the pit, came to the public-house and wanted to take her away, because, as he expressed himself, it was not decent that she should be exposed to us.'†—Patience Kershaw, aged seventeen: 'I hurry in the clothes I have now got on—trousers and ragged jacket; the bald place upon my head is made by thrusting the corves; the getters that I work for are naked except their caps; they pull off all their clothes; all the

* S. S. Scriven, Esq., Evidence, No. 10· App. pt. ii, p. 103, l. 60; p. 104, l. 2.
† Ibid. p. 104, l. 8.

men are naked.'*—Mary Barrett, aged fourteen: 'I work always without stockings, or shoes, or trousers; I wear nothing but my shift; I have to go up to the headings with the men; they are all naked there; I am got well used to that, and don't care now much about it; I was afraid at first, and did not like it.' "†

In the Lancashire coal-fields lying to the north and west of Manchester, females are regularly employed in underground labour; and the brutal policy of the men, and the abasement of the women, is well described by some of the witnesses examined by Mr Kennedy.

"Peter Gaskell, collier, at Mr Lancaster's, near Worsley: 'Prefers women to boys as drawers; they are better to manage, and keep the time better; they will fight and shriek and do everything but let anybody pass them; and they never get to be coal-getters, that is another good thing.'‡ —Betty Harris, aged thirty-seven, drawer in a coal pit, Little Bolton: 'I have a belt round my waist, and a chain passing between my legs, and I go on my hands and feet. The road is very steep, and we have to hold by a rope, and, when there is no rope, by anything we can catch hold of. There are six women and about six boys and girls in the pit I work in: it is very hard work for a woman. The pit is very wet where I work, and the water comes over our clog-tops always, and I have seen it up to my thighs: it rains in at the roof terribly; my clothes are wet through almost all day long. I never was ill in my life but when I was lying-in. My cousin looks after my children in the day-time. I am very tired when I get home at night; I fall asleep sometimes before I get washed. I am not so strong as I was, and cannot stand my work so well as I used to do. I have drawn till I have had the skin off me; the belt and chain is worse when we are in the family way. My feller (husband) has beaten me many a time for not being ready. I were not used to it at first, and he had little patience: I have known many a man beat his drawer.'§—Mary Glover, aged thirty-eight, at Messrs Fosters, Ringley bridge: I went into a coal pit when I was seven years old, and began by being a drawer. I never worked much in the pit when I was in the family way, but since I gave up having children I have begun again a bit. I wear a shift and a pair of trousers when at work. I always will have a good pair of trousers. I have had many a two-pence given me by the boatmen on the canal to show my breeches. I never saw women work naked, but I have seen men work without breeches in the neighbourhood of Bolton. I remember seeing a man who worked stark naked.' "‖

In the east of Scotland the business of the females is to remove the coals from the hewer, who has picked them from the wall-face, and, *placing them either on their backs*, which they invariably do when working in edge-seams, or *in little carts* when on levels,

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* Ibid. No. 26, p. 100, l. 8.

† Ibid. p. 122, l. 54. See also Witnesses, Nos. 66, 73, *et seq.*

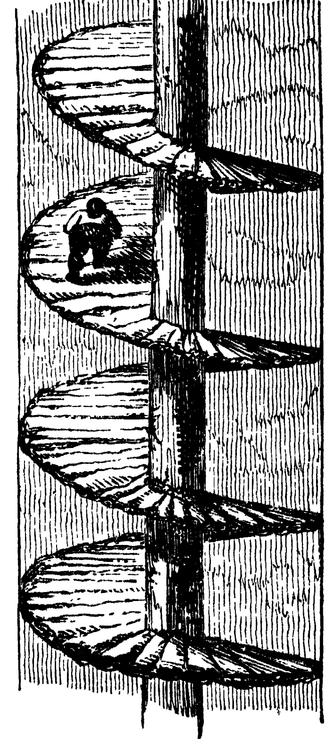
‡ Ibid. No. 29, p. 217, l. 25. § Ibid. No. 90, p. 230, l. 64.

‖ Ibid. No. 26, p. 214, l. 31.

to carry them to the main road, whence they are conveyed to the pit bottom, where, being emptied into the ascending basket of the shaft, they are wound up by machinery to the pit's mouth, where they lie heaped for further distribution.*

"Now, when the nature of this horrible labour is taken into consideration," continues Mr Franks, "its extreme severity, its regular duration of from 12 to 14 hours daily, the damp, heated, and unwholesome atmosphere of a coal mine, and the tender age and sex of the workers, a picture is presented of deadly physical oppression and systematic slavery, of which I conscientiously believe no one unacquainted with such facts would credit the existence in the British dominions.

"The evidence of boys, who are comparatively few, engaged in the same labour, will be found in most particulars to be of similar character. To this labour, which is at once so repulsive and severe, the girls are invariably set at an earlier age than boys are to their peculiar labour, from a notion very generally entertained amongst the parents themselves, that girls are more acute and capable of making themselves useful at an earlier age than boys.'"†



The weight of a load of coal thus carried on the back varies from three quarters of a hundred weight to three hundred weight; and in working the "edge-seams," or highly inclined beds, it has to be borne to the surface, or to the pit bottom, up winding stairs (as shown in the rough sketch annexed), or a succession of steep ladders; a barbarous mode of labour, which is required only in the absence of the most common mechanical appliances for raising the coal from such seams by windlasses, as is practised in South Wales. The disgrace of these rude methods, and of this peculiar kind of oppression, is confined to Scotland, where, until nearly the close of the last century, the colliers remained in a state of legal bondage, and formed a degraded caste, apart from all humanizing influences and sympathy. Describing a female child's labour, the sub-commissioner says,—

* Ibid. § 8, p. 383.

† Ibid, § 26-28, p. 387.

"She has first to descend a nine-ladder pit to the first rest, even to which a shaft is sunk, to draw up the baskets or tubs of coals filled by the bearers; she then takes her creel (a basket formed to the back, not unlike a cockle-shell flattened towards the neck, so as to allow lumps of coal to rest on the back of the neck and shoulders), and pursues her journey to the wall face, or, as it is called here, the room of work. She then lays down her basket, into which the coal is rolled, and it is frequently more than one man can do to lift the burden on her back, The tugs or straps are placed over the forehead, and the body bent in a semicircular form, in order to stiffen the arch. Large lumps of coal are then placed on the neck, and she then commences her journey with her burden to the pit bottom, first hanging her lamp to the cloth crossing her head. In this girl's case, she has first to travel about 14 fathoms (84 feet) from wall-face to the first ladder, which is 18 feet high: leaving the first ladder, she proceeds along the main road, probably 3 feet 6 inches to 4 feet 6 inches high, to the second ladder, 18 feet high, so on to the third and fourth ladders till she reaches the pit bottom, where she casts her load, varying from 1 cwt. to 1½ cwt. in the tub. This one journey is designated a rake; the height ascended, and the distance along the roads added together, exceed the height of St Paul's Cathedral; and it not unfrequently happens that the tugs break, and the load falls upon those females who are following. However incredible it may be, yet I have taken the evidence of fathers who have ruptured themselves from straining to lift coal on their children's backs."*

"Janet Cumming, eleven years old, bears coals:—'I gang with the women at five and come up with the women at five at night; work *all night* on Fridays, and come away at twelve in the day. I carry the large bits of coal from the wall-face to the pit-bottom, and the small pieces called chows in a creel. The weight is usually a hundred weight; does not know how many pounds there are in a hundred weight, but it is some weight to carry; it takes three journeys to fill a tub of four cwt. The distance varies, as the work is not always on the same wall; sometimes 150 fathoms, whiles 250 fathoms. The roof is very low; I have to bend my back and legs, and the water comes frequently up to the calves of my legs. Has no liking for the work; father makes me like it. Never got hurt, but often obliged to scramble out of the pit when bad air was in.'"†

"William Hunter, mining oversman, Arniston Colliery:—'I have been twenty years in the works of Robert Dundas, Esq., and had much experience in the manner of drawing coal, as well as the habits and practices of the collier people. Until the last eight months women and lasses were wrought below in these works, when Mr Alexander Maxton, our manager, issued an order to exclude them from going below, having some months prior given intimation of the same. Women always did the lifting or heavy part of the work, and neither they nor the children were

* Ibid. No. 55, p. 446, l. 67. † Ibid. No. 1, p. 436, l. 3.

treated like human beings, nor are they where they are employed. Females submit to work in places where no man or even lad could be got to labour in; they work in bad roads, up to their knees in water, in a posture nearly double; they are below till last hour of pregnancy; they have swelled haunches and ankles, and are prematurely brought to the grave, or, what is worse, lingering existence. Many of the daughters of the miners are now at respectable service. I have two who are in families at Leith, and who are much delighted with the change.'"*

"Robert Bald, Esq., the eminent coal-viewer, states that, 'In surveying the workings of an extensive colliery under ground, a married woman came forward, groaning under an excessive weight of coals, trembling in every nerve, and almost unable to keep her knees from sinking under her. On coming up she said, in a plaintive and melancholy voice, "Oh, sir, this is sore, sore, sore work. I wish to God that the first woman who tried to bear coals had broke her back, and none would have tried it again!'"†

"The grievous suffering thus inflicted on so many persons of tender age, and of the female sex, is perpetuated from the coal owners continuing to work their mines in modes which have become obsolete in all other districts. 'A little reflection,' says the sub-commissioner, 'would have prevented a vast deal of unnecessary and painful labour in the working of edge-seams in Scotland; for instance, in South Wales (where the stratification is almost vertical), on the sea-coast at Britonferry, and in the Anthracite field in Pembrokeshire, *coal-bearing*, as practised in Scotland, is entirely unknown. The coal is transported from the different workings by successive windlasses, or balances, working on inclined planes, which plan entirely obviates the necessity of having recourse to the slavish and degrading employment of female labour at present in practice in the collieries in the east of Scotland."‡

"The boxes or carriages employed in putting are of two sorts, the hutchie and the slype; the hutchie being an oblong, square-sided box with four wheels, which usually runs on a rail; and the slype is a wood-framed box, curved and shod with iron at the bottom, holding from 2¼ to 5 cwt. of coal, adapted to the seams through which it is dragged. The lad or lass is harnessed over the shoulders and back with a strong leathern girth, which behind is furnished with an iron hook, which attaches itself to a chain fastened to the coal-cart or slype, and is thus dragged along. The dresses of these girls are made of coarse hempen stuff (sacking), fitting close to the figure; the coverings to their heads are of the same material; little or no flannel is used, and their clothing, being of an absorbent nature, frequently gets completely saturated shortly after descending the pit, especially where the roofs are soft.§

"Where the seams are narrow and the roofs low, children and young

* Ibid. No. 89, p. 453, l. 59.
† R. H. Franks, Esq., Report, App. pt. i, p. 387, note.
‡ Ibid. § 9, p. 383. § Ibid. § 30, p. 388.

persons of both sexes drag on all-fours, like horses. In these seams the carriages called slypes, already described, are used. The workings in these narrow seams are from 100 to 200 yards from the main roads, and the passages through which they have to crawl with their loads do not exceed from 22 to 28 inches in height. 'The danger and the difficulties,' observes the sub-commissioner, 'of dragging on roads, dipping from one foot in three to one foot in six, may be more easily conceived than explained; and the state which females are in after pulling like horses through these holes—their perspiration, their exhaustion, and very frequently even their tears, it is painful in the extreme to witness; yet, when the work is done, they return to it with a vigour which is surprising, considering how they inwardly hate it.'* Of the severity of the labour performed by young women in these pits, the account of her work given by Margaret Hipps may serve as an example.

"Margaret Hipps, seventeen years old, putter, Stoney Rigg Colliery, Stirlingshire:—'My employment, after reaching the wall-face, is to fill my bagie, or slype, with 2½ to 3 cwt. of coal. I then hook it on to my chain, and drag it through the seam, which is 26 to 28 inches high, till I get to the main road—a good distance, probably 200 to 400 yards. The pavement I drag over is wet, and I am obliged at all times to crawl on hands and feet with my bagie hung to the chain and ropes. It is sad sweating and sore fatiguing work, and frequently maims the women.'† Sub-commissioner:—'It is almost incredible that human beings can submit to such employment, crawling on hands and knees, harnessed like horses, over soft slushy floors, more difficult than dragging the same weights through our lowest common sewers, and more difficult in consequence of the inclination, which is frequently one in three to one in six.'‡

"Agnes Moffatt, seventeen years old, coal-bearer:—'Began working at ten years of age; father took sister and I down; he gets our wages. I fill five baskets; the weight is more than 22 cwt.; it takes me 20 journeys. The work is o'er sair for females. It is no uncommon for women to lose their burthen, and drop off the ladder down the dyke below; Margaret M'Neil did a few weeks since, and injured both legs. When the tugs which pass over the forehead break, which they frequently do, it is very dangerous to be under with a load.'§—Margaret Jaques, seventeen years of age, coal-bearer:—'I have been seven years at coal-bearing; it is horrible sore work; it was not my choice, but we do our parents' will. I make 30 rakes a-day, with 2 cwt. of coal on my creel. It is a guid distance I journey, and very dangerous on parts of the road. The distance fast increases as the coals are cut down.'‖

"Helen Reid, sixteen years old, coal-bearer:—'I have wrought five years in the mines in this part; my employment is carrying coal. Am

* Ibid. § 8, App. pt. i, p. 383.
† R. H. Franks, Esq., Evidence, No. 233, App. pt. i, p. 479, l. 50.
‡ Ibid. l. 61. See also witnesses, Nos. 102, 231, 236, 262, 362.
§ Ibid. No. 23, p. 440, l. 46.
‖ Ibid. No. 25, p. 441, l. 2.

frequently worked from four in the morning until six at night. I work night-work week about (alternate weeks). I then go down at two in the day, and come up at four and six in the morning. I can carry near 2 cwt. *on* my back. I do not like the work. Two years since the pit closed upon thirteen of us, and we were two days without food or light; nearly one day we were up to our chins in water. At last we got to an old shaft, to which we picked our way, and were heard by people watching above. Two months ago I was filling the tubs at the pit bottom, when the gig clicked too early, and the hook caught me by my pit-clothes—the people did not hear my shrieks—my hand had fast grappled the chain, and the great height of the shaft caused me to lose my courage, and I swooned. The banksman could scarcely remove my hand—the deadly grasp saved my life.'*

"Margaret Drysdale, fifteen years old, coal-putter:—'I don't like the work, but mother is dead, and father brought me down; I had no choice. The lasses will tell you that they all like the work fine, as they think you are going to take them out of the pits. My employment is to draw the carts. I have harness, or draw-ropes, on like the horses, and pull the carts. Large carts hold 7½ cwt., the smaller 5½ cwt. The roads are wet, and I have to draw the work about 100 fathoms.'†—Katherine Logan, sixteen years old, coal-putter:—'Began to work at coal-carrying more than five years since; works in harness now; draw backwards with face to tubs; the ropes and chains go under my pit-clothes; it is o'er sair work, especially where we crawl.'‡

"Janet Duncan, seventeen years old, coal-putter:—'Works at putting, and was a coal-bearer at Hen-Muir Pit and New Pencaitland. The carts I push contain 3 cwt. of coal, being a load and a half; it is very severe work, especially when we have to stay before the tubs, on the braes, to prevent them coming down too fast; they frequently run too quick, and knock us down; when they run over-fast, we fly off the roads and let them go, or we should be crushed. Mary Peacock was severely crushed a fortnight since; is gradually recovering. I have wrought above in harvest-time; it is the only other work that ever I tried my hand at, and having harvested for three seasons, am able to say that the hardest daylight work is infinitely superior to the best of coal-work.' §

"Jane Wood, wife of James Wood, formerly a coal-drawer and bearer:—'Worked below more than 30 years. I have two daughters below, who really hate the employment, and often prayed to leave, but we canna do well without them just now. The severe work causes women much trouble; they frequently have premature births. Jenny M'Donald, a neighbour, was laid idle six months; and William King's wife lately died from miscarriage, and a vast of women suffer from similar causes.'‖—Margaret Boxter, fifty years old, coal-hewer:—'I hew the coal, have done so since my husband failed in his breath; he has been off work twelve years. I have a son, daughter, and niece working with me below,

* Ibid. No. 26, p. 441, l. 11.
† Ibid. No. 49, p. 445, l. 16.
‡ Ibid. No. 95, p. 454, l. 61.
§ Ibid. No. 130, p. 460, l. 49.
‖ Ibid. No. 149, p. 464, l. 7.

and we have sore work to get maintenance. I go down early to hew the coal for my girls to draw; my son hews also. The work is not fit for women, and men could prevent it were they to labour more regular; indeed men about this place don't wish wives to work in mines, but the masters seem to encourage it—at any rate, the masters never interfere to prevent it.'"*

The different kinds of work to which females are put in South Wales are described in the following evidence:—

"Henrietta Frankland, eleven years old, drammer:—'When well I draw the drams [carts], which contain 4 to 5 cwt. of coal, from the heads to the main road; I make 48 to 50 journeys; sister, who is two years older, works also at dramming; the work is very hard, and the long hours before the pay-day fatigue us much. The mine is wet where we work, as the water passes through the roof, and the workings are only 30 to 33 inches high.'†—Mary Reed, twelve years old, air-door keeper:—'Been five years in the Plymouth mine. Never leaves till the last dram [cart] is drawn past by the horse. Works from six till four or five at night. Has run home very hungry; runs along the level, or hangs on a cart as it passes. Does not like the work in the dark; would not mind the daylight work.'‡—Hannah Bowen, sixteen years old, windlass-woman:—'Been down two years; it is good hard work; work from seven in the morning till three or four in the afternoon, at hauling the windlass. Can draw up 400 loads of 1½ to 4 cwt. each.'§—Ann Thomas, sixteen years old, windlass-woman:—'Finds the work very hard; two women always work the windlass below ground. We wind up 800 loads. Men do not like the winding, *it is too hard work for them*.||

With regard to the hours of work, the commissioners state, that when the work-people are in full employment, the regular hours of work for children and young persons are rarely less than eleven; more often they are twelve; in some districts they are thirteen; and in one district they are generally fourteen and upwards.¶ Certainly, unless upon the ample testimony produced by the Commission, it would not be credible that there is one district in the centre of England in which children are regularly required to pursue the labours of the mine for fourteen and sixteen hours daily; but in Derbyshire, south of Chesterfield, from thirteen to sixteen hours are considered a day's work; from eleven to twelve hours are reckoned three quarters of a day's work; and eight hours make half a day's work.**

"John Hawkins, eight years of age:—'Has worked in Sissons Pit, a year and a half; lives a mile from the pit; goes down from five to nine;'

* Ibid. No. 208, p. 475, l. 2.
† Ibid. No. 18, p. 505, l. 48.
‡ Ibid. No. 44, p. 512, l. 53.
§ Ibid. No. 422, p. 573, l. 39.
|| Ibid. No. 440, p. 577, l. 35.
¶ Report, p. 256.
** Report, p. 107, § 411.

that is, this child, eight years old, is employed in the pit at work from five o'clock in the morning to nine at night, a period of 16 hours.*—John Houghton, nine years old:—'Goes down from six to eight—it has been ten;' that is, this child is regularly employed at work in the pits 14 hours, and occasionally 16 hours.†—Ephraim Riley, eleven years old:—'Had three miles to walk to the pit; left home at five o'clock, winter and summer, and did not get home again until nine o'clock at night (16 hours); his legs and thighs hurt him so with working so much that he remains in bed on Sunday mornings.'‡—John Chambers, thirteen years old:—'Has worked in pits since he was seven; works from six to nine or ten (from 15 to 16 hours). When first he worked in a pit he felt so tired, and his legs, arms, and back ached so much, that his brother has had to help him home many times. He could not go to school on a Sunday morning, he has been so stiff; he felt these pains until about a year since; he now feels tired, but his limbs do not ache as they did.'§—James Creswell, fourteen years old:—'Has worked in pits four or five years; goes down at half-past six to nine, has this winter been after ten; half-days half-past six to three or four.'||

"Benjamin Fletcher, coal-agent or ground-bailiff to Francis Newdigate, Esq., West Hallam Coal Works, says, 'They are let down from six to eight. He has gone at three o'clock in the morning and worked until ten; he has many and many a time fallen asleep as he was going to work in a morning, and fell into the ditches owing to want of sleep.'¶—Thomas Rawling, agent to Mr Fenton's coal field, Bagthorp, says, 'The children in both pits go down from six [stay until] eight.'**

"Of the fatigue of such labour, so protracted and carried on in such places of work, the following evidence exhibits a striking picture, and it will be observed that the witnesses of every class, children, young persons, colliers, underground stewards, agents, parents, teachers, and ministers of religion, all concur in making similar statements.

"John Bostock, aged seventeen, Babbington:—'Has often been made to work until he was so tired as to lie down on his road home until 12 o'clock, when his mother has come and led him home; has done so many times when he first went to the pits; he has sometimes been so fatigued that he could not eat his dinner, but has been beaten and made to work until night; he never thought of play, was always too anxious to get to bed; is sure this is all true.'††—John Leadbeater, aged eighteen, Babbington:—'Has two miles to go to the pit, and must be there before six, and works until eight; he has often worked all night, and been made by the butties to work as usual the next day; has often been so tired that he has lain in bed all Sunday. He knows no work so bad as that of a pit lad.'‡‡—Samuel Radford, aged nineteen, New Birchwood:—'Has been

* J. M. Fellows, Esq., Evidence, No. 108: App. pt. ii, p. 293, l. 10, 11.
† Ibid. No. 72, p. 283, l. 66, 67.
‡ Ibid. No. 29, p. 271, l. 16, 17, 20.
§ Ibid. No. 28, p. 271, l. 2, 6, 9.
|| Ibid. No. 315, p. 331, l. 53, 58.
¶ Ibid. No. 50, p. 276, l. 62.
** Ibid. No. 71, p. 283, l. 46.
†† Ibid. No. 146, p. 301, l. 33.
‡‡ Ibid. No. 308, p. 300, l. 16.

a week together and never seen daylight but on a Sunday, and not much then, he was so sleepy.'*

An imperfect abstract from the registration of deaths for the year 1838, gives a total, in England alone, of 349 deaths by violence in coal mines, and shows the most common causes of them:—

Cause of Death.	Under 13 years of age.	13 and not exceeding 18 years of age.	Above 18 years of age.
Fell down the shafts	13	16	31
Fell down the shaft from the rope breaking	1	—	2
Fell out when ascending	—	—	3
Drawn over the pulley	3	—	3
Fall of stone out of a skip down the shaft	1	—	3
Drowned in the mines	3	4	15
Fall of stones, coal, and rubbish in the mines	14	14	69
Injuries in coal-pits, the nature of which is not specified	6	3	32
Crushed in coal-pits	—	1	1
Explosion of gas	13	18	49
Suffocation by choke-damp	—	2	6
Explosion of gunpowder	—	1	3
By tram-waggons	4	5	12
Total	58	62	229†

A fearful array of facts substantiates the conclusions at which the commissioners arrive:—

"That in all the coal-fields accidents of a fearful nature are extremely frequent; and that the returns made to our own queries, as well as the registry tables, prove that of the work-people who perish by such accidents, the proportion of children and young persons sometimes equals and rarely falls much below that of adults.

"That one of the most frequent causes of accidents in these mines, is the want of superintendence by overlookers or otherwise, to see to the security of the machinery for letting down and bringing up the work-people, the restriction of the number of persons that ascend and descend at a time, the state of the mine as to the quantity of noxious gas in it, the efficiency of the ventilation, the exactness with which the air-door keepers perform their duty, the places into which it is safe or unsafe to go with a naked lighted candle, and the security of the proppings to uphold the roof, &c.

"That another frequent cause of fatal accidents in coal mines is the almost universal practice of intrusting the closing of the air-doors to very young children.

* Ibid. No. 271, p. 326, l. 45.—See also Nos. 51, 53, 195.
† Report, p. 136.

"That there are many mines in which the most ordinary precautions to guard against accidents are neglected, and in which no money appears to be expended with a view to secure the safety, much less the comfort, of the work-people.

"That there are moreover two practices peculiar to a few districts which deserve the highest reprobation, namely,—first, the practice not unknown in some of the smaller mines in Yorkshire, and common in Lancashire, of employing ropes that are unsafe for letting down and drawing up the work-people; and second, the practice, occasionally met with in Yorkshire, and common in Derbyshire and Lancashire, of employing boys at the steam-engines for letting down and drawing up the work-people."*

The evidence relating to the physical condition of the actual labourers in collieries is wound up by the following statement of the commissioners:—

"That in general the children and young persons who work in these mines have sufficient food, and, when above ground, decent and comfortable clothing, their usually high rate of wages securing to them these advantages; but in many cases, more especially in some parts of Yorkshire, in Derbyshire, in South Gloucestershire, and very generally in the east of Scotland, the food is poor in quality, and insufficient in quantity; the children themselves say that they have not enough to eat; and the sub-commissioners describe them as covered with rags, and state that the common excuse they make for confining themselves to their homes on the Sundays, instead of taking recreation in the fresh air, or attending a place of worship, is that they have no clothes to go in; so that in these cases, notwithstanding the intense labour performed by these children, they do not procure even sufficient food and raiment; in general, however, the children who are in this unhappy case are the children of idle and dissolute parents, who spend the hard-earned wages of their offspring at the public house.

"That the employment in these mines commonly produces in the first instance an extraordinary degree of muscular development, accompanied by a corresponding degree of muscular strength; this preternatural development and strength being acquired at the expense of the other organs, as is shown by the general stunted growth of the body.

"That partly by the severity of the labour and the long hours of work, and partly through the unhealthy state of the place of work, this employment, as at present carried on in all the districts, deteriorates the physical constitution; in the thin-seam mines, more especially, the limbs become crippled and the body distorted; and in general the muscular powers give way, and the work-people are incapable of following their occupation at an earlier period of life than is common in other branches of industry.

"That by the same causes the seeds of painful and mortal diseases are very often sown in childhood and youth; these, slowly but steadily

* Report, p. 257.

developing themselves, assume a formidable character between the ages of thirty and forty; and each generation of this class of the population is commonly extinct soon after fifty."

It is impossible, within the present limits, to do more than refer to the evidence arranged in the general Report, under the expressive heads—'Effects of Overworking,' 'Extraordinary Muscular Development,' 'Stunted Growth,' 'Crippled Gait,' 'Irritation of the Head, Back, &c.,' 'Diseases,' and 'Premature Old Age and Death.' Dr Southwood Smith, in a note appended to these sections, adds:—

"One evidence that great and continuous muscular exertion during the period of childhood acts injuriously on the body, and the more injuriously the younger the age, is afforded by that very effect which, at first view, might seem to indicate that it is innoxious, namely, the preternatural muscular development which it produces. Such a disproportionate muscular development. instead of being an indication of sound and robust health, is really a proof that the general system is starved by the over-nourishment of this one particular part of it; and that the system is weakened, not strengthened, by this undue expenditure of its nutriment upon the muscles, is shown by the evidence now collected, which proves indubitably that the body in general is stunted in its growth, that it is peculiarly prone to disease, and that it prematurely decays and perishes.

"In estimating the influence on the physical constitution of great muscular exertion constantly exacted during the period of childhood, one further result of it deserves especial notice, namely, the retardation of the epoch of 'puberty.' The transition from one stage of growth, or one epoch of life, into another, marks a corresponding advancement in the completion of the physical organisation, and the consequent acquisition of an increased capacity for usefulness and enjoyment. Under the ordinary circumstances of human life, this transition, up to the period of adult age, takes place with so much uniformity and precision, that it is rare to find any one of these epochs anticipated or postponed by a single year. The vast mass of evidence which has now been brought under view, proves indubitably that, by the employment of children at the very tender ages at which they commonly commence work in the coal mines, the growth of the body is retarded, and the period of childhood, properly so called, proportionally prolonged; while the same evidence shows that the period intervening between adult age and decrepitude—that is, the period during which the physical, the intellectual, and the moral powers of the human being are, in full vigour—is abridged. It follows, therefore, that, at least in great numbers of instances, if not in general, employment in the coal mines, as that employment is at present carried on, protracts the period of childhood, shortens the period of manhood, and anticipates the period of old age, decrepitude, and death."*

The blast furnaces for reducing the iron ores are so immediately connected with the coal and iron mines, that the com-

* Report, note, p. 195-6.

missioners proceed at once to give a brief notice of the labour connected with them, stating:—

"That the operations connected with these works involve the absolute necessity of night-work; that children and young persons invariably work at night with the adults; that the universal practice is for one set of work-people to work one week during the day, and the same set to work the following week during the night; and that there is, moreover, in addition to the evil of alternate weeks of night-work, a custom bearing with extreme hardship upon children and young persons, namely, that of continuing the work without any interruption whatever during the Sunday, and thus rendering every alternate Sunday the day during which the labour of one set of work-people is continued for twenty-four hours in succession; a custom which still prevails, notwithstanding that a considerable proportion of the proprietors have dispensed with the attendance of the work-people during a certain number of hours on the Sunday without disadvantage to their works."

It is with a feeling of relief that we turn at length from the dark and degrading picture presented by the coal and iron mines, and the iron works, to the usually more healthy employment of children and young persons in connexion with the mines of tin, copper, lead, and zinc, which has little in common with their employment in the former, on account of the different physical circumstances in which the ores of these metals are found, and the simplicity of the operations required to separate them from the worthless materials with which they are combined.

"Instead of forming beds more or less horizontal, and in regular alternation with strata of which the material is for the most part readily removed by the tools of the workmen, these ores are found in veins which variously approach a vertical position, in the hard rocks, of the primary formations, or in the scarcely less solid lower beds of the carboniferous system.

"The ores of tin are found only in the Cornish district, in granitic and slaty rocks of various structure, which are interspersed occasionally with masses of trap, and extend from Dartmoor, in Devonshire, to the Land's End, in Cornwall. This district is also the most productive in copper ores, of any in the British Islands, and contains, moreover, mines of manganese, of iron, and of lead, the ores of which latter often contain a portion of silver, which is worth extracting from the baser metal. Of the various mines of this district, those of tin, copper, and lead present the characteristic features of its mining labour, and employ at least nineteen-twentieths of the young people engaged in it. The ores here obtained are smelted chiefly in South Wales, being shipped to Swansea for the convenience of fuel; but in the other principal mining districts the ores are smelted near the place of their excavation."

It must suffice, for the purposes of our present rapid sketch,

to subjoin the commissioners' summary of the facts unfolded by this branch of their investigations.

"In regard to underground labour in tin, copper, lead, and zinc mines, we find—

"1. That very few children are employed in any kind of underground work in these mines before they are twelve years old, and that in many cases even the young men do not commence underground work until they are eighteen years of age and upwards.

"2. That there is no instance in the whole kingdom of any girl or woman being employed in underground work in these mines.

"3. That it is in the Cornish district alone that children and young persons of any age are constantly employed underground in considerable numbers.

"4. That, in general, the children and young persons employed in these mines have sufficient food, and decent and comfortable clothing.

"5. That employment in these mines does not, in general, produce any apparent injury to the young worker during the period of boyhood and adolescence, but that his employment is essentially, and in every mode in which it has hitherto been carried on, necessarily, injurious in after life.

"6. That the very general and early deterioration and failure of the health and strength of those who have followed this occupation from boyhood and youth, is increased by certain circumstances which are not necessarily connected with the nature of the employment; among these may be reckoned the practice, almost universal in these mines, of associating the young persons in partnership with the adult miners, by which the former are stimulated to exertions greatly beyond their age and powers; and though these young people, thus excited, work with spirit and without apparent injury for some time, yet in a few years it is proved by experience that they have expended the whole capital of their constitution.

"7. That this result is materially hastened by the fatigue of climbing the ladders; these being, with few exceptions, the only means by which the miners can go to and return from their places of work.

"8. That these, however, are only the accessory causes of the general and rapid deterioration of the health and strength of the miners, since the primary and ever active agent which principally produces this result is the noxious air of the places in which the work is carried on; the difficulties connected with the purification and renovation of this air, and with the whole subject of ventilation, being incomparably greater in the mines in question than in coal mines.

"9. That the ultimate effect of the disadvantageous circumstances under which the miner is obliged to pursue his laborious occupation, is the production of certain diseases (seated chiefly in the organs of respiration), by which he is rendered incapable of following his work, and by which his existence is terminated at an earlier period than is common in other branches of industry, not excepting even that of the collier."

The callousness of the coal masters, and the brutality of the

men, who permit or encourage the employment of young females in the underground labour of the coal mines, and the debasement which necessarily results from the practice, are such as to render impossible any patient reference to it.

The physical injuries resulting to the male children employed underground, are those arising from a far too early commencement with severe or depressing labour; from the condemnation of such as are parish apprentices to a long and hopeless slavery to a brutal class of taskmasters; from the insalubrity of ill-drained and ill-ventilated pits; from the want of a more extended use even of the simplest mechanical appliances to improve the character of their labours; from the length of hours during which they are pursued; from the injurious system of night-work; from the half-savage manners of the pits' crews generally; and from the liability of the children to accidents, aggravated by their exceeding youth, and their being left alone in the pits. Those resulting to the children connected with the smelting furnaces chiefly arise from the night-work, and the extravagant time during which their labours are continuously pursued. Those experienced by the children employed in breaking and washing ores, result merely from exposure to the inclemencies of the weather, and, though sometimes severe enough, are not worthy of consideration in comparison with what are endured by the other young people whose occupations we have described.

The commissioners appear to have confined themselves, in strict accordance with the terms of their commission, to a faithful report of facts, analytically arranged with great perspicuity and obviously much labour, without entering upon the suggestion of remedies; but the British public will, we are well assured, never rest satisfied without the eradication of all those evils connected with juvenile labour in the mines, which are antagonist to the principles with which we commenced our outline, and justify the application to the present system of the stigma of "thraldom." Nor are we less convinced that this exposure of its character will lead to the most extensive and beneficial moral results, since the emancipation of the children can never be carried out without provision for their education. And though we must await the presentation of the second Report of the Commissioners before we can enter further into the moral part of the question, we glean enough from what is already published to incline us to adopt the opinion, in reference to the colliery children, "that it is the evils in the shape of moral privations which seem most to demand our attention; arising, as they do, from an utter absorption of their whole youthful existence in a labour so arduous as to leave neither time nor capacity for mental exercise, from the

ignorance and abandonment entailed upon their parents by a childhood similarly spent, and from the utter absence of any means of popular education, or of any capacity to appreciate their value, though those means should be supplied."*

*** Since the preceding article was received Lord Ashley has introduced a bill into the House of Commons, founded upon the Report of the Commissioners, which, from the support it has met with, appears likely soon to become law. The bill proposes to abolish apprenticeship among miners and colliers, to interdict the employment of females in mines, and of all children under 13 years of age. The public owe a debt of gratitude to Lord Ashley for having originated an inquiry by which the necessity of such or similar legislative provisions has been rendered apparent; but we trust his lordship's zeal in the interests of humanity, to the sincerity of which we may bear testimony, will not be the means of superseding a measure of much more extensive application than the contemplated enactment. The partial application of any sound general principle is often a very doubtful benefit, and in some cases may be regarded as a misfortune. The Factory Regulation Bill caused more children to be immured in mines than were employed there before. The exclusion of children from cotton mills depreciated the labour of children employed in silk mills, and sent swarms of children, not to school, but to close confinement at other occupations, equally and perhaps more unfavourable to the development of the moral and physical faculties. Last year there was an act to prohibit the sweeping of chimneys by children: will there be a separate act in the case of each of the fifty other employments equally unsuitable for children in which they continue to be engaged? We could make out a strong case for the little maid of all work let out by her parents at seven years of age, for sixpence or a shilling a week, to do the work of a strong woman; and of this class there are some thousands in the poorer districts of London. The fact being incontrovertible, that wherever brutality, intemperance, and vagrancy exist, children require protection even against the authors of their being, and that without that protection the next generation will in no respect be less demoralized and degraded than the present, why do we not at once frame a law defining generally the rights of infancy, and rendering it obligatory on the part of parents and the employers of labour to respect those rights to the extent required for the proper exercise of the faculties of mind and body? If the means of education and of a proper industrial training be

* Mr Fletcher's Report on the Oldham District, pt. ii, p. 837, § 82.

wanting, let them be provided by the state. Perhaps they ought to be provided before we otherwise interfere. We should hesitate to say that idleness in the streets is necessarily better than labour even in a coal mine.—Ed.

Art. VI.—*The Queen's Ball and the Oxford Convocation.*

We deem it important, for reasons which will afterwards appear, to give insertion to the following report from the 'Morning Chronicle' of a debate in the French Chamber prior to the Queen of England's late fancy Ball, at which the French Ambassador had announced his intention of being present.

CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

Sitting of Wednesday, May 11th.

Presidence of M. Sauzet.

The order of the day on the project of law for a railroad from Algiers to Constantine having been read, M. Berryer ascends the tribune. (*Ecoutez, écoutez.*)

"Messieurs, I desire permission to interpellate Monsieur the Minister of Foreign Affairs on a question of grave urgency. (*Parlez.*) I know not whether it is permitted me, before putting that question, to invoke the cherished names of the country, of the honour of France. (Profound sensation.) The country—does it still exist, or is it only a degraded province of an insolent neighbour? (Prolonged murmurs.) Peel—does he still permit the Frenchman to indulge in the mournful pleasure of thinking that France once had honour? ('*Tres bien,*' 'Bravo,' from the left and right; murmurs from the centre.) Messieurs, I accept with pleasure these marks of your feeling. You who applaud feel with me; you even who express your disapprobation, you acknowledge the degradation of France. I dare, then, speak, secure that in this asylum of national honour I may still carry defiance to Aberdeen. (Bravos from all sides.) A fresh insult is offered to France:—already the first step of a great conspiracy against her developes itself. But it is not now by daring coalitions against her allies; it is not by treaties prostituting the sacred name of humanity to the designs of insular domination; it is not by a legislation excluding France from that liberty of commerce to which all the rest of the world is invited, that the English aristocracy now seek to wound us. Their profound machinations, by which they have aimed at our greatness,—our European influence, our material interests, would not be satisfied without our being made an object of ridicule, and it is to effect this odious purpose that the last blow is offered us in the *bal masqué* of the Queen of England. (Explosion of hilarity in the centre.)

"A VOICE—This is ridiculous.

"M. BERRYER (with a grave accent)—Ah! you laugh, gentlemen; you think this is a frivolous matter. You see in this ball nothing but the graceful amusement of a young Queen and the youthful nobility that butterflies (*papillonne*) around her. Ah! Messieurs, is it that anything is frivolous in England? (Sensation.) Is it that that haughty aristocracy ever amuses itself? (Vivid sensation.) Ah! do justice to the deep craft, the indomitable perseverance, the austere energy of your foe. This aristocracy, which prohibits amusement to the common people, which outrages nature in hindering the Sunday dance, never amuses itself; and when its haughty nobles and stiff *ladys* meet in their sombre 'at homes,' it is not for that interchange of *bulletins* of their gloomy atmosphere which the English call conversation; it is not to display their hideous dresses. No, Messieurs; in England every promenade, every spectacle, every ball is the travestie of a plot. (Bravos.)

"A VOICE—You are in the wrong.

"A VOICE—You are in the right.

"M. BERRYER—The sole object of these *reunions*, after the pleasures of an intoxication—equally relished by both sexes (bravos) is that of keeping alive the ancient traditions of hatred to France, and stimulating the ardour of the ferocious youth by displaying before them the plunder of the world. ('*Tres bien*,' '*C'est vrai*.') This spirit of hatred, of insolent domination, does it not display itself in all the acts of the Englishman? What is he now doing? The play of 'Henry the Fifth' is the favourite play at the theatres. At this very moment I see that the Government is throwing open Waterloo bridge to the public free of charge. For what purpose? For what but that of reminding the Englishman, at every step that he takes, of that day disastrous to France? Is not that same Government perpetuating these grievous recollections at the Antipodes? When it builds a town in New Zealand does it not call it Wellington? Does it not at this moment, in the great *place* of London, elevate a gigantic column to Nelson, in order to insult the carcases of Aboukir? And this ball—this ball which some of you think frivolous and devoid of signification—for what is it given but that the haughty descendant of the Plantagenets may evoke the long-buried griefs of France by representing the disasters of Cressy and Poictiers, and the loss of Calais. (Movement in different senses.) You seem incredulous, Messieurs? you think that the indignation of patriotism misleads me, and that England, audacious as she is, dares not inflict this last ignominy on France. Ah! learn, then, how much she dares; learn it from Monsieur the Minister of Foreign Affairs, whom I summon to answer this grave interpellation in the face of the Chamber and of the country. (Prolonged agitation.) Is it true, I ask, that to this *fête* the French Ambassador has been invited? Is it true that he consents, that he goes thither? Is it true, Messieurs, that, faithful to instructions which must wound his

generous heart, faithful to a system that courts insult to France from her hereditary foe (explosion in the centre)—is it true, I say?

"A Voice—No, nothing that you say is true.

"Several Voices—This is scandalous; this is frightful.

[The President rings his bell; the sitting is suspended for half an hour.]

"M. Berryer—Is it true, I say, that M. de St Aulaire has received orders to go with his *attachés*, with bare feet and a halter round his neck, representing the unfortunate burgesses of Calais?

"M. Guizot—No, no.

"M. Berryer—Ah! this has not yet been proposed; this, then, is the crowning insult which perfidious Albion has still in store. (Bravos on the left.) Messieurs, is it that I would propose war with England? Do I propose, as an answer to this insult, to hold out our hands to the discontented population of the British empire—to evoke the turbulence of the Chartists? to redress the wrongs of the orthodox population of unhappy and Catholic Ireland? to answer to the voice of our countrymen in Canada? to open the cavernous abyss that yet yawns for these perfidious islanders? No, Messieurs, it is not thus that a Minister worthy of the name of Frenchman (*tres bien*)—it is not thus that a dynasty which, however unfortunate, loved France—(Bravos from the right, murmurs from the centre and left.) Ah! permit me, gentlemen, thus to express, as I always do once a year, my respect for an august misfortune. (Bravos from all sides.) I say it is not thus that that dynasty would have answered such a defiance. The answer of France to the accumulated insults of these haughty islanders ought to be addressed to Europe. (Deep sensation.) It is on the banks of the Rhine that the cannon of France ought to accompany the dancers of St James's. It is by taking the Balearic Islands that we should efface the recollections of Cressy and Agincourt. (Prolonged applause; as the orator descends from the tribune all his colleagues rush up to him and felicitate him.)

"M. de Lamartine said, that he had looked for facts in the speech of the honourable orator, but of facts he had found none. He was always ready to meet that honourable orator body to body on any ground; but he wished he would take a higher one than he had now assumed. If we go on speaking of the degradation and vilification of France as he has done, we shall end in believing it ourselves. (Movement; dubitative exclamations.) To each people its constitutional liberties, its historical conditions, its costumed balls—('Very well;' 'Go on;' 'Spoken like a Frenchman')—I remember well when resting beneath a palm tree in the centre of the East—I approach with reverence the question of the East—I meditated the part my countrymen would take in the re-civilization of the patriarchal world—I repeated to myself, 'Babylon resuscitated by Napoleonien energies, and Balbec and Palmyra resounding with our songs, and the decalogue of democratic morality preached in our language from the new Temple of Jerusalem' (*c'est beau*); and I

return to find you lavishing the national force in declamations about a Ball. Ah! let them have their splendid *guinguette*,—that strange people at once so grave and frivolous. (*Allons donc.*) Let them dance as much as pleases them as long as the great mind of France calmly and nobly walks over the world. (*Vous êtes un poète.*) Do not interpellate, but reply to me (*bruit*); the honour of my country is in hands safe and pure. ('Yes, yes,' from the centre; ironical laughter right and left.) That historian of white hair, the historian of the Fronde, will not disgrace us: he will not, he must not, absent himself from the costumed ball.

" VOICES— { 'He must.'
'He ought.'
'He shall.'
'He shall not.'
'He dare not.'

" The PRESIDENT—These interruptions cannot be tolerated; the preceding orator was listened to with a religious silence.

" M. DE LAMARTINE—I have done. I have said little, but I have accomplished my mission. I am here to protest against a faction which would make us suppose that they have invented the word honour, and which, because the Queen of England has got a costumed ball, would bring on us a *danse macabre*, a revolutionary and infernal *danse des morts*. (Immense agitation.)

" M. ARAGO—I demand the word.

" M. DE TOCQUEVILLE began by expressing his embarrassment at being unable to agree with anybody. This was not a case of war, and yet it could not be treated lightly. History taught us that in political matters there was no proportion of the dimensions of causes and effects. Did the Chamber forget the Hermæ at Athens? (Diverse movements.) Did not Charles the Second of England make war upon the Dutch because they had a picture in a public edifice, representing a victory over the English which had never taken place? Are not traditions ideas; and do we not make war against Ideas as well as against Facts? (Very well.) Is not this ball a repulsion of that democratic Idea which it is the domain of France to sustain? (Yes.) While the commerce of England is paralysed, while a tax is laid upon the profits of labour, while her Indian empire is crumbling beneath her feet, her aristocracy are concentrating their energies on a costumed ball. (It is so.) Let not the Ambassador of the French people sanction with his presence this frightful re-action against the spirit of our time. ('Bravo;' 'He shall not;' 'Nonsense.') Let his absence be the solemn protest of the great nation against this immense inconsequence. I own, with a sad and grave impartiality, that we too have erred in this way; we too have danced (murmurs) and costumed. The heir of the throne of July sanctioned this triviality last winter.

" A VOICE—Respect the institutions of the country.

"M. DE TOCQUEVILLE—But I have yet to learn, Messieurs, that there were present any memorials of the degradation of England; there was no quadrille of the heroes of Fontenoy! ('*Tres bien*;' numerous marks of approbation.)*

"THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS—I appreciate all the gravity of this question. This subject has occupied the profound thought of the Government of the King. (Bravos prolonged.) Lord Aberdeen has given frank explanation of the causes—of the purpose of the ball: an enlightened Sovereign, the ally of France (explosion), wishes to educate her aristocracy, and has for this purpose commenced a series of archæological *fêtes*, whereby her courtiers will learn history in studying their costumes. ('Hear, hear;' 'It is reasonable.') This is a plain intelligible course; why look further?

"A VOICE—England deceives you.

"M. GUIZOT—Let us hope that in the course of this great lesson the English will learn that the age of Crecy and Poictiers was that of their greatest reverses in France, and that their King Edward the Third, whose glories they vaunt, was the one who lost the fine inheritance which William and Eleanor had bequeathed to the Plantagenets. (Excellent.) But the government has taken care that there shall be present one character that shall revive *souvenirs* of the honour of France. Messieurs, it is with a profound satisfaction that I am able to inform you, that M. de St Aulaire proposes to represent on this great occasion—the Virgin of Domremy, that heroine who avenged France. He will go as Joan of Arc. (Universal applause.)

"Before our courier left Paris it was understood that in consequence of M. Guizot's revelations, which were universally regarded as pacific, the funds had risen 2 francs, 71 cents.

"We are enabled to inform our readers that the authentic armour of the Maid of Orleans reached Manchester house late yesterday evening, in several bandboxes marked with the royal arms of France."

The preceding report, unlike the meagre accounts usually published in our newspapers, of a debate in the French Chamber, is so remarkable for its fidelity in the sketch it gives us of some of the leading men in France, and their modes of thinking and speaking, especially in reference to this country, that we have copied it into our pages as deserving a place of more permanent record, and a less ephemeral existence than it would have had in the columns of a morning journal. It is understood that the reporter employed on the occasion was not a common short-hand writer, but a distinguished *parliamentary* reporter, only em-

* We understand the speeches of MM. de Tocqueville and Lamartine are by another hand: a brother parliamentary reporter, favourably known to the public for his literary and poetical aspirations.

ployed upon extraordinary occasions; one who had, from long and close observation, made himself better acquainted than most men with the peculiar characteristics of French oratory, and hence the extreme aptitude he has shown for seizing and embodying the thoughts of the deputies who took part in the foregoing debate. The report should be a study for those who nightly attempt the task of preparing a similar statement of the proceedings of the House of Commons. We can easily understand that if a common short-hand writer had been present in the French Chamber, his account of the debate would have been of a very different character to that which it was the good fortune of the public in this instance to obtain. He would have written down, mechanically, certain words which fell upon his ear, totally innocent of their meaning, and have omitted, perhaps, the very points most essential to their spirit. Such a report, as compared with the present, would have been a mere lifeless skeleton in the place of an animated body. The talent for good reporting is undoubtedly rare, and we are anxious, therefore, it should be appreciated, wherever we discover its existence.

We fear it must be considered an evidence of the sceptical tendencies of the age, that here and there a person has been heard to express grave doubts of the correctness of the facts described. A few have even hinted a suspicion that the Queen of England's Masked Ball had not been the subject of any debate in the Chamber of Deputies, and that the whole was a piece of ironical fiction. We can, however, ourselves answer for the substantial truth of some of the particulars given in the report, and that similar observations to those attributed to the different speakers have been made on former occasions will be fresh in the recollection of many of our readers, especially that extraordinary declaration of the intention of the Thiers government to seize the Balearic Islands, in the event of a war with England.

It is gratifying to be able to state that the doubts to which we refer did not, when the report appeared, affect the minds of certain public men high in office, and of a large proportion of the conductors of the press, to whose hebdominal lucubrations we owe the enlightenment which pervades our distant provinces. We regret only, with the 'Morning Chronicle,' that the indignation properly felt by the Right Honourable Secretary for the Home Department, when he read the debate, did not find more public expression than the circle to which it was confined, and that Sir James Graham was prevented by the representations of his colleagues from making a speech on the subject in the House of Commons, or from formally demanding satisfactory explanations of the French government.

The Irish press have taken the lead in denouncing the infatu-

ation of the French Chambers, and the 'Pilot' and 'Morning Register' remark, with justice, that

"The very fact of so slight an occasion having given rise to so grave a discussion, is the strongest evidence that can be offered of the state of feeling in France towards this country. Some people may affect to make light of such a scene in the French Chamber, but those who look deeper than the mere surface will see, even in the very lightness of an occasion which produced so much passion, that there exists at the bottom of society in France a sentiment which will avail itself of other occasions to humiliate that England which it is plain no true Frenchman can forgive."

Neither have our Scotch contemporaries been backward in commenting upon the debate with proper spirit. The subject is treated of in detail by the editor of the 'Dumfries Courier.' He observes, that

"One of the most erratic and ridiculous scenes that ever lowered the dignity of a deliberative assembly, was enacted on Wednesday last, the 11th current, by M. Berryer, at one of the ordinary sittings of the Chamber of Deputies. In *la belle France* there is a party so strongly leavened with the spirit of Bonapartism that they hate England with a perfect hatred—a feeling which, coupled with intense national vanity, has engendered in many minds the crooked conviction that Gaul, and her greatness in arts and arms, are perpetually uppermost, sleeping or waking, in the thoughts of all the world besides. Political is as blinding as personal jealousy, and never were the inspirations of the green-eyed monster more apparent than in an harangue which, notwithstanding its marked extravagance, numbers applauded to the very echo. The intention of Queen Victoria to hold a 'Bal Costume' having been intimated in the usual way at the Court of the Tuileries, and the rumour spread that King Louis, in common courtesy, had deputed an officer to attend on the occasion, the blood of the war party rose in consequence to fever heat; and having selected as their champion, or knight-errant, M. Berryer, that learned deputy mounted the tribune, and delivered an oration more befitting Bedlam than the dignity of a forum, whether in ancient or modern times."

The editor here gives lengthened quotations from the speeches of the different orators, and after remarking that the words of M. Guizot, '*though few, were well chosen, considering the excitement of the audience around him,*' concludes as follows:

"The whole scene must have been supereminently ridiculous, and speaks volumes as to the diseased vanity of our mercurial neighbours across the channel. The Prime Minister of France, contrary to the better feelings of his nature, was compelled to treat no inconsiderable number of senators like a spoiled child; but as what may be called a coaxing mood is neither at all times dignified nor convenient, the

chances are that he will strain every legitimate nerve, aided by the good sense of the middle classes to get rid of some of 'the wild men' at the next elections. As to the first grandiloquent speaker, the thought will and does intrude, that in place of, Don Quixote-like, attacking windmills in high places, he would be more in his element as pantaloon in some minor theatre."

The French journals having long been in the habit of deferring to the English papers, from the admitted superiority of the latter as purveyors of news to the public, do not, we are happy to say, with some exceptions, appear to have had any misgivings of the correctness of the report in the 'Chronicle,' nothing being more common than for intelligence transmitted from Paris by extraordinary express, to appear in our morning papers before being published at length in the French journals. We observe, however, that some of the French papers deny the statement of the 'Chronicle' that the genuine armour of Joan of Arc had been removed from Paris for the use of M. St Aulaire, at the Masked Ball. Other journals comment with much seriousness upon the fact, and assume a tone of indignation which, under all the circumstances, cannot be considered unnatural. We quote the following from the 'Commerce:'

"We could never have believed that the taste for a masquerade could have gone so far as to allow the armour of a woman so cruelly sacrificed to British pride to be worn on such an occasion. The name and armour of Joan of Arc ought never to figure in England but in a mournful and expiatory ceremony. It is a burning shame; for the assassination of that pure and holy heroine is the most odious and cowardly of all the crimes of English policy."

Some allowance ought to be made in England for the excitation of the French mind against this country, consequent upon our rejection of their alliance in the case of Syria—a policy which the best friends of Lord Palmerston now admit to have been mistaken. The extravagance, however, of the resentment of certain French orators is a fair subject for satire, although perhaps, after all, the laugh is against us, since the Sultan, unable to govern Syria, has formally invited Mahomed Ali to assist him with the very troops we expelled from the country by our brilliant achievements!

We turn from the French Chamber, and a report, which from the impression it produced, reminds us of the success which attended Defoe's pamphlet of 'A Short Way with the Dissenters,' to the convocation held at Oxford on the 7th ult., prior to which the same parliamentary reporter, from his own peculiar sources of information, was enabled to give the public particulars

of the nature and object of the convocation, which, but for his zealous exertions, would have been confined to the party with whom they originated.

It is almost needless to state that the object was, in consequence of the rapid spread of liberal opinions at the University among the Heads of Houses, since the accession to office of Sir Robert Peel, to abrogate the statute of May 5, 1836, passed against Dr Hampden, Regius Professor of Divinity, and to reinstate him in certain privileges annexed to his office. The following papers relating thereto fell into the hands of the reporter:

(Private and Confidential.)

"—— Coll. Oxford, May 28, 1842.

"Rev. and Dear Sir—I am directed by the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses to request, in the most particular manner, your attendance at a convocation to be held on Tuesday, the 7th of June, when matters of the most urgent importance will be brought under your notice. The nature of these matters is explained in the speech which it is the intention of the Vice-Chancellor to deliver on introducing the subject to the convocation; and as it is desirable that both the motion itself, and the reasons which induce the Heads of Houses to propose it, should not by any accident get circulated among the uncandid and misjudging vulgar, I send you the accompanying copy of that speech in the original Latin. I trust, however, that the adoption of that learned language will occasion you no great inconvenience. All the words which we use can be found in Ainsworth's excellent Dictionary, which probably occupies a prominent position in your library; or of which, in case you should happen to be without a library, you will without doubt be able to procure a loan from the next apothecary or some other neighbour. You need not be alarmed at the prospect of any difficulty from the use of Latin idioms, which, in all probability, you have totally forgotten, even if you ever knew them—for I am proud to say that the University of Oxford has never been guilty of a slavish adoption of the language of the sect of the Papal schism, but has always piqued itself in writing Latin in an idiom of its own, which you will find intelligible by the meanest capacity.

"I send you, together with the draft of the Vice-Chancellor's speech, a card which you will find illustrative of the last paragraph of his speech, and conclude with again begging your early attendance on this occasion of such deep importance to the best interests of Church and State.

"I am, with my best compliments to Mrs ——, and your interesting family, rev. and dear sir, very sincerely yours,

.."

"INCLOSURE I.

"Speech to be spoken by the Vice-Chancellor, in convocation, on Tuesday, June 7th:—

"Habeo honorem vobis proponendi rescindere statutum quoddam, quod in præsenti tempore inconvenientissimum invenimus. Placebit meminisse ut in anno 1836, statutum magnâ majoritate portaverimus, quâ condemnavimus Doctorem Hampden, tum nuper positum in regiâ sellâ divinitatis. Causa assignata hujus voti singularis erat certa doctrina de Trinitate, quam nasus acutus carissimi nostri *Pusey* in oblito quodam doctoris istius opere opportunissimè detruserat, et in lucem traxerat. Vos autem habetis nimium sensum supponere talem absurditatem impulisse nos votum illud proponere, aut nos singulum damnum de doctrinâ illâ aut ullâ aliâ curavisse. Hoc erat satis bonum Puseyo isto, Puseyitisque, publicoque: nos autem in hoc voto dando ut in aliis rebus panibus et piscibus oculum omnino habuimus. Detestabilis ista administratio vulgo *Melbourne* vocata res summas tum gerebat: causæque ecclesiæ et civitatis magnæ consequentiæ erat ut omni modo administrationem illam quam fortiter pertunderemus; quia dum in potentia manebat omnis pinguetudo ecclesiæ liberalibus vorabatur. Hacpropter votum illud petebamus, portabamusque, nominaliter contra doctrinas Doctoris *Hampden*; sed (ut feliciter de segete et saccharo nuper dixit vir ille facetus et practicalis *Galley Knight*) realiter contra Radicales.

"Nunc autem ut feliciter dixit quâ parte Virgilius ille celeberrimus pöeta.

'Tempora mutantur nos, et mutamur ut illa.'

"Radicales sunt penitus eversi: Peelus est in potentiâ. Peelus autem in potentiâ est res totaliter differens Peelo in oppositione. Si tutò possemus subvertere illum, non singulum momentum in officio maneret, quia nobis videtur facere omnia ea quibus alii tantum loquebantur de. Videte autem fratres carissimi! in quâ lamentabili positione ponuntur Ecclesia, amicique Ecclesiæ! Si subvertimus Peelum, mortuæ certitudini habemus Johannulum. Hœc est res non singulo momento contemplanda. Necesse est igitur ut faciamus quodcunque vult Peelus. Peelus vult pretendere esse liberalis; necesse igitur est ut nos etiam liberales esse pretenderemus. Et, ut condemnatio Doctoris Hampden opus suum omnino peregit, sine ullo damno possumus liberalem cursum incipere revocando illam. Invenimus longiore familiaritate Doctorem illum Hampden non esse tam malum socium quam dicebamus. Moderatione magnâ opus est in momento præsenti; et judicatum est nobis melius esse omnibus partibus linquere questionem illam de Trinitate (quæ certè est questio difficilis, et una de qua multi homines respectabiles in omnibus temporibus dubitaverunt, et adhuc dubitant) supra pedem questionis apertæ. Non celo possible esse est ut habeamus etiam ultrà pergere: nemo scit quàm longe ibit Peelus: sed quid possumus facere?

"Magna res est ponere homines rectæ sortis in vacantibus Episcopatibus: Peelus autem dat Episcopatus: ergo si Episcopatus

obtinere volumus, necesse est placere Peelo. Vos autem, rustici mei fratres clerici! quibus observationes meas præcipue dirigo, probabiliter dicetis, Quid nobis cum Episcopatu? Sumus homines quieti, sine patronis, sine magnis talentis: non exspectamur esse Episcopi; non omnes possumus. Est nulla sciens: episcopus potest esse tam quietus quam vult; et quanto quietior, tanto melius. Non opus est multo talento esse Episcopus: omnes habetis satis: et bene scio nullum esse periculum principiorum vestrorum stantium in viâ vestrâ. Et quamvis non omnes potestis esse episcopi, potestis omnes accipere beneficia de illis qui habent bonam fortunam episcopatus obtinere.

"Sed ut probabiliter dicetis unam avem in manu valere plus duobus in arbusto, precor vos meminisse ut illis qui nobiscum vota dabunt damnatum bonum prandium paratum sit. Non necesse est loqui: hoc tantum postponit horam prandii: nec prandium decet esse frigidum. Sola res quam habetis facere est vota dare. Si autem Puseyitæ isti spurcissimi, iniquissimi, impransi, impransurique, habeant impudentiam nobis resistere (ut scimus illos magnum flagellum fecisse), vos, o rustici clerici! potestis vos utiles facere ut faciunt Rustici Domini in Domo Communium, infernalem strepitum edendo, et clamitando 'Quæstio! quæstio! dividite! dividite!' omnigenarumque bestiarum aviumque obscenarum voces imitando. Tanto citius prandium obtinebitis, cutesque vestras VINO IMPLEBITIS."

"INCLOSURE No. II.

"The Principal and Fellows of —— Coll. request the honour of the Rev. Mr ——'s company at dinner in the College hall, at three o'clock on Tuesday, June 7th.

"The dinner will not be served till after the close of the meeting of convocation."

It is to be regretted that early intelligence, however much desired by the public, if prematurely published, is sometimes attended with the inconvenience of changing, perhaps entirely, the course of anticipated events. There is a perverse tendency in human nature to follow, in certain cases, the rule of contraries, so that when an individual finds that intentions have transpired which he had privately formed and communicated in confidence to a few friends, he takes a pleasure in disappointing public expectation by doing exactly the reverse of that which he had at first resolved upon. This changeableness appears to be considered essential to dignity of character,—as a needful assertion of freedom and independence of action; and it is therefore generally understood, that if a private copy of the Queen's speech on opening parliament were to be published the day before in a morning newspaper, a cabinet council would be immediately held, and a speech totally different from the former one in its

political complexion would be put into her Majesty's mouth. Hence the mysterious allusions of the newspapers to the Royal speech of the following day. The speech itself, exactly as it will be delivered, is lying before the editors, but, in noticing its contents, they only venture to remark hypothetically that "her Majesty will probably observe," or "we presume that her Majesty will glance with satisfaction at the state of our relations with foreign powers," &c.

The friends of Dr Hampden have reason to lament that the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford deemed it incumbent upon him to act upon the same rule. He had not foreseen the possibility of his speech being published in the 'Morning Chronicle;' and nothing could have been further from his intention than that the private copies he had addressed to certain of the country clergy should obtain general circulation prior to the day of convocation. The speech, however, was not only published, but even translated, for the use, as it would appear, of the under-graduates; on the ground, we presume, that the Vice-Chancellor would be the more open to attack if sentiments so remarkable for the candour with which they are expressed were rendered into plain English, for the benefit of those alike unaccustomed to hear truth spoken and to the refined obscurities of the Latin tongue.*

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* We subjoin the translation, but the reader will at once perceive that it does not do justice to the spirit of the original, and that no attempt even is made to give the meaning of some of the more emphatic expressions:—

"I have the honour of proposing to you to rescind a certain statute which, at the present time, we find very inconvenient. You will be pleased to remember that in the year 1836 we carried a statute by a large majority, in which we condemned Doctor Hampden, then lately placed in the royal chair of divinity. The assigned cause of this somewhat singular proceeding was a certain doctrine concerning the Trinity, which the sharp nose of our dearest Pusey most opportunely ferreted out in some forgotten work of the doctor, and dragged to light. You, however, have too much sense to suppose that we had no better reason than the one assigned for the vote; or that we really cared (singulum damnum) for the doctrine in question, more than for any other. Such an absurd plea did well enough for Pusey, and the Puseyites, and the public; but we, as in other things, had solely an eye to the loaves and fishes. That detestable administration, commonly called the Melbourne, then carried on the government; and it was of great consequence to the cause of church and state that we should attack that administration as completely as possible in every way, since, while it remained in power, all the fat of the church was devoured by the Liberals. For this reason we desired the resolution to be adopted, and we carried it, nominally against the doctrines of Doctor Hampden; but (as that facetious and practical philosopher, *Galley Knight*, has happily said, regarding corn and sugar) in reality against the Radicals.

"Now, however, as the celebrated poet, Virgil, has somewhere observed,—

'Tempora mutantur nos, et mutamur ut illa.'

'The times are changed, and we must change with them.'

"The Radicals are utterly overthrown: Peel is in power. But Peel in power is a totally different thing from Peel in opposition. If we could safely upset him,

These untoward circumstances necessarily led to an anxious consultation on the part of the Vice-Chancellor, and certain Heads of Houses, upon what should be done; and the reader will not be surprised to learn that the result of the conference was, that the speech should not be spoken, and, in fact, that it should be disavowed.

An unforeseen embarrassment, however, arose, from certainly the unpardonable neglect of the friends of the Vice-Chancellor, who, when they intimated to the country clergy that the above speech was "a weak invention of the enemy," gave no other explanation of the sentiments entertained by the authorities, and forgot to state that the inclosure relative to the dinner was, at all events, a *bona fide* invitation. Hence, to a considerable section of the country clergy, it was by no means clear how it was their interest to vote; and many, therefore, stayed away (fearing to commit themselves by a false step), upon whose votes on the right side the most implicit confidence might otherwise

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he would not remain a single moment in office, because he appears to us to *do* all those things which the others only talked about. But see, my dearest brethren! in what a lamentable position the church and the friends of the church are placed. If we upset Peel, to a dead certainty we have Johnny. This is a thing not to be thought of for a single moment. It is, therefore, necessary that we should do whatever Peel wishes. Peel wishes to pretend to be liberal; it is therefore necessary that we also should pretend to be liberal. And as the condemnation of Doctor Hampden has quite done its work, we can begin a liberal career, without any harm, by reversing it. We find, on longer acquaintance, that Doctor Hampden is not such a bad fellow as we used to say. Great moderation is necessary at the present time; and we have judged it better, on every account, to leave the question of the Trinity (which certainly is a difficult question, and one in which many respectable men at all times have doubted, and still doubt) on the footing of an open question. I do not conceal the possibility of our having to go even further. Nobody knows how far Peel will go: but what can we do?

"The great thing is to put men of the right sort into the vacant bishoprics; but Peel has the giving of the bishoprics: therefore, if we wish to obtain bishoprics, we must please Peel. But you, my reverend country brethren, to whom I chiefly address my observations, will probably say, what are bishoprics to us? We are quiet men, without patrons, without great talents; we do not expect to be bishops: we cannot all be so. There is no knowing; a bishop may now be as quiet as he likes; and the quieter the better. It does not require great talents to be a bishop: we all have enough: and I know well there is no danger of your principles standing in your way. And although you cannot all be bishops, you may all receive benefices from those who have the good fortune to obtain bishoprics.

"But, as you will probably say that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, I pray you to remember that a dinner (damnatum bonum) will be prepared for those who give their votes to us. There is no necessity for talking; it only postpones the dinner hour; and the dinner ought not to get cold. The only thing you have to do is to give your votes. But if those dirty, iniquitous, undined and undinable Puseyites should have the impudence to resist us (as we know they have made a great whip for the purpose), you, oh, country clergymen! may usefully employ yourselves as the country gentlemen do in the House of Commons, in making an infernal noise, and shouting, 'Question! question! divide! divide!' imitating the voices of all manner of unclean beasts and birds. So much the sooner will you get your dinner, and fill your skins with wine."

have been placed. Others, again, from the same cause, and confounded by a report industriously spread at the time, that Mr Newman had been appointed classical tutor to the Prince of Wales, thought it, on the whole, safest to vote as on the former occasion. The result was, therefore, that although as many as 125 changed sides, there was yet a majority of 115 against the revocation of the statute.* Of that majority, however, more than one-half, it is known, would have voted with the friends of Dr Hampden, if, in certain matters relating to "res temporales," they had been furnished with a "sufficient reason." Indeed we have good authority for stating that, should any decided step be taken by the present government in the disposal of its patronage, such as the elevation of Dr Hampden to the Episcopal Bench, the parties referred to will hasten to retrieve their error. We are told that a clergyman not without influence, and said to be related to the Bishop of Exeter, observed that, the moment all doubt was cleared up upon the one essential point,

"Quâ viâ felis saltet,"

it would be seen that the Oxford clergy had not lost that veneration for the "powers that be," in which the true principles of orthodoxy consist, and rather than lie under the imputation of not being willing to go far enough, he himself would propose, if required, that Herr Straus should be invited to fill the chair of Regius Professor of Divinity, on the retirement or elevation of its present occupant.

V. L.

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* For the statute in 1836:—

Placets, - - - - -	474
Non-Placets, - - - -	94
	380

For the repeal of the statute in 1842:—

Non-Placets, - - - -	334
Placets, - - - - -	219
	115

ART. VII.—1. *Part Singing, or Vocal Harmony for Choral Societies and Home Circles,* adapted to be sung by many voices, or with one voice only to each part. Nos. 1 to 6, in cloth boards. Edited by the author of 'The Singing Master.' Taylor and Walton, Upper Gower street; Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

2. *Part Music.* Edited by John Hullah. No. 1. W. Parker, Strand.

3. *Orpheus, Sammlung auserlesener mehrstimmiger Gesänge ohne Begleitung* F. Busse. Braunschweig (a collection of select Part-songs, harmonised to be sung without accompaniment).

ALL who have considered the importance of giving a right direction to popular amusements, must rejoice at the taste for vocal music which is gradually diffusing itself among the middle and working classes. By whatever method singing may be taught, and however doubtful the propriety of government confining its patronage exclusively to the method of one professor, the object of the few philanthropists who first, amidst every discouragement, drew attention to the subject, has already been to a great extent accomplished, and vocal harmony will undoubtedly be naturalized in this country, and adopted by the great body of the people, as a means of innocent, rational, and social enjoyment.

Of the moral effects and many advantages which may be expected to result from the encouragement of vocal music it is not necessary here to speak; the softening influences of music on the mind and character are acknowledged, and its tendency to wean the working classes from the coarse and sensual indulgences of gin, beer, and tobacco, have at length been admitted even by dignitaries of the church, once apprehensive that a love of music would only give additional attraction to the public house. Much greater attraction will it give to the poor man's home, for it is the want of that scientific instruction which would enable a family to command enjoyments within itself that tempts its members abroad to public places of amusement—the poor man to his beer shop, and the rich man to his club.

A volume might be written upon the adaptation of vocal harmony to the object of home amusement, but all we could say on the subject will be better conveyed to the mind by the pictorial illustration which we have borrowed for the purpose from the work entitled 'Part Singing,' of which it forms the frontispiece.

The members of the family group or friendly evening circle, which we here introduce to the reader, are supposed to be singing, after the German fashion, some piece of concerted music from *separate part* books.

Every one who has been called upon to take a part in singing a glee, or quartett, has felt the inconvenience of a number of persons looking over each others' shoulders, and straining their eyes, at a single score of the music placed at a pianoforte. This is rarely done in Germany, nor was it the practice in England in the days of Madrigal singing. Each had his own part, tenor, alto, or base, placed in his hand, written, or printed, in a book by itself; and in Germany separate parts are almost invariably printed of every composition intended for more than two voices. The work entitled 'Orpheus' is a large collection of vocal compositions very popular in Germany, and printed, as we have described, in separate part books, forming small pocket volumes. Every singer carries about with him his own book, the tenor his *tenore primo*, or *secundo*, the base, his book for the base, and thus, on a walking excursion, or at an evening party, each is ready to join, with little ceremony, in the chorus which may harmonise best with the feelings of the moment.

All the world has heard of the Bürschen choral songs of the German universities, but what most interest us in that land of music are the musical family reunions which the tourist sometimes meets with, where father and son, brother and sister, friend and neighbour, pass a long winter's evening cheerfully together, with no other resource, and wanting no better, than conversation and singing in parts.

Such a reunion has been admirably represented in the accompanying plate, executed by the first wood engraver of the day (Mr Thompson), from the able and spirited design of Mr Redgrave.

The frontispiece of 'Part Singing' will save us the trouble of explaining at further length the object of the work. Its contents harmonise with the object. The work contains fifty-two popular compositions, choruses, madrigals, glees, &c., printed in separate part books, soprano, alto, tenor, and base,—the base with a pianoforte score, sufficiently full for the conductor, but condensed, that the instrument may be occasionally used in studying the chords.

Of the character of the compositions it may suffice to say, that with a few of the choicest of the old madrigals we have here some of the best glees and choral compositions of Webbe, Callcott, Weber, Handel, Glück, Storace, Spofforth, Stevens, Danby, Himmel, and of other composers of high and deserved

PART SINGING:

VOCAL HARMONY

FOR

CHORAL SOCIETIES

AND

HOME CIRCLES.

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reputation.* Of these a large proportion are so well known and justly appreciated, that we need only say respecting them, that the public will be glad to see their old favourites in the exceedingly cheap and convenient form in which they now appear;† but among the compositions less familiar to English musical circles there are two by Glück, which may be regarded as the gems of the work. We allude to No. 25, 'Choral Salutation,' and 'The Storm,' No. 37. The former is the finale chorus in 'Iphigenie in Taurus,' which, when sung by the German company two seasons back, always produced an encore. No. 10, 'The Swedish National Anthem,' is a striking and remarkable melody, very effective. No. 15, Webbe's beautiful glee of 'You gave me your heart t'other day,' is better adapted

* Perhaps, however, our musical friends will deem it more to the purpose if we subjoin a list of the contents:

Title	Composer
A generous friendship	Webbe
All nature is but art	Hickson
Amid the myrtle	Battishill
Awake, Æolian lyre	Danby
Away, away	German Air
Breathe soft, ye winds	Paxton
Bright water for me	
Choral honours	Handel
Come again	Italian Air
Choral salutation	Glück
Come, come away	German Air
Come joy with merry roundelay	Ditto
Evening	Hickson
Every bush new springing	Cavendish
Farewell, dearest	Storace
Five times by the taper's light	Ibid
Forgive, blest shade	Callcott
God speed the right	German Air
Hail, smiling morn	Spofforth
Hark, the lark	Dr Cooke
Hark, the echo	From Macbeth
Health to my dear	Spofforth
Hear, Father, hear our pray'r	Himmel
Here in cool grot	Ld. Mornington
Hope's dream	———
Intervals (Exercises upon).	
Introduction to Notation of Music.	
Invocation (the)	Weber
Lightly tread	Scotland
Musical cheers	T. Cooke
Night	German Air
Notation of Music (Introduction to).	
Once more, dear friends, once more	Ford
One and all	From Macbeth
Pledge (the)	Swedish Air
Pull all together	German Air
Prayer in Masaniello	Weber
Sleep	(Gaudeamus igitur)
Spring (the)	Spofforth
Storm (the)	Glück
Student's Song	German Air
Swiftly from the mountain's brow	Webbe
That peace on earth	Hickson
Their sound is gone out	Handel
Then round about the starry throne	Ditto
Thus rolling surges	Ditto
Thy voice, O harmony	Webbe
Thyrsis, sleepest thou	Bennet
Time wing'd by gladness	Giardini
Victoria	Weber
Village Chorus	Dr Arne
Waits	J. Saville
When winds breathe soft	Webbe
Ye spotted snakes	Stevens
You gave me your heart	Webbe

† The work is published by Taylor and Walton in six numbers; each number containing from eight to ten of the above compositions, but the six numbers complete may now be had in cloth boards. Price of each number—Soprano, 9d.; Alto, 6d.; Tenor, 6d.; Base and Pianoforte Score, 1s. Price of the work complete in boards—Soprano, 4s.; Alto, 3s.; Tenor, 3s.; Base and Pianoforte Score, 5s. 6d. We believe any one of the parts or volumes may be purchased separately.

for a vocal quintett than for a great body of voices; and this is the case with several others in the work.

The selection having been made for popular use, scientific difficulties have been avoided, and there are few of the compositions contained in 'Part Singing' that could not be sung by amateurs of both sexes, without that profound knowledge of sight singing which, as generally taught, few obtain without devoting themselves professionally to the art. For popularising music it cannot at first be presented in too simple a form, and elaborate and complicated fuges perplex without interesting the beginner. On this subject, too, an error has sometimes been disseminated by those who contend that the taste should be exclusively cultivated for what they term the "best style" in music, which they define to be the grave and ecclesiastical. We believe the best style in music is that which best accords with the feelings required to be expressed, and very different styles are therefore best under different circumstances. Music most appropriate to divine service in a cathedral it would be in the worst possible taste to introduce in a drawing-room after a country dance or quadrille. We admire the hundredth psalm at church, but deem it torture to hear a bird taught to whistle it, or little children to sing it (crying) in an infant school. There is a time for all things, but no one style of music can be equally suitable for all times; times when the heart is grave and sad, and when it is gay and merry.

What we most desire for the people is music of that character which would tend to throw a cheerful influence over the various pursuits of industry. We want not exclusively music adapted for a choir, but short and effective harmonies, which, with little labour, can be learnt by heart, so as to be sung with or without book, at the fire-side or in the field and workshop.

'Part Singing' contains ten or twelve compositions of this description, mostly German airs, and we wish there were a greater number. Two will be found on the annexed page, which the publishers have sent us as a specimen from the base and pianoforte score copy.

In 'Come, come away,' some of our readers will recognise the celebrated air of 'Crambambuli,' sung by all German students; the new words, however, relate not, as in the original, to an intoxicating liquor, but to a reunion similar to that which the artist has depicted in the frontispiece. The 'Invocation' is an adaptation of the music of the sword song. Here, too, the subject of the words is changed, but not so successfully as in the former instance. The verses read tamely after Koerner's 'Du Schwert an meiner linken.' We may observe, however, that the editor, professing a moral object, has held it incumbent

Come, come away.

No. 44. A German Air
Presto. Words by W. E. Hickson.

2

From toil, and the cares on which the day is closing,
The hour of eve brings sweet reprieve, Oh, come, come away!
Oh come where love will smile on thee,
And round its hearth will gladness be,
And time fly merrily;
Oh, come, come away.

3

While sweet Philomel the weary trav'ller cheering
With ev'ning songs her note prolongs, Oh, come, come away.
In answering songs of sympathy
We'll sing, in tuneful harmony,
Of Hope, Joy, Liberty,
Oh, come, come away.

4

The bright day is gone, the moon and stars appearing,
With silver light, illume the night, Oh, come, come away.
Come join your pray'rs with ours, address
Kind Heav'n, our peaceful home to bless
With Health, Hope, Happiness,
Oh, come, come away.

THE INVOCATION.

upon him to exclude all sentiments tending to encourage the two great propensities of mankind, drinking and fighting. Hence he has not only changed the subject of the German Bürschen songs comprised in the work, but in many other cases has substituted new words for those of the original, in music familiar to English ears. Thus, 'See the Conquering Hero comes,' appears in 'Part Singing' under the title of 'Choral Honours,' and is introduced, not as a chorus to celebrate an extraordinary development of the organ of destructiveness, but as a song of welcome, of which the burden is the following:—

"Songs of joy, from hearts sincere,
Bid you welcome, welcome here,
Blest with all that heav'n can give
May you long and happy live."

Sometimes a slight alteration has been sufficient to give a better turn to sentiments not breathing a very kindly or charitable spirit, but wedded to good music, as in the instance of a glee of Webbe's to the following:—

"A generous friendship no cold medium knows,
Burns with one love, with one resentment glows;
One should our interest and our passions be,
My friend should hate the man that injures me."

In 'Part Singing' this implied necessity for espousing a friend's quarrel is got rid of without even changing the rhymes, or altering the first line.

"A generous friendship no cold medium knows,
Doubt not the love that in my bosom glows.
One shall our interest and our fortunes be
Come weal or woe, come wealth or poverty."

The old English madrigals were composed to words for the most part unexceptionable, but quaint; and, as a general rule, we do not wish to see them in a more modern dress; but we have yet always thought a very sweet melody of Ford's, composed in 1620, was spoiled by the doggrel and senseless verses to which the music was written.

"When first I saw your face I resolved
To honour and renown you,
But now I am disdain'd I wish
My heart had never known you.

What, you that lov'd and I that lik'd,
Shall we begin to wrangle?
Oh no, no, no; no, no, our hearts,
We will not disentangle."

The following lines are substituted for the preceding in 'Part Singing,' and have at least the merit of being equally adapted to the music in respect to correct accentuation.

1.

"Once more, dear friends, once more we meet,
Old times again renewing;
When life first grew with friendship sweet,
Our path with roses strewing.

2.

The cares that late my heart oppress
(Where joy is now prevailing),
With absence cease; no more my breast
With doubts and fears assailing.

3.

Yet grief in absence finds a spell
That binds affection stronger:
Your image in my heart shall dwell
Until it beat no longer.

4.

For you my prayers to heav'n shall rise
On wings of hope ascending;
And till in death I close these eyes,
Our love shall know no ending."

The opening chorus in 'Der Freischutz' is so well suited to an expression of devotion to her present Majesty, that we wonder it has never been selected for such a purpose at public dinners, and other occasions of loyal demonstration. In 'Part Singing,' we find it adapted to the following:

"Victoria!
A tribute of song to Victoria.
The chorus inspiring,
Let Briton's desiring
Their country's prosperity
Sing with sincerity
God save the Queen,
Long live the Queen,
The friend of her people, Victoria!
Their rights still maintaining,
Their love ne'er disdaining,
Her throne's best protection
Shall be their affection;
We pray for the life of Victoria,
For blessings upon her,
With glory and honour.
Long life to Victoria."

The task of adaptation is not an easy one; and whatever merit there may be in these lines, it can only be appreciated by those who have tried to find accented words to fit accented notes, and to make rhythm in poetry agree with rhythm in music. Our musical readers will be enabled to judge from these specimens, without our assistance, how far the author has succeeded. We confine ourselves to a simple analysis of the work.

The introductory part contains a few exercises in the notation of music, which being also printed on cards, to be had separately at the price of twopence each, form at least the cheapest manual of music published before or since.

"These introductory exercises were written and printed for the use of classes established by the 'Society for the Encouragement of Vocal Music,' before the attention of the public at large had been drawn to the subject by the Government Board of Education. Since this period it has been the interest of many professional musicians to engage in class instruction, and various methods for teaching sight singing have in consequence appeared, each aiming at some improvement upon that of its predecessor. The popularity of some of these has naturally led the author of the present work to consider whether it might not be desirable to revise the plans he himself published for effecting the same object. Without, however, assuming his own plans to be perfect, or denying that they might be improved by revision, he is disinclined to attempt the task. Experience proves that to systems or methods of instruction, whether in music or other sciences, there can be no limit. The principles or facts to be taught remain always the same, but the manner of teaching them will always be subject to modifications. The capacities of pupils, the circumstances under which classes are formed, and the ability of the teacher, infinitely vary; and these lead to new modes of illustration, which, however unimportant, will often be styled new systems of instruction, to the great perplexity of beginners, who are naturally desirous to find out which system is the best, but at a loss how to form a correct judgment. The pupil, however, need give himself very little anxiety on the subject. The best method is generally that which the teacher has made by study or invention his own; for in proportion to his zeal and anxiety for the success of his system will be the pains he will take with his pupil. Hence it arises that the object is often effected by what appear to be opposite plans. The reason is that the art of instruction depends, to a very secondary extent, upon methods; the secret lies in sympathy with the pupil, a thorough mastery of the subject, delight in the art, and extreme patience.

"Instead, therefore, of re-writing the manual published under the title of the 'Singing Master,' with a view to an object which could never be accomplished,—that of rendering it such an instructional work that it should supersede for ever new manuals and new

methods, we shall content ourselves with a few general observations for the guidance of teachers who would wish to profit by the suggestions of others as well as our own."

These observations consist of a short criticism upon the systems of instruction pursued by different professors, with hints for their improvement.

Before dismissing the work we may briefly notice the principle upon which the selection and arrangement have been made —that of promoting a taste for vocal harmony *without instrumental accompaniment*. There are two reasons for encouraging music in this form—first, its decided superiority; second, the fact that music requiring instrumental accompaniment cannot be introduced in the cottage; where, although all may be taught to sing, no assistance can be obtained from the organ, harp, or pianoforte. Mr Hullah, from whom we should be sorry to withhold any praise to which he is fairly entitled, has the credit of having given the most perfect demonstration ever witnessed in London, on a large scale, of the superiority of unaccompanied vocal harmony to all other kinds of music. We allude to the late concerts at Exeter Hall, under his direction, at one of which we were present. We are free to confess that we never heard more sublime and imposing effects than were then produced by nearly two thousand voices singing a few solemn anthems in full harmony, without the accompaniment of either a band of instruments or the organ. We allude particularly to the effect of Farrant's 'Lord, for thy tender mercy's sake,' and Palestrina's 'I will give thanks,' especially in the passage where the full power of the common chord is given to the words 'How great and wonderful.' *

The distinction between noise and music in concerted compositions is, perhaps, not very clear to the public, and we may as well explain what we understand by the difference. We are listening to music, when all the parts of a composition sung are so nicely balanced that each part, whether soprano, alto, tenor, or base, can be distinctly traced by the ear: we are listening to noise, when one part overpowers and drowns the rest, producing only a babel of unintelligible sounds. This is commonly the effect of band and organ accompaniments. The singers are overpowered, and even when exerting themselves to be heard

* From the sublime to the ridiculous is, however, but a step, and nothing could be more inappropriate in such a performance than some of the madrigals and children's songs introduced in the second part; music requiring to be performed lightly and trippingly, was sung with a peal loud enough to wake the dead.

by shouting rather than singing, the intermediate parts are invariably lost. We have often been amused at the theatre by seeing a chorus performed in dumb show on the stage, when not a note of the singers could be heard, from the noise made by the band. The organ at the concert to which we allude would have spoiled all. It would have increased the volume of sound, which was not required; and, in effecting this object, would have impaired that clearness and perfect balance of the parts, most of all essential to the richness of the harmony.

The organ, as an accompaniment to voices, should be heard only as a subdued murmur at a distance, not interrupting or overwhelming, but simply sustaining the vocal parts. When, however, has a performer been found who would not insist upon his instrument taking precedence? The common error is, that too much power cannot be displayed by the organ, and hence the supposed necessity of building organs, larger even than the organs of Haarlem and Friburg, to be worked by steam engines.

We trust it will not be long before we shall hear a similar performance by the pupils of M. Mainzer. His concerts at Store street have been hitherto only preparatory trials, at which the effect was necessarily inferior, partly because the organ was not dispensed with, and partly because the selection was confined to two-part exercises, sung by male and female voices in unison. Four parts in the harmony, with each voice keeping to its own appropriate part, are, in all cases, essential to completeness of choral effect.

To guard ourselves from misconstruction, we must observe that the performance of Mr Hullah's classes, (assisted by many of the members of the Sacred Harmonic Society,) ought not to be regarded as any evidence of the superiority of his method of teaching sight singing. It shows him to be an able conductor, but of the progress of his pupils in sight singing the concert itself afforded not the slightest proof, because none of the pieces were so difficult that they could not have been taught to a class of children (like those at the Foundling Hospital), by ear, in six months. Neither was there the slightest evidence of progress furnished by Mr Hullah's illustration of Wilhem's digital method. When he pointed to his fingers none of the spectators, of course, could tell whether his pupils were singing the wrong or the right interval, and if always right it was not remarkable, considering that the exercise was limited to the key of C, and that the classes were led by their professional assistant teachers. That the progress made in reading music had not been extraordinary, or that there were many raw recruits among the pupils, was evident from the blunder committed by the tenors and basses in

neglecting to observe the dotted crotchet in the second bar of 'God save the Queen,' a passage which was very clumsily stumbled over by the semi chorus.

Mr Hullah's publications appear under such high patronage that they require no formal announcement from us of their existence, while they are but little likely to be affected by the strictures of a reviewer; but we may yet offer a few words on his new work entitled 'Part Music,'* for the sake of the object the work is intended to promote.

The expense of forming a good library of music is so serious an obstacle to the general diffusion of the science, that any addition to the existing stock of cheap music should be welcomed as a public benefit. We were therefore quite disposed to regard Mr Hullah's 'Part Music' as a valuable contribution to the cause, and as one advantage at least arising out of the extensive adoption of Wilhem's method of instruction; since whatever may be the merit or demerit of that method, the Committee of Council for Education have enabled Mr Hullah to command for his publications the circulation essential to cheapness, and to an extent at which a very low price would yield a remunerative profit. We wish the task had been executed in a way to command our unqualified approbation. To mention, first, what is perhaps the most immaterial point, the title is ill chosen. 'Part Music' does not clearly define the object of the work, while probably it has the appearance (doubtless undesigned) of so close an imitation of 'Part Singing' that the two works will by many persons be confounded together. 'Part Music,' however, might be music for instrumental performers. It does not necessarily imply vocal

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* The contents of 'Part Music,' No, 1, by John Hullah, are the following:—

SACRED.

1 National Anthem, 'God save the Queen.'
2 Full Anthem, 'Lord, for thy tender mercies' sake.' FARRANT.
3 The Hundredth Psalm, 'With one consent.'
4 Full Anthem, 'O Lord, the Maker of all things.' KING HENRY VIII.
5 Sanctus, 'Holy Lord God of Hosts.' TALLIS.
6 Responses to the Commandments. TALLIS.
7 The Hundred and Forty-ninth Psalm.
8 Motet, 'I will give thanks.' PALESTRINA.
9 Chorale, 'Since on the Cross.' MARTIN LUTHER.

SECULAR.

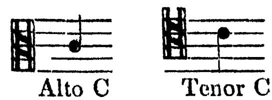
1 National Song, 'Rule, Britannia.' DR ARNE.
2 Madrigal, 'All ye who Music love.' DONATO.
3 Madrigal, 'Hard by a Fountain.' WAELRENT.
4 Glee, 'Ye spotted Snakes' (words from Shakspeare). STEVENS.
5 Madrigal, 'Flow, O my Tears.' BENNETT.
6 Madrigal, 'The Waits.' SAVILLE, 1667.
7 Glee, 'Come, let us all a Maying go.' ATTERBURY.
8 Part Song, 'Long may Life.'

Score, 2s. 6d. Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bas, 8d. each.

music. The same fault shows itself in the selection; two out of the eight secular pieces in No. 1, 'Ye spotted snakes,' and 'The Waits,' having already appeared in No. 2 and 3 of 'Part Singing,' and at a less rate of cost, page for page. We can perceive no advantage in reprinting music when the object is not to publish it in a cheaper form, and Mr Hullah would surely better consult the interest of his classes and of the public by reprinting scarce and dear music than by borrowing from other cheap collections, and depriving himself of all assistance from the labours of those who preceded him in the same field.

Some objection also applies to the arrangement. For instance, the song and chorus of 'Rule Britannia' is harmonised as a chorus throughout, although we are satisfied only the chorus can be sung as written, with effect, by a great body of voices.

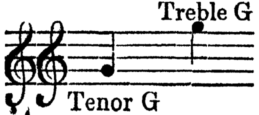
But a more serious error in the plan of Mr Hullah's 'Part Music' as a work designed, not for professional, but for popular use, is, that he revives the use of the C clef (which was fast growing obsolete) in the parts written for alto and tenor voices.



The perplexity to amateurs occasioned by the C clef in shifting the positions of the notes on the staff, has always operated as an impediment to the circulation of music so printed. For many years, therefore, the C clef has been discarded by dealers in popular music, and the G clef has been used instead in the greater number of glees and tenor songs printed by them, and even in several editions of Handel's choruses. The orthodox part of the profession, however, object, that the treble and tenor scale are not the same, the intervals in the one being an octave higher than in the other, and that to write both in the same manner produces a confusion of ideas on the subject of harmony.

In reply, it may be observed that the fact referred to is one known to the merest tyro in thorough base, and that all confusion may be obviated by the simple expedient of writing the word "treble" against the part intended for a treble voice, and "tenor" against the part intended for a tenor voice.

The objection, however, was wholly got rid of by Mr Oliphant, Secretary to the Madrigal Society, who invented a character for alto and tenor parts, to signify that the notes were placed as in the G clef, but being an octave lower, were not to be sung by treble voices.



This character (a double clef) is also used in the alto and tenor parts of 'Part Singing,' and leaves nothing to be desired for distinguishing them at a glance from the treble, without sacrificing simplicity of notation.

The new character, however, is an innovation, and musicians of the old school have taken much pains to laugh Mr Oliphant out of his notions on this subject; but the folly and prejudice which really deserve ridicule are all their own.

Simplicity of notation is the grand desideratum in music. There ought to be but one fixed mode of representing every given sound;—at present there are many. Instead of one written musical language we have several. The various clefs used introduce as much complexity as would be found in a newspaper, if the foreign intelligence were printed in French or German, and only the domestic in English. The object should be to have but one clef, or such a mode of writing the scale, that whatever the key or pitch of the notes the same intervals should always be found in the same part of the staff. This is not at once attainable, but an approximation is. The C clef may be entirely discarded, and music, for all voices, may be written with perfect accuracy in the G and F clefs, without even adopting the method of Mr Oliphant. The proper range of the alto or first tenor in harmonized compositions is the following, and it may be thus written, with the great advantage that, in the absence of the male voice, it can be read with ease by a second soprano.

The following is the usual range of a tenor, which may be written correctly in the F clef, and with much less inconvenience to amateurs than would result if the C clef were used.

In amateur practice it is often indispensible either to omit a part, or require a base to sing tenor, or a tenor the base. In this there would be no difficulty if both parts were written in the same clef, but how often have we heard the remark, "I am not accustomed to the tenor clef; I will do my best, but I fear I shall make some mistake."

A great deal of music for alto and tenor voices is now written in the G and F clefs in the above manner; and this plan we see is adopted in the score of an original work of high merit now

lying before us, entitled 'Hymns and Anthems,' by Eliza Flower;* and it is not one of the least recommendations of this method that every lady accustomed to the pianoforte can read a score so written, while, if the intermediate harmonies were placed in the C clef, not one lady in a thousand would be able to assist in striking the proper chords. The middle parts of Mr Hullah's score will on this account be a dead letter to most female musicians, out of the profession; and it is therefore very doubtful whether the work, with this defect, will be as popular in private families as it might and ought to have been rendered. The mistake committed in this case is unaccountable; for there are no exercises in the C clef in Mr Hullah's elementary books; his tenor voices learn to sing from the G clef; and when suddenly introduced to the C clef in 'Part Music,' it must be half blind-guess work with his pupils, or dependence on leaders, for the exact character of the intervals in their new places on the staff. The object, too, of the high patronage Mr Hullah has received is that music may be rendered so simple as to be placed within the reach of ploughmen, sailors, and the busiest classes of the community, — classes never likely to have leisure or inclination to study a needless variety of clefs, and to the greater portion of whom, therefore, his collection of music will remain a sealed book.

The use of the C clef will, however, be pertinaciously defended by many in the profession; by some, for whose authority we should entertain the greatest respect if they knew as much about education, and the obstacles to the diffusion of knowledge, as they do about the construction of chords; by others, who confound a science with its technical difficulties, and think that every well that looks dark is necessarily "wondrous deep;" by others, who, having mastered, by incessant study and practice, the difficulties of reading music in any clef, enjoy the triumph of their superiority over ordinary amateurs, and will not hear of the road which they were compelled to follow being rendered less rugged for others. Upon none of these will our arguments make the slightest impression, and we will not attempt to shake their "modest self-reliance," and "confidence in their own judgment."

* The first part of this work, which we noticed in a late number, appeared under the title of 'Adoration, Aspiration, and Belief.' The first volume is now complete, and is published (by C. Fox) under the title of 'Hymns and Anthems.' It contains thirty-four compositions, all original and some of the highest excellence. Indeed, we know not when we have met with a modern work of a similar character containing so much of the inspiration of true genius. The work is one to which, at a better opportunity, we shall feel it a duty to devote some space; and in the meantime we may assure our musical readers that fifteen shillings will be cheaply bestowed in the purchase of the volume.

We address our remarks to music publishers, a class more open to conviction, because it is to them a matter of some consequence to know whether their stock of music in the C clef will a few years hence be so much waste paper, or a saleable article in the market. We tell them to make up their minds to the latter alternative. Formerly the G clef was confined to instrumental music, and the C clef, placed upon the lowest line, was used for soprano parts; but the custom is now so antiquated, that in England it is almost forgotten: so will it be at no very remote period with the C clef as employed for the middle parts of a vocal quartett; and we assert this unhesitatingly, for the following reasons:—

First, because the C clef is useless. We are told that it saves leger lines,—a statement which is invalid, because at best it can save but one leger line, as in alto and tenor parts the place of the notes is only altered *one degree.* It is said the harmony so written may be best understood,—but this, if correct, could only be urged of the few; to the many a score in the C clef will always be comparatively unintelligible, while neither the few nor the many would have any difficulty in understanding the harmony written in the G and F clefs, as in the preceding examples.

The C clef can never be rendered familiar to the mass of the people, because whatever knowlege of music may be acquired by the working classes, it will chiefly be obtained during boyhood at school, where the only clef used is that employed for treble voices. After leaving school all will not have the opportunity of joining a choir, and the dislike of music in a form to which they are unaccustomed will always prevent its use to a greater or less extent for purposes of amusement.

Another consideration is, that in families among the middle class, the musical direction of an evening is chiefly in the hands of ladies, who cannot be expected ever to become familiar with tenor passages written in the C clef, and will ever be opposed as a body to the use of music which they cannot study in all its parts at the pianoforte.

If evidence be wanting of the truth of our prediction, we would adduce the fact that the C clef is now discarded in Germany in all popular collections of vocal music; although many years must elapse before musical instruction will be as complete and universal here as it is in that country at the present moment. In nearly every work that we have met with containing a collection of German popular music, the tenor parts are written in the G clef. For example, they are so written in the 'Orpheus' referred to at the head of this article; in the 'Volks Lieder' of

G. Reichardt; 'Vierstimmige Lieder' of F. Kücken; 'Tafel,' und 'Trink Lieder' of F. E. Fesca; 'Sechs Vierstimmige Lieder,' by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy; 'Sechs Lieder für vier Männerstimmen,' by H. Marschner; 'Gesänge für 4 Männerstimmen,' by F. Schubert; in Mainzer's works; and in the Leipzic collection of German part songs. In many instances we find the tenor parts written in the base clef, very few of any kind in the C clef, and those either not modern works, or not works belonging to the character of *popular* choral music.

These facts warrant the conclusion that the plan of 'Part Singing' dispensing with the C clef, is better adapted to the object than that of 'Part Music' where it is retained, and that Mr Hullah's music will have to be reprinted in a different form by other publishers, before it can be useful out of his own classes, to amateurs of humble attainments, who will form, and must remain, the great majority of those to whom the present musical impulse will extend.

We cannot but regret that the importance of simplifying the notation of music to the greatest possible extent was not a subject to which the attention of the Committee of Council for Education had been called, before they took the steps they have done to give universality to Wilhem's method of instruction. We are not of the number who believe the gradual introduction of a better notation of music is a thing out of the bounds of possibility, and now that we have seen what extension can be given to any plan by government influence and patronage, we are convinced that the ultimate adoption of an entirely new notation might be realised by the same means. Mr Hullah has shown the practicability of teaching at once two systems of signs for music. One, the present system; the other an imaginary notation on the fingers. Suppose, instead of his imaginary finger notation, he had substituted for the first step in his elementary course a new written notation, constructed upon simple but scientific principles, while continuing at the same time to teach his pupils to read music as at present written. What is there that would hinder the improved method so introduced, superseding entirely the present, ten or twenty years hence; assuming it to possess real merit? We throw out the hint because, although a great opportunity has been lost, another may be found when the interests of national education shall have been fairly organised. In the meantime let every friend of improvement aim at that approximation to better plans which is immediately attainable by assisting in burying the C clef in the same grave with all that lumber of scholastic pedantry which was once mistaken for true science and real learning. E.

Art. VIII.—1. *Report from the Select Committee on Fine Arts; together with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed*, 18*th June*, 1841.

2. *A Treatise on Fresco, Encaustic, and Tempera Painting; being the Substance of Lectures delivered at the Society of British Artists and School of Design, Leicester square, in the Years* 1838-39-40. By Eugenio Latilla, Mem. Soc. Brit. Art. London: 8vo. Published by H. Herring, 9 Newman street, Oxford street. 1842.

3. *Thoughts on the relative Value of Fresco and Oil Painting as applied to the Architectural Decorations of the Houses of Parliament, read at the Friday-Evening Meeting at the Royal Institution, Albemarle street, March* 4, 1842. By B. R. Haydon, Historical Painter. London: 8vo. Henry Hooper, Pallmall East. 1842.

NOT long since, in the public streets, we overheard an old basket-woman giving vent to a storm of virtuous indignation on the badness of some degenerate exhibition of Punch. She made a voluntary pause for a few minutes to criticise it; she gave nothing to the showman, and nothing was asked of her; but evidently feeling that she was cheated, she resented her imaginary grievance with becoming spirit.

Ought we to condemn this critical fastidiousness about the fine arts in low life? Is it not a fresh instance of that unconscious imitation of aristocratical manners permeating through all classes, and finding a development in matters of taste even among the lower orders? There seems to be much grumbling at the state of the fine arts in this country, of a corresponding spirit to the basket-woman's criticism of Punch. The critics in art do little or nothing to promote it; but opinions *ex cathedrâ* they volunteer in abundance. Their knowledge is small; their associations narrow; their sympathies cold and leaden. When an artist proclaims the low state of art, there is this to be said for his consistency,—that his own works generally furnish apt and indisputable evidence of the fact. Frenchmen feel a national pride in upholding and defending the arts of their own country; Germans are ready to prove that *their* present school of art is the only right school that has flourished since the beginning of the world; Englishmen, who, it must be confessed, know little about

the matter, seldom talk of the merits, but of the demerits, of their artists. Great too is the multitude, who like

> —— "Philosophers who find
> Some favourite system to their mind;
> In every point to make it fit,
> Will force all nature to submit;"

and whose favourite system, in this case, is to find a ready cause for the degenerate state of British art in the paralyzing influence of the Royal Academy! They remind one of the chemist who was eager to prove the pernicious effects of tea, and who had discovered incontrovertible evidence of the fact. In a gallon of hot water he had infused but a single ounce of the hurtful drug, and such was its corrosive effects, that it had completely taken off all the hairs from a pig's tail! The experimenting philosopher did not try the effect of the hot water without the tea. Even so do our critics and grumblers omit to inquire whether the fine arts would not be pretty much as they are, whether or not such an institution existed as the Royal Academy. To ascribe to this corporation all the defects of English art, seems to us only more unfair than it would be to attribute to it all its excellencies.

But whilst critics agree harmoniously enough that the arts are all wrong, and the Royal Academy is all to blame, they differ much among themselves as to the prospects of the future. The recent proposal to decorate with paintings the walls of the new Westminster Palace, to be used for the meetings of parliament, has marshalled them into two distinct parties. One party insists that art is feeble and degenerate, notwithstanding patronage unparalleled and expenditure the most lavish. More pictures, they say, are painted and bought than at any other period; exhibitions and art-unions are so multiplied over the whole country, that they cannot be counted; yet the British artist produces nothing good, nothing comparable to the works of the old masters; there are no Raffaelles, or Michael Angelos, or Titians, now-a-days; the British artist cannot draw (this is said with great and confident emphasis), he only daubs, and is not fit to hold a taper as a colourist to Titian or Tintoret; he cannot invent, he paints nothing but portraits: the English school can do nothing.

The other party is more enthusiastic and sanguine. Now, say they, is the time for art; hitherto there has been no fair chance for the artist; patronage hitherto has been inefficient or misdirected. If we may believe the utterances of certain oracles of this party, the destinies of the pictorial arts are now in the keeping of the twenty-three illustrious and noble individuals whom her Majesty has nominated her Commissioners on the fine arts. The decoration of the Westminster Palace is to be the commencement of the golden age of pictures in our country; every artist is

on tiptoe of expectation to see what these Commissioners shall decree; all the talent and genius of our painters, dormant until now, or smothered by academical influences, are to sprout and blossom, and bring forth fine fruit; a new era is approaching, and we shall see what we shall see. To say nothing of the metropolis, Mr Haydon "knows" the provinces to be "a silent volcano" of talent, awaiting but a signal to burst forth; but, unhappily, he has not accompanied his statement with any evidence of the fact of a specific character. If he had told us, with his usual precision, "There is great Michael Angelo Titmarsh, a concealed planet, in Birmingham, and Nicholas Poussin Smith in Liverpool, and Raffaele d'Urbino Brown in Leeds," we might have tested his information by a search after the works of these great but unknown painters; but he has not done so, and we must therefore wait patiently till the mountain has been delivered.

With both these parties we are willing to agree, that the arts are susceptible of improvement,—with both to admit that the Royal Academy is not the most perfect institution under the sun. With the latter we will not dispute that the present is an opportunity which, if properly employed, is calculated to exercise an important and permanent influence on the arts, and that our painters are equal to do what the emergency requires; but we have no expectation that before May, 1843, our darkness will be suddenly illumined by meteors that have not yet appeared above the horizon. Raffaelles and Michael Angelos are not every-day productions, with or without the Royal Academy forcing-beds.*

* A writer, whose best things are not unworthy of Goldsmith, published a charming paper about artists in the very amusing 'Heads of the People.' We extract from it the following, as rather germane to the present point:—

"The Academy student is a personage that very much resembles the medical student, and has many of the latter's habits and pleasures. He very often wears a broad-brimmed hat, and a fine dirty-crimson velvet waistcoat; his hair commonly grows long, and he has braiding to his pantaloons. He works leisurely at the Academy; he loves theatres, billiards, and novels; and has his house-of-call somewhere in the neighbourhood of St Martin's lane, where he and his brethren meet and sneer at the Royal Academicians. If you ask him what line of art he pursues, he answers, with a smile exceedingly supercilious, 'Sir, I am an historical painter,' meaning that he will only condescend to take subjects from Hume or Robertson, or from the classics,—which he knows nothing about. This state of an historical painter is only preparatory, lasting perhaps from eighteen to five-and-twenty, when the gentleman's madness begins to disappear, and he comes to look life sternly in the face, and to learn that man shall not live by historical painting alone. Then our friend falls into portrait painting or animal painting, or makes some other such sad compromise with necessity.

"He has probably a small patrimony, which defrays the charge of his studies and cheap pleasures during his period of apprenticeship. He makes the *obligé* tour to France and Italy, and returns from those countries with a multitude of spoiled canvasses and a large pair of moustachios, with which he establishes himself in one of the dingy streets of Soho. There is poor Pipson, a man of indomitable patience

With the first party we are ready to dispute whether art is altogether in a state so very low as they would represent. On the whole, looking to the circumstances which seem to have influenced art at all times, we conclude that its state is pretty much what might be reasonably expected at the present time. Not so bad as some say, not likely to become so wondrously good as others prophesy. It is not very puzzling to see why we have no great and excellent historical pictures, since the only buildings which could hold them will not have them; or, why we do have small and excellent domestic pictures—pictures which no other school of art, ancient or modern, has rivalled.

We believe the world of art revolves upon its axis, governed, like the physical creation, by its own independent laws; and although we recognise the importance of establishing schools of design as a branch of national education, it may be a doubt whether any other kind of government interference can do more for art than change its direction, without improving its character.

But let us see what steps have of late been taken with a view of raising the arts from the degenerate condition into which we are told they have fallen.

On the 29th April, 1841, a Select Committee was appointed,

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and undying enthusiasm for his profession. He could paper Exeter Hall with his studies from the life, and with portraits in chalk and oil of French sapeurs and Italian brigands, that kindly descend from their mountain caverns, and quit their murderous occupations, in order to sit to young gentlemen at Rome at the rate of tenpence an hour. Pipson returns from abroad, establishes himself, has cards printed, and waits and waits for commissions for great historical pictures. Meanwhile, night after night he is to be found at his old place in the Academy, copying the old life-guardsman,—working, working away, and never advancing one jot. At eighteen Pipson copied statues and life-guardsmen to admiration; at five-and thirty he can make admirable drawings of life-guardsmen and statues. Beyond this he never goes; year after year his historical picture is returned to him by the envious academicians, and he grows old, and his little patrimony is long since spent, and he earns nothing himself. How does he support hope and life?—that is the wonder. No one knows until he tries (which God forbid he should!) upon what a small matter hope and life can be supported. Our poor fellow lives on from year to year in a miraculous way, tolerably cheerful in the midst of his semi-starvation, and wonderfully confident about next year, in spite of the failures of the last twenty-five. Let us thank God for imparting to us poor weak mortals the inestimable blessing of *vanity*. How many half-witted votaries of the arts—poets, painters, actors, musicians—live upon this food, and scarcely any other! If the delusions were to drop from Pipson's eyes, and he should see himself as he is,—if some malevolent genius were to mingle with his feeble brains one fatal particle of common sense, he would just walk off Waterloo bridge, and abjure poverty, incapacity, cold lodgings, unpaid bakers' bills, ragged elbows, and deferred hopes, at once and for ever. We do not mean to deprecate the profession of historical painter, but simply to warn youth against it as dangerous and unprofitable. It is as good as if a young fellow should say, 'I will be a Raffaelle or a Titian, a Milton or a Shakspeare;'—and if he will count up how many people have lived since the world began, and how many there have been of the Raffaelle or Shakspeare sort, he can calculate to a nicety what are the chances in his favour."

at the instigation of the indefatigable Mr Hawes, to take into consideration the promotion of the fine arts of this country, in connexion with the rebuilding of the new Houses of Parliament; and the following individuals were named as its members:—

Mr Hawes	Lord Brabazon
Mr Labouchere	Lord Francis Egerton
Sir Robert Peel	Mr Ewart
Mr Gally Knight	Mr Milnes
Mr Hume	Colonel Rawdon
Mr Wyse	Mr Henry Thomas Hope
Mr Blake	Mr Pusey.
Sir Robert Harry Inglis	

The proceedings of this committee seem to us to have differed to a remarkable extent from those of any other committee of the House of Commons we ever had occasion to examine. It might have been called a Committee of *Inquiry*, in the most literal sense of the term. Almost every member showed that he was engaged in a very laudable pursuit after knowledge. Members on committees are usually very crotchetty, seeking for evidence to support preconceived opinions. Such was not the case here, for it is almost next to impossible to discover that the members generally entertained any opinions at all on the subject. It would be wrong to say there were no opinions, for certainly some two or three members lost no opportunity of insisting that the British school had one marked peculiarity, which was its bad drawing. It was taken quite as a matter of course that the English artist cannot draw, and excepting when the dogma was rebuked by a witness, it generally passed in silence. We protest against this opinion as altogether untrue, and as based in ignorance of British art. It does not follow, because our artists do not draw figures ten feet high, that they could not do so. What can we think of judges in art who fall into this error, and that, too, in spite of the evidence that our artists can and do draw figures with perfect accuracy on a small scale?* To execute on an enlarged scale of drawing, is little more than a mechanical process to those who can execute figures on a small scale. Mr Eastlake observes, and with justice, there is

"The greatest disposition on the part of the artists to paint large pictures, but there has been very little encouragement for that kind of art. We know, from the example of the Italian painters, that when great works are first composed in small, the execution of them on a

* Six members of the Commons' committee are also members of the Commission.

large scale is comparatively mechanical; the invention on a smaller scale is the difficulty."—Eastlake, 646.

With such draughtsmen (we are speaking now only of accuracy of drawing), as Mulready, Maclise, Eastlake, and Edwin Landseer—draughtsmen, as such, not surpassed by any artists of the best period of Italian art—it is only a libel on the English school to say that it is unequal to the task of correct drawing. We may take the best pictures in our National Gallery,—at all events, the best materials we can show as a nation, by which we have the means to judge of the old masters; we may take Sebastian del Piombo's 'Resurrection of Lazarus'—Raffaelle's 'St Catherine'—Titian's 'Bacchus and Ariadne'—Correggio's 'Mercury instructing Cupid in the presence of Venus,' and we shall find errors of drawing in all these masterpieces (and masterpieces they in truth are), of which not either of the distinguished artists we have named would be guilty. We might give even a wider challenge than the above, and say, select from the whole range of all the Italian masters any four which, in this question of drawing, surpass these artists. Put Michael Angelo and Raffaelle aside, and the reader would find himself rather puzzled. We make this comparison without the least intention of detracting from the reputation of the great painters, and only from a sense of justice due to our own artists.

The fixed idea of one of the members of the committee (Mr Ewart) seemed to be, that everything was to be done by competition, having no doubt before his mind's eye the successful results of that mode of securing works of art in the late instances of the Nelson column and the Royal Exchange. Mr Blake, being set to inquire how the Houses of Parliament might be coloured, proved to be a determined anticolourist.

The inquiries of the committee were cut short by the sudden termination of the session. They, however, made a brief report, and, saving their recommendation of the appointment of a Commission, we see no reason to take much exception to their suggestions.

The committee fully concurred in the opinion, supported as it was by witnesses of extensive information and by artists of the highest character and ability, that so important a national work as the erection of the two Houses of Parliament affords an opportunity, which ought not to be neglected, of encouraging not only the higher but every subordinate branch of fine art in this country, and they thought that a Commission might most usefully be appointed to assist both with information and advice. The committee are disposed to recommend that fresco painting should be adopted; and they concurred in opinion with Mr Eastlake,

"that England possesses artists equal to the occasion, whose genius only wants that exercise, aid, and encouragement which this great opportunity may be made to afford." As fresco painting has not hitherto been sufficiently studied by English artists, they suggest, that if fresco be employed, it would be judicious to give artists an opportunity of making some experimental efforts in the first instance.

With reference to the cost, the committee

"Are aware that objections are entertained by many* to a large expenditure of the public money for such a purpose, under an impression that it is unproductive, if not wasteful. Your committee are, however, of opinion, independently of the beneficial and elevating influence of the fine arts upon a people, that every pecuniary outlay, either for the purpose of forming or extending collections of works of art in this country, has been directly instrumental in creating new objects of industry and of enjoyment, and therefore in adding at the same time to the wealth of the country."

The collection of vases made by Sir W. Hamilton led to the introduction of a new branch of manufacture in this country by Mr Wedgwood, which not only employed artists and artisans, but tended to improve every branch of a great staple trade, and in its results elicited from the hands of comparatively ordinary workmen works almost rivalling their originals in texture, form, and beauty.

The next step taken was the appointment of a Commission, according to the recommendations of the Commons' committee.

* We doubt this fact very much. It is the fashion to ascribe motives of economy, in respect to the arts, to the Radical party especially. We do not think that the Radical party are more enlightened on the subject than other political parties, but it is only justice to them to say that they have generally regarded a grant for the encouragement of the fine arts as an outlay to promote public education, and have been more liberally disposed than the Whigs and not less so than the Tories, who assent to such grants for the good of the arts themselves, rather than for any moral effect they may have —a sentiment we heard publicly uttered by one of the most consistent—Sir Robert Inglis. It was feared by Lord Liverpool that Parliament would not have bought the Angerstein collection to form a national gallery; but the timidity of the minister was without foundation, for the vote was passed even without discussion. Such unnecessary fears have lost many fine opportunities of purchasing works of art. The minister hesitated to purchase Sir Thomas Lawrence's collection of drawings, when we believe Parliament would have done so had the subject been brought before it. One of the strictest of parliamentary economists is Mr Hume; yet there is not, we believe, a single member in the House of Commons more liberally disposed to buy works of art for the people than that gentleman, or one who has done so much in promoting easy access to all works of art.

Whitehall, Nov. 22, 1841.

"The Queen has been pleased to appoint—
His Royal Highness Prince Albert, K.G.
The Right Hon. Lord Lyndhurst,
His Grace the Duke of Sutherland, K.G.
The Most Hon. the Marquis of Lansdowne, K.G.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Lincoln,
The Right Hon. the Earl of Shrewsbury,
The Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen, K.T.
The Right Hon. Lord John Russell,
The Right Hon. Lord Francis Egerton,
The Right Hon. Viscount Palmerston, G.C.B.
The Right Hon. Viscount Melbourne,
The Right Hon. Lord Ashburton,
The Right Hon. Lord Colborne,
The Right Hon. Charles Shaw Lefevre,
The Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart.
The Right Hon. Sir James Graham, Bart.
Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart.
Henry Gally Knight, Esq.
Benjamin Hawes, jun., Esq.
Henry Hallam, Esq.
Samuel Rogers, Esq.
George Vivian, Esq.
Thomas Wyse, Esq.
her Majesty's Commissioners for the purpose of inquiring whether advantage might not be taken of the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament for promoting and encouraging the fine arts."

Commissions of inquiry have sometimes been extremely useful, but we do not remember an instance of good being effected by a Commission constituted as above, and we almost fear that its appointment will hereafter be regarded as a misfortune to the arts. The late Record Commission was one of a somewhat similar character We all know how beautifully that machinery accomplished its objects. It spent above half a million of money, left the records in a worse state than it found them, and expired with a debt of about thirty thousand pounds. On that Commission there were dignitaries of the church (to look after the ecclesiastical records), judges (to superintend judicial records), great historians (to represent the interests of history), high functionaries of state to add dignity and secure importance; but the peculiar qualifications of the various distinguished individuals were not turned to any account whatever. In the present case, the object being to secure the best attainable judgment on works of art, it might appear reasonable to regard the possession of an indisputable knowledge of art as a prime and essential qualification of a Com-

missioner. But take away the titles and offices of most of the above Commissioners, and what would be their authority as critics? Prince Albert, we know, is an artist, and the Lord Chancellor probably learnt drawing under his father Copley, the Royal Academician and painter of the 'Death of Lord Chatham,' in the National Gallery—but we very much question if there be among the members two other individuals able to copy a cartoon.

Several of the Commissioners possess, or are in course of possessing, picture galleries. Sir Robert Peel has a fine collection of the Dutch school, but this of itself is little proof surely that Sir Robert is a good judge of a very different style and kind of art. Let us go through the list *seriatim*. Prince Albert is a Commissioner because he is a prince; Lord Lyndhurst as Speaker of the House of Lords; and the Speaker of the House of Commons, must have been appointed in order to guard, not against breaches of taste, but breaches of privilege in the decorations; the Duke of Sutherland, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Ashburton, Lord Francis Egerton, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr Rogers, are Commissioners because they possess galleries of paintings; Lord Lincoln (not one of the least suitable names) is Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests; Earl of Shrewsbury chairman of committees; the Earl of Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston will see that foreign affairs are properly represented; Lords Melbourne and Colborne, Mr Vivian, Mr Wyse, and Mr Gally Knight, are appointed, we presume, as known connoisseurs; Sir James Graham and Lord John Russell will represent the interests of the Home Office; Mr Hallam's duty will be to see that no historical anachronisms are suffered to creep into any of the historical pictures; Mr Hawes is a Commissioner because he was chairman of the Commons' committee, and Sir Robert Inglis because no Commission or committee is considered to be complete without him.

Before this Commission had been formed, we had entertained the hope that Prince Albert would have been named chief of a Board, consisting at most of three or five individuals possessing the confidence of artists; or, better still, appointed sole Commissioner. We are persuaded the results would have been far more satisfactory than may now be anticipated.

The Sistine Chapel was decorated by direction of Leo X. The great German frescoes are attributable to the King of Bavaria. Why should not Prince Albert alone have directed the decorations of the Westminster Palace? Rank, judgment, knowledge of art, freedom from 'ear-wiggery,' all united to point him out as the fittest choice. There is great truth in what the President of the Royal Academy said, that a minister

would be more acceptable to artists than any commission.—(*Ev., Shee*, 290.) The Prince would have listened to the advice and opinions of judges in art, and his own good taste would have been duly influenced by the best counsel. He would have felt the full responsibility of his task, and there being none to share it with him, he would perhaps in all cases have decided rightly. If he take much interest in the matter now, his colleagues will doubtless give way, and we may have his Royal Highness's sole judgment, whilst the responsibility is shared by all the Commissioners. We have no faith in any Board consisting of more than three persons, and then, perhaps, there are two Commissioners too many. It is impossible to accomplish anything great by a numerous agency. Who would think of fighting a battle with a Council of War, consisting of twenty-three commanding officers, and what single instance can be shown where a fine work of art has been produced by a committee or corporation? Take the Nelson column and the Royal Exchange as two most recent and shining examples of what may be looked for. If we could not have had Prince Albert, we would have been ready to elect Sir Robert Peel as dictator.

We have already said that we regard the constitution of this Commission as a false step, and as likely to prove prejudicial to the best accomplishment of its object. It is impossible to predicate of what character its judgments will be. The real work may devolve on the secretary. Our hope is, that the Prince will thoroughly agree with Mr Eastlake, and that his Royal Highness will (if it be possible) be very obstinate and self-willed.*

* The constitution of Commissions is a question of great practical importance in relation to more than one subject in which they might and ought to be employed. It is said a special Commission is contemplated to report upon the improvements required in the metropolis, in the place of the late committee of Sir Matthew Wood, in which city influence was predominant. It is easy to foresee, that if the Commission to be appointed should consist of a numerous mixed board of noble and parliamentary amateurs, it will be a failure; but if, on the contrary, the undivided responsibility be thrown upon a few of the first civil engineers and architects of the day, a scientific report will then be prepared, deserving the consideration of parliament, and one calculated to put an end to all that jobbing in new streets which has hitherto interfered to a mischievous extent with all public improvements.

At Hamburgh recently, since the fire, an English engineer, Mr Wm. Lindley, was desired to report to the Senate, on a plan for rebuilding the city. The result is, that Sir Christopher Wren's idea, of making the Exchange a grand centre from which the principal streets should radiate, will be realized, and New Hamburgh will be an example of what London might have been if the public interest had not been sacrificed to private and corporate objects.

The Commission has already entered on its duties, and issued the following decree:—

"ROYAL COMMISSION OF FINE ARTS.

"Whitehall, April 25, 1842.

"1. The Commissioners appointed by the Queen for the purpose of inquiring, first, whether on the rebuilding of her Majesty's Palace at Westminster, wherein her Parliament is wont to assemble, advantage might not be taken of the opportunity thereby afforded of promoting and encouraging the fine arts in the United Kingdom; and, secondly, in what manner an object of so much importance might be most effectually promoted, have resolved, that it would be expedient, for the furthering of the objects of their inquiry, that means should in the first place be taken to ascertain whether fresco-painting might be applied with advantage to the decoration of the Houses of Parliament.

"2. Although some years must elapse before the walls of the new buildings can be in a fit state for paintings of any kind, yet, as fresco-painting has not hitherto been much practised in this country, and as, therefore, candidates for employment in that mode of painting, whatever their reputation or general skill may be, will probably find it necessary to make preparatory essays, her Majesty's Commissioners think it expedient that the plan which they have resolved to adopt, in order to decide on the qualifications of such candidates, should be announced forthwith. With this view:—

"Her Majesty's Commissioners hereby give notice—

"3. That three premiums of 300*l.* each, three premiums of 200*l.* each, and five premiums of 100*l.* each, will be given to the artists who shall furnish cartoons which shall respectively be deemed worthy of one or other of the said premiums by judges to be appointed to decide on the relative merit of the works.

"4. The drawings are to be executed in chalk, or in charcoal, or some similar material, but without colours.

"5. The size of the drawings is to be not less than ten nor more than fifteen feet in their longest dimensions; the figures are to be not less than the size of life.

"6. Each artist is at liberty to select his subject from British history, or from the works of Spenser, Shakspeare, or Milton.

"7. The finished drawings are to be sent in the course of the first week in May, 1843, for exhibition, to a place hereafter to be appointed.

"8. Each candidate is required to put a motto or mark on the back of his drawing, and to send, together with his drawing, a sealed letter containing his name and address, and having on the outside of its cover, a motto or mark similar to that at the back of the drawing. The letters belonging to the drawings to which no premium shall have been awarded will be returned unopened.

"9. If a drawing for which a premium shall have been awarded shall have been executed abroad, or shall have been begun before the publication of this notice, the judges appointed to decide on the relative merits of the works may, if they shall think fit, require the artist to execute in this country, and under such conditions as they may think necessary, an additional drawing as a specimen of his ability; and in such case the premium awarded to such artist will not be paid unless his second drawing shall be approved by the judges.

"10. The drawings will be returned to the respective artists.

"11. The competition will be confined to British artists.

"12. The judges hereafter to be appointed to decide on the relative merit of the works, will consist partly of artists.

"13. The competition hereby invited is open to all artists, although it has more immediate reference to fresco-painting.

"14. The claims of candidates for employment in other methods of painting in other departments of art besides historical painting, and in decoration generally, will be duly considered.

"15. Her Majesty's Commissioners will announce at a future period the plan which they may adopt, in order to decide on the merits of candidates for employment as oil painters and as sculptors.

"16. The range of choice in regard to subjects which has been left, in paragraph 6, to the discretion of the artists, has reference to the present competition only, and is not to be understood as applying the adoption of any particular scheme for the decoration of the Houses of Parliament.

"17. The judges to be appointed to decide on the relative merit of the drawings will, it is presumed, be disposed to mark their approbation of works which, with a just conception of the subject, exhibit an attention to those qualities which are more especially the objects of study in a cartoon; namely, precision of drawing founded on a knowledge of the structure of the human figure; a treatment of drapery uniting the imitation of nature with a reference to form, action, and composition; and a style of composition less dependent on chiaroscuro than on effective arrangement.

"By command of the Commissioners
"C. L. EASTLAKE, Secretary."

We trust this invitation to artists is not to be interpreted to mean, that no artists will be employed but those who become competitors. If the competition is merely intended to test the strength of the "silent volcano" of talent of which Mr Haydon boasts, and to bring forth any genius now hidden in obscurity, and still leaves the Commissioners at liberty to employ talent already recognized, though not appearing in the competition, then the proceeding is a very judicious one. If, on the contrary,

artists not competing are to be excluded, then the plan will fail, for we doubt very much whether our first-rate artists will be found among the candidates.

Sir Martin Archer Shee says, and with much truth (*Ev.* 189)—

"Experience has proved, that the means of obtaining a competent tribunal to decide upon the merits of the competitors are not easily to be found in this country; so many difficulties stand in the way, so many obstructions, so many interests to be considered, and so many persons are to be consulted, that I think it is hardly possible to obtain a competent tribunal under any circumstances. Artists of established reputation will not risk that reputation by coming before a tribunal which they do not think competent to decide upon their merits, and which may very materially injure the reputation which they have obtained, by selecting persons of inferior capacity, and incompetent to the object required."

There was no competition in the case of the appointment of Raffaelle to paint the Vatican, nor in the appointment of Michael Angelo.—*Ev.* 202.

The whole worth of the principle of competition depends on obtaining a competent tribunal. "Provided," says Mr Eastlake, "you have competent judges, competition appears to me to be the fairest mode of deciding."—(*Ev.*, 666.) No one will gainsay this opinion for an instant. In the present case, it is not known who are to be the judges, and artists are only told that "they will consist partly of artists." The best artists, of course? Artists who may be among the competitors? The proposal to constitute a tribunal to consist of Prince Albert and Sir Martin Archer Shee, Sir Robert Peel and Mr Eastlake, the Duke of Sutherland and Mr Mulready, even were it untried, would not, we think, inspire artists with much confidence. It would be a stretch of imagination far too visionary to suppose that, in case of any differences of opinion, the views of the artists would be suffered to outweigh those of a prince, a prime minister, and a duke. But the principle *was* tried in the case of the Royal Exchange. The common council sought the advice of Sir Robert Smirke, Mr Gwilt, &c., but Mr Richard Lambert Jones of course carried the day. Power in the west, as well as in the east, will have its own way.

There is a feature in competition in painting, pointed out by Mr Dyce, which must not be overlooked.

"Competition is applicable to sculpture and architecture, because in those arts the work is reproduced mechanically from the artist's model or plan; but in painting this is not the case; and, supposing the painter has been successful in his sketch, it does not follow that his picture will be of equal merit, because it is not reproduced from

the sketch by a mechanical process, but by artistical skill, and this is uncertain."—*Dyce*, 483.

We foresee insuperable difficulties in all stages of the intended proceedings, unless some absolute dictator be appointed; and the sooner we have one acknowledged the better it will be for both the arts and artists. So long as numbers constitute the machinery of action, so long the project will be liable to be shipwrecked on rocks which have been fatal to every similar project almost without exception.*

The announcement that the competition will be confined to British artists, has removed all the apprehensions which have been expressed, that the aid of foreign artists would be called in to decorate the Houses of Parliament. Not French, or Italian, but German artists. The fears raised on the authority of the witness before the committee, who most advocated the employment of foreigners, were rather overrated, we think, and peace must have been comparatively restored to the bosoms of artists, when the champion of the Germans, who is reported to have invited Cornelius to this country, suddenly *apodidrasked*, as the author of 'Crotchet Castle' would say, before his guest arrived.

"The English nation," said Mr Eastlake, "is as much entitled to have a style of its own, and to express its own feelings and national habits, as the German nation. It is impossible to see the frescoes at Munich without knowing that they are the works of a German. This character is even remarkable in Cornelius's subjects from Homer." —*Eastlake*, 624.

It would have been a monstrous injustice to have assumed the incompetency of the English artist because he had not shown his skill in the merely mechanical execution of fresco painting, and to have brought Germans hither to represent English history through a German medium.

Elsewhere the secretary of the Commission says, with truth and great spirit—

"We should dwell on the fact that the arts in England under Henry the Third, in the 13th century, were as much advanced as in Italy itself; that our architecture was even more characteristic and freer from classic influence; that sculpture, to judge from Wells

* "We know, by experience, that when any particular project is set on foot in the arts either of painting or sculpture, all sorts of intrigues are resorted to, and all kinds of engines set in motion, to place the job in the hands of particular individuals; there is no instrument of influence that is not employed for that purpose; and therefore, whoever may be appointed for so important a duty ought to be provided, as far as possible, with the means of counteracting that influence by the opinions of those who are most competent to render him assistance."—*Ev. Shee*, 274.

Cathedral, bid fair to rival the contemporary efforts in Tuscany, and that our painting of the same period might fairly compete with that of Sienna and Florence. Specimens of early English painting were lately to be seen; some very important relics still exist on the walls of the edifices at Westminster. The undertaking now proposed might be the more interesting, since, after a lapse of six centuries, it would renew the same style of decoration on the same spot. The painters employed in the time of Henry the Third were English; their names are preserved."

"Even the question of ability (although that ability is not to be doubted for a moment) is unimportant, for to trust to our own resources should be, under any circumstances, the only course. Ability, if wanting, would of necessity follow. Many may remember the time before the British army had opportunities to distinguish itself, when continental scoffers affected to despise our pretensions to military skill. In the arts, as in arms, discipline, practice, and opportunity are necessary to the acquisition of skill and confidence; in both a beginning is to be made, and want of experience may occasion failure at first; but nothing could lead to failure in both more effectually than the absence of sympathy and moral support on the part of the country. Other nations, it may be observed, think their artists, whatever may be their real claims, the first in the world, and this partiality is unquestionably one of the chief causes of whatever excellence they attain. It is sometimes mortifying to find that foreigners are more just to English artists than the English themselves. Many of our authors who have settled, or occasionally painted, in Italy, Germany, Russia, and even in France, have been highly esteemed and employed. The Germans especially are great admirers of English art, and a picture of Wilkie has long graced the gallery of Munich."

The splendid success which has attended the efforts of the modern German school necessarily demands attention to it, when fresco painting is contemplated in our own country. Yet, with the greatest admiration and respect for the excellences, the fervour, and sincerity, and often great beauty and feeling of German art, we feel bound to say, that it does not appear to us to possess a single characteristic which our own school, if it will act in earnestness, would be unable to match. On the other hand, there is much in German art to be avoided.

The first qualities to be sought for in a picture are its invention and sentiment.* The drawing, the colour, the chiaroscuro, the handling, are all secondary considerations. Why do we esteem Raffaelle? Why did we pay 5,000 guineas to place his Saint Catherine in the National Gallery? Not for its drawing, surely; not as a specimen of masterly colouring; not for any Rembrandtish superiority of light and shade, but for the

purity and excellence of its conception mainly. And though it is ill drawn—(the hands are absolutely defective), and not remarkable for any of these secondary qualities—it is a creation of genius we love and esteem. It is for this godlike quality of invention that the works of the painters antecedent to Raffaelle move us. The defects of the ancients as draughtsmen and colourists are even sometimes painful and ludicrous, yet the charms of their paintings of a far higher caste are what alone we are conscious of. No one thinks at all of the stiff drawing or impossible attitudes of Francias 'Pieta' (No. 180) in the National Gallery, but every one who has a soul feels the elevation of character and sincerity which the painter aimed to express. It is even so with poetry and music. It is not the rapidity of the vibrations, or dexterity in producing them, that makes music. It is not words, or rhythm, or language, which constitutes the poet, but the beauty of the thought in both cases.

It seems to us that the principal mistake of German art has been the adoption of accidental features as fundamental principles. The early painters drew stiffly and imperfectly, because they could not help it. They walked, like infant children, unsteadily, not from an admiration of tottering, but because they were not old enough to walk erect and graceful. The Germans affect stiff attitudes to avoid an imputation of following classical models. They shun the perfection of beauty that they may be original—and graceless. Their exaggeration, use of gold, &c., seems to us altogether wrong. It may be interesting to show what was done, and we willingly make room for the following succinct description given by Mr Wyse to the Committee of the House of Commons of some of the great and interesting works of the German artists.

"In the instance of Munich, fresco-painting has been applied to almost every class of art and every department of history, beginning with the very earliest Greek history, and going down to the history of the present day. In the King's palace, for instance, you meet with illustrations of the 'Iliad,' passages from the Greek and Roman mythologies, from the earlier and later Greek and Roman histories, from the early legends of the Germans, and continued from thence onward, a series of the most important historical events, especially from the history of Bavaria: finally, in the apartments of the Queen particularly, you have illustrations of the most remarkable poets of modern times, but especially of the poets of Germany. Going from the palace to the secondary buildings of Munich, you find one class of art, the early Byzantine, in the Hof Kapelle, or chapel attached to the palace; another style in the Ludwig Kirche, a more recent description, perhaps about the time of Perugino and Raphael; and a still more modern application of the same system in the loggie which are

attached to the Pinakothek. In each of those loggie there is selected for decoration the life of a painter; his portrait forms the centre, and around are small tablets in which the more remarkable periods of his life, or the most distinguished of his works, are introduced; the whole connected with a variety of decorations in the style of his age and of his works, either allusive to his character or his times, and forming, in fact, an illustration in painting characteristic of the particular age, as well as of the individual. The Arcades which surround the English garden are appropriated to another description of art, the illustration of the most remarkable places of history by landscape painting, combined with poetry. One portion of the Arcades is applied to the scenery of Greece, another that of Italy and Sicily; each is accompanied by couplets from the pen of the King underneath; a third portion of the Arcades is allotted to large fresco-paintings illustrative of the history of Bavaria, and underneath each is a short description of the subject. There is thus an opportunity for the display of every description of talent, and every description of knowledge. The effect upon the public at large is equally diversified; the higher class has an opportunity of judging of the propriety of the classic illustrations, while I have seen the peasants of the mountains of Tyrol holding up their children, and explaining to them the scenes of the Bavarian history almost every Sunday. This fact strikingly illustrates an observation I heard from Cornelius himself, that it was a difficult thing to impress upon the mind of a nation at large a general love of art, unless you were to use as an instrument painting upon a large scale, and fresco was particularly suited for this purpose; it was not to be expected that the lower classes of the community should have any just appreciation of the delicacies and finer characteristics of painting in oil, and that they required large and simple forms, very direct action, and in some instances exaggerated expression. [?] These paintings carry down the history of Bavaria to a recent period, and it is the intention of the King to leave sufficient space for those who are to come after him. Pictorial decoration is introduced so universally in Munich, that it is to be found applied even to the Post office, and to the bureau or department from which post-horses are furnished; you see upon the walls of the Post office figures from the Etruscan vases, illustrative of the different manner of managing horses amongst the ancients. The theatre also is externally painted; in a word, there is scarcely a place in Munich in which decoration is not introduced.

"It has been found that the encouragement of fresco-painting has led to a parallel encouragement in other branches of art; for instance, to the introduction of encaustic painting, which is quite new in Germany, though practised for about half a century in Rome. The advantages of encaustic painting are greater brilliancy and greater durability. Under the direction of the King, a series of landscapes are in the course of execution for the decoration of the Arcades. A

branch of art also little known till lately at Munich, is porcelain painting; it has reached a high degree of excellence, emulating, if not surpassing, in many particulars, the other celebrated manufactures of Europe. This also is a royal establishment, but it is open to purchase on the part of the public, and at no very considerable rate. The King has ordered the best of the statues of the Glyptothek to be copied, a subject to each plate, and also the principal paintings of the Pinakothek, for a dessert service. I had an opportunity of seeing them more than once, and they, particularly the sculptural, are not to be equalled in Germany for the delicacy and accuracy of drawing, and for the fineness of execution. Another branch, which is perhaps now the most eminent of the kind in Europe, is the painting on glass; this branch has owed much, perhaps all, its present excellence, to the encouragement of an individual—to the Chevalier de Boisserée; the collection of glass paintings which he has had executed for himself and for some of his friends, from the early paintings of the German school, rival in brilliancy any of the ancient glass painting in Europe, and are much more carefully executed, and with greater detail, than any we can boast of in our own cathedrals.

"There is at present a considerable demand for it in Munich, the King having applied it to the decoration of the New Church, the Au, and having recommended to his nobility (a recommendation followed in some instances) to present windows or some portion of windows, from the manufactory to this church or others, with which they might be connected . . . . One of the greatest encouragements which the King has given to this application of art has been the commission he has given for a series of statues, in the character of the statues which are to be seen in the Cathedral of Inspruck,* for the decoration of his own palace; they are intended to form a line between the pillars which support the great Presence Hall, illustrative of the great heroes of the early Bavarian history. I saw four which had been just completed; they were of very colossal size, treated with the greatest truth and accuracy of costume—of a precision in the execution which might and will rival the most skilful productions of the early German school; they are gilt, and when the whole series stand in the places allotted for them, they will form a very brilliant accompaniment to the Hall of Audience."

It will be some years before our Post office is decorated, as at Munich, with equestrian figures from the Etruscan vases; yet it is not visionary to expect as great results in our own country, if the same favourable opportunities be given the arts as they have had under the King of Bavaria.

The Commissioners contemplate, in their announcement, a universal system of decoration, as respects pictures, not only in fresco, but in oils. The use of fresco we believe to be almost, if

* The latter were placed there by Maximilian.

not quite, a novelty in this country. The old paintings usually termed such, which are to be found on the walls of our cathedrals and churches, would be more correctly termed "tempera," or paintings in distemper. Those in Westminster Abbey and in the Westminster Chapter House appear to have been executed on the wall itself rather than on plaster, and were probably laid on by a medium of the white of eggs. Such, too, seems to be the case at Rochester, where we recently examined some remnants of paintings brought to light in that cathedral. For the decoration of large surfaces* fresco is far more suitable than oil painting. Whatever the size of the painting, whatever the situation or light, natural or artificial, fresco is equally well seen in all points of view. A large oil painting can only be viewed in fragments, as any one may judge for himself from the specimens on the staircases and ceilings at the British Museum and Hampton Court, and Rubens' ceilings in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall; besides which, fresco may be made far more subservient to the general effects of architecture than oil, and will far more nearly represent the effects of old English decoration—

> "Hanging about their walles
> Clothes of gold and palles,
> Arras of ryche arraye,
> Fresh as floures in May"

—than oils. Another reason for desiring its use is, that its general effect is much lighter than that of oil, which is an important consideration in a climate like our own, where half the year the daylight is dull and gloomy. A story is current that a noble Commissioner, desirous of ascertaining the respective merits of oil and fresco, with the view of making a decision in favour of the one or other, said to Mr Eastlake, "Pray, Mr East-

* Mr Barry reckons the superficies of the different portions of the building which could be appropriated to painting, and the number of positions or places in which sculpture could be placed, to be as follows:—

In Westminster Hall	6,160 feet.
In St Stephen's Hall	3,000 ,,
In Royal Gallery	2,140 ,,
In Queen's Robing room	1,168 ,,
In lower corridors	5,072 ,,
In House of Lords	1,800 ,,
In House of Commons	1,260 ,,
In corridors of central saloons	1,325 ,,
In Conference Hall	1,340 ,,
In lobbies of House of Lords	1,036 ,,
In lobby of House of Commons	1,260 ,,
In Committee rooms	25,350 ,,
In upper corridors	5,072 ,,

lake, before you tell me anything else about fresco and oil, tell me which is the lightest in effect."—"Fresco undoubtedly," was the answer. "You need not trouble yourself to relate other differences. I am all for fresco." There is much sense in this decision, though no great amount of knowledge. It may be doubted, however, whether the noble investigator is behind the majority of his coadjutors in his information on the subject.

But it is chiefly because fresco is the medium in which the greatest works of the greatest painters have been executed, and because it exacts a more rigid and inviolable adherence to the highest and primary qualities of the art—elevation of character, grandeur of design, and correct drawing—than oil painting, that we rejoice in its employment. Without such qualities, fresco entirely fails; with them, it takes the first position in pictorial art. In fresco painting, what is to be done must be done, once for all, correctly; there is no remedy for errors. In oils, you may touch and retouch until you reach your standard of perfection. Michael Angelo used to say oil-painting was only fit for women and children. We quite agree with those who say fresco would encourage art more than oil, simply because fresco demands implicit obedience to the grandest attributes of art. At the same time we are glad that oil painting is not to be neglected, or we might lose the services of some of the best of our artists, especially the older ones, who might be indisposed to the drudgery involved in the mechanical execution of fresco. Not to the higher branches of painting only, but to the ornamental arts generally, the present opportunity will give a welcome and useful encouragement. We know it to have been an essential feature not only of the architecture of the middle ages, but of that of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, to employ colour in the decoration of buildings.

"There is no question," says Mr Barry, "that, from the earliest periods, as in the temples of Egypt and Greece, public buildings were painted to a very considerable extent; that is the case with the Parthenon, and other temples of the Greeks."

"The temple of Theseus, at Athens, was (according to Pausanias) decorated with paintings; so was the Poicile Stoa, and so was a chamber, or gallery, in one wing of the Propylæum; this species of decoration was therefore employed by the Greeks both in civil and religious edifices. Among the Egyptian remains, the halls, as well as the temples, were embroidered over externally and internally with both paintings and sculpture. We read of paintings in the temple at Ephesus, and since the very pillars there were the work of Sopas, it is to be presumed that their shafts, or capitals, exhibited something more than mere architectural details. In the baths of Titus, masterpieces, both of sculpture and painting, have been found, and both enter into the decoration of the public edifices at Herculaneum

and Pompeii. Pausanias specifies the subjects in the temple of Theseus, and I think in the Propylæum also, and they are historical subjects. In the early Christian buildings, the Basilicas for instance, paintings and mosaic were much employed, and rude efforts of sculpture; afterwards, from the very first revival of the arts, it was the case all over Italy. I would instance the great town hall at Padua, which is painted by Giotto, the council-chamber and chapel, painted about the same period, at Sienna, and the church at Assisi, where the whole vaulting and walls are covered over with historical and legendary subjects, the work of Cimabue and his successors in the art. At Orvieto and St Mark's, in Venice, the decoration in colours is not even confined to the interior; large portions of the exterior façade being occupied by historical subjects in mosaic."—*Ev., W. J. Bankes*, 700.

"In Etruria, we know, from the remains that are continually being opened, that tombs were painted, and probably the dwellings were also. In Egypt, we have abundance of evidence of the same taste in the temples and pyramids; and in Rome, it is exemplified in Pompeii and Herculaneum, and the baths of Titus. Descending to the days of the decline and fall of art, the system of painting, as aiding architecture, was exhibited in mosaic and other modes; the system of painting in the Basilicas was essentially in mosaic. If we carry our observation to the period of the Goths in Italy, to the time of Theodoric, we have evidence of it in Ravenna, where we find paintings, both in mosaic and fresco, in many buildings of that date. It is observable again, when Byzantine art prevailed, and wherever the Greek church existed, even down to the present day, as in Russia, where the use of painting was so general, that it has frequently led to the suppression of architectural mouldings and ornaments in relief. Instances of this are found in the cathedrals of Moscow and Novogorod; in fact, it distinguishes the Greek church wherever I have seen it. In the middle ages, I think it is general. To instance England only, we have a host of examples of buildings where colour was used as subservient to architecture. There are Salisbury, Canterbury, Rochester, Durham, Carlisle, and Winchester cathedrals, and Tewkesbury church, Barfreston in Kent, Hengrave in Sussex, and New Shoreham, and Preston. In the building we are now in, there were St Stephen's chapel and the Painted Chamber. Zaher, Semper, and Klügel, and other Germans, have published works proving that it was used at Athens, and perhaps in all the great temples of Greece. Mr Fellowes' researches in Asia Minor have brought to light sculpture at Myra, in Lycia, entirely coloured. Some others in the middle ages are the Campo Santa, at Pisa. At Palermo, the Royal Chapel, the cathedral of Cordova, and the palace of Alhambra, in Granada."—*Vivian*, 506.

The absence of colour in architecture is but a modern barbarism, scarcely two centuries old, for which we are indebted partly to the Reformation, and partly to the Puritans. Mr Barry

is one of the first of our modern architects who has had the good taste to return to the "wisdom of our ancestors." His experiments in the Reform Club are altogether laudable and well directed, though not invariably successful. Here, however, he was left almost to his own invention. In the decoration of the Houses of Parliament, abundant examples of the particular modes of employing colour, and of the particular colours employed in Gothic architecture, may be found to guide him; and, as far as we can judge from his drawings in the present exhibition of the Royal Academy (Nos. 1,030 and 40), his intentions appear to be in a right direction; not stopping short with the employment of pictures only, but carrying the decorations through every detail of the structure. Like the builders of olden time, he will employ men who can "grave, groupe, or carve, are sotyll in their fantasye, good devysors, marveylous of castinge, imageours in entayle, and portreyours who can paynt the work with fresh hewes." There is no style of architecture which admits of so profuse a use of ornament as that we call the "decorated English;"—without ornament it loses half its characteristics,

"THE ROOF of the chamber with golden cherubim is fretted."

"The FLORE and BENCH is pavyd faire and smoothe
With stones square, of manie *divers hewe*,
So wel joyned, that for to say the sothe
Al semed one, that none the other knewe."

"On the WALS old portraiteur
Of horsmen, hawkes, and houndis,
And hart dire all ful of woundis."

"All the WYNDOWES and ech fenestrall,
Wrought are with beryll and of clere crystall."

So sing our great poets, Chaucer and Shakspere.

The artist in stone, and wood, and metal, will have an opportunity of proving himself worthy of the occasion, which he has not had for three hundred years. Perhaps the utmost we can hope for is, that he should successfully follow ancient precedents. In the present state of our skill, especially for works in wood and metal, he cannot do better. It is a problem to be solved whether we have invention and judgment enough to insure improvements. Judging from the poverty of taste displayed in our metal manufactures, we should say decidedly that we have not.*

* Even our gates, of which so much boast is made, cannot be compared with the metal work of three centuries ago, as any one may see if he will examine the gates of Henry the VIIth's Chapel, at Westminster, or even of a century and a half, if he will inspect William the IIIrd's gates and railings at Hampton Court. The gates of the Triumphal Arch at the Green Park are heavy Brummagem work in comparison.

An agency—what shall we call it—aristocratic or democratic?—has been appointed to employ the opportunity for promoting the arts for the first time since the Reformation. The church, before that event, were the custodes and directors of the arts. Architecture, sculpture, decoration, music, learning, were almost exclusively exercised and controlled by it. When the old church was prostrated, the arts sustained a shock they have never recovered. The new church repudiated the charge of them, how foolishly for its own influence, and for the sake of its flock, we need not stay to inquire here; and no agency representing, as it were, the national will and wants, arose in its place. When people complain of the state of our arts, let them ask themselves, where has there been encouragement for them, except from individuals? How was it possible to have large paintings of sacred or profane history, if there were no places to hang them in? The churches refused to have them,* and what other public buildings were there to receive them? How could it be expected that a private individual should buy a picture, 20 feet long, to keep it rolled up? Occasionally an enthusiast, like Barry, sought to conquer this state of things; he painted historical pictures and—starved. We have no great historical pictures, not because there are no competent artists, but because no one will have the pictures when painted. We doubt much if we shall ever have great paintings of religious subjects executed with the earnestness and feeling of the old masters. Sad to say, there is no earnestness and feeling to be stimulated in such a direction now-a-days, or any chance of it, that we can foresee. We may have great pictures, however, on other than religious subjects—on subjects touching our patriotism (we have a little still left); our

* Towards the end of the last century, a proposal was made to the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's to decorate that cathedral with pictures. "The Dean and Chapter," wrote Barry to the Duke of Richmond, "have agreed to leave the ornamenting of St Paul's to the Academy, and it now rests with us to give permission to such painters as we shall think qualified to execute historical pictures of a certain size, I believe from fifteen to twenty feet high." Barry himself was to have painted 'The Jews rejecting Christ when Pilate sought to release him.' The Bishop of London, however, preferred the white-washed walls, and the project was never realised. We fear the present bishop is no wiser than his predecessor. As apropos to this subject of decoration and historical painting, our readers may be reminded that the grandest attempts of modern times are the works of Barry, which may be seen any day of the week except Wednesday gratuitously, upon application at the rooms of the Society of Arts in the Adelphi. The walls of the Council Room are hung with six very large paintings, representing the progress of civilization. The figures are beyond the size of life. Though by no means faultless, they are really grand and impressive works, to be seen often and admiringly.

domestic associations (which, thank God, have rather increased); our poetry; our history. We entertain no doubt of our artists' ability to produce great pictures, equal to any coming from modern Germans, or French, or Italians. Have we not beaten them all, and the old masters together, in the class of pictures we have most wanted—cabinet pictures of domestic subjects? Where is there a rival to Wilkie in his early paintings?* The faith of

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* Since the above was written, a rare opportunity has occurred whereby the accuracy of our opinion may be tested. In the summer exhibition of the old masters at the British Institution, which is now open, two out of the three rooms are hung with Wilkie's works, painted during forty years of his career. Wilkie was born in 1785, and the earliest work here exhibited was painted in 1802, in his seventeenth year. Looking at this picture, 'A subject from Burns's poem of the Vision,' (No. 114), and his 'Chelsea Pensioners,' it is almost incredible that they should have been painted by the same artist. In the first, the young painter has represented most literally "a tight outlandish hizzie," as the Scottish muse.

> "Green, slender, leaf-clad, holly boughs,
> Are twisted gracefu' round her brows;
> * * * * *
> Down flow'd her robe a tartan sheen,
> * * * * *
> Her mantle large, o' greenish hue."

Crowning the poet Burns—

> "'And wear thou this,' she solemn said,
> And bound the holly round my head;
> The polish'd leaves and berries red,
> Did rustling play."

And the poet seems to feel the awkwardness of his situation. The drawing of all the figures is stiff, and bad, and graceless. There is nothing of promise in the conception. The colouring is very intense and hard, and the painting is one of the least genius-like productions we ever saw. Yet it has great interest as one of the earliest works of this great painter, and as showing that an unpromising beginning is no safe criterion of future splendid triumphs: we should like to see this picture placed even in our National Gallery, side by side with the 'Chelsea Pensioners.' A complete history of the progress of Wilkie's mind may be read in his works now in this exhibition. We trace the artist's advances, year by year, in knowledge and mastery of colour, in freedom and grace in drawing, in strength and facility of creative power, until he reached his climax in the 'Chelsea Pensioners;' after which period he ceased to rest upon his own resources, became an imitator, first of one style, then another—a fashionable portrait painter, and then, as we presume to think, altogether declined. Three years after his 'Burns,' he produced the 'Village Politicians,' the sketch of which is here (No. 52). In 1806, came the 'Blind Fiddler,' which is in the National Gallery, and 'Alfred in the Neatherd's Cottage', (No. 124). The best picture of the following year is the 'Rent Day.' The story is perfectly told; the expression of every figure exceedingly fine. We thoroughly understand all that is going on. We can almost hear the dialogue between the steward and the farmer, who is claiming certain allowances.

our artists is strong and pure in the sentiments of "home" and fire-side scenes, just as the faith of the old masters was in the church for which they painted. Both have succeeded in their respective callings.

"In order," says Mr Eastlake, "to have a fine work of art, you must have the hearts of the artists in the cause, and I cannot answer

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Wilkie had not reached his perfection in colouring at this time, nor his subsequent skill in grouping. The colouring in this picture is cold, and heavy, and monotonous, especially in the back part of the picture. The 'Card Players' (48), and the 'Sick Chamber,' appear as his works of 1808. In both we see the effects of his study of the Dutch painters, especially Jan Steen and Mieris, hardly rivalling them as a colourist and in execution, but even now surpassing them in felicity of expression. About this period, continuing to improve in the representation of character, he superadded more excellence and gracefulness of drawing and composition. The 'Village Festival,' in the National Gallery (a finished sketch is in the British Institution) (No. 24), the 'Blind Man's Buff' (No. 15), are examples of this. The 'Distraining for Rent,' which most perfectly tells its story, and the character of every actor in the scene, was painted in 1815. You may rest an hour before it, and sympathise with every face, until you become possessed with the scene, and are tempted to put in your word of comfort to the afflicted, and remonstrance to the distrainer. Amongst the pictures of 1817, the 'Landscape with Sheep-washing' (125) is remarkable for Wilkie's success in another department of art. The 'Penny Wedding' (No. 11) was the best picture of the next year. The 'Reading of the Will' (21), still more successful than the last, was painted in 1820. But the climax of all his works, in which he united all his excellences of story, character, composition, truth to nature, with a still greater originality of treatment, appears to us to be the 'Chelsea Pensioners reading the Gazette of the Battle of Waterloo.' The vividness and variety of the expressions, all conducive to telling the tale, are quite wonderful, and seem to us unequalled by any other painting, ancient or modern. Given the subject, we only say, show the picture, which is equally successful in all its features. We are not comparing it with pictures the sentiment of which is much more elevated, as respects the subject. It is not the 'Last Judgment,' or the 'Transfiguration,' but as realising the artist's conception (a much easier one, certainly, than the two last named), it seems to us to have a success beyond them. From this period Wilkie (sated with his conquests in his own line) ceased to be an original painter. He went to Rome, chose foreign subjects, and imitated the style and colour of the great Italian painters. His drawing became less precise, and his execution much less finished. The 'Confessional' (No, 57), the 'Pifferari, with Pilgrims playing Hymns to the Madonna' (No. 108), and the 'Princess Doria washing the Pilgrims' Feet' (No. 113), illustrate the changes which had now taken place. From Italy he went to Spain, and still more for the worse in all respects. Not that we deny the great merits of his Spanish pictures, the 'Guerillas,' or his 'Columbus' (No. 18); and the 'John Knox Preaching' (No. 10), painted in 1832, is undoubtedly a first-rate work, but—but is not Wilkie as we had learned to love him. Wilkie had become much sought after, and he was not altogether above reckoning the value of his "siller." After the fashion of the painters of the Spanish school, he could earn ten times as much as when he painted but a single picture in a year. Commissions

for the school generally; but I can answer most safely for their abilities, if they chose to undertake such a work."—*Eastlake*, 601.

The decoration of the great Parliament House in the metropolis will, no doubt, prompt the little Parliament Houses in the country, the town halls, to follow the example. Good it will be for art and public taste if it be so. Perhaps the effect may not be lost on churches and chapels. There is one section of the church ready to have pictures.

Let us not conclude without recommending to the royal commission a virtue which the King of Bavaria is said to possess:—"He has one merit which kings in general have not; that is, he is not in a hurry; he gives you time, which is essential to the execution of grand works." H. C.

ART. IX.—1. *Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur, depuis la Réunion des Etats Généraux jusqu'au Consulat.* Paris, 1840-1841.

2. *Histoire-Musée de la République Française* (1787 *à* 1804). Par Augustin Challamel. Avec Gravures, Médailles, Costumes, Desseins de Mœurs, Portraites Historiés, et Fac Simile d'Autographies. Paris, 1841.

THE reprint of the 'Moniteur,' which is now before us, so far as yet published, contains the entire sittings of the first, or Constituent Assembly, and those of the third, or National Con-

multiplied, and fashionable folks so wanted their portraits. He sacrificed his art to his 'auri sacra fames.' He painted portraits, which we hear are esteemed. They do not appear to us to be first-rate, and rarely successful likenesses. There are many in the British Institution. With the Queen and the Duke of Wellington he seems to have eminently failed, and to be inferior to other painters not worthy to hold a rushlight to him. We do not think art has lost much by the incompletion of his Jerusalem labours. If we may judge from his sketches, especially those in which Christ is introduced, we think it quite as well they should not have been painted. It seems a singular mistake to have hoped to compete with the old inspired painters of such subjects, by introducing ruins of mosques, &c. All these sketches have a more melodramatic character than any tinge of sublimity.

Wilkie is said to have spared no pains to perfect his early pictures, dressing up models, &c. The sketches of his best pictures show the fact as stated. We think the interest of this exhibition would have been much greater if the pictures had been hung as nearly as possible in chronological order. We cannot end this notice with other than an expression of admiration, so we will revert to his finest painting; and we advise every visitor to do the same, and leave the Gallery with his impressions fresh of the 'Chelsea Pensioners.'

vention, to September, 1793; that is to say, for the year succeeding the massacres of September, 1792, and comprising the trial of the King, the fall of the Gironde, and the outbreaking of the war in La Vendée. The intermediate period of the second, or Legislative Assembly, is not yet re-published. The reader, therefore, at once jumps from the first, as it were, to the last acts of the drama—from an epoch, although disorderly, in which intelligence still held influence and liberty of speech, and the press was still, in the main, respected—to an epoch at which neither one nor the other was exercised with impunity; but, in stead, had arisen the most extraordinary licence that the world ever saw—the unlimited licence of denunciation at will, and condemnation on suspicion—the public administration of a great empire on the sole principles of proscription and confiscation.

The successive stages by which France succumbed to the sway of the Paris populace constitute the successive chapters of French Revolution history, the materials of which now present themselves stereotyped in the pages of the 'Moniteur.' How it was possible that such a sway should establish itself over a great nation, and what were its characteristics when it did establish itself—what were the active causes, or passive accessaries, of such a consummation—what is the rational explanation of the fatal necessity on which so many writers have been content to throw the burthen of those times,—these are questions which cannot but be asked with increasing earnestness, in proportion as distance of time, while it dwarfs the details, swells the magnitude of the main outlines.

It is a favourite commonplace among the moral essayists on the subject, that the dissoluteness which prevailed under the old regime required this expiation. It is said there was no possible milder purgatory from the stains of the Regency and of Louis XV! Modern communities must tremble to admit this solution. There is no doubt that the court was licentious, as all courts of absolute sovereigns are. The vices of Louis had sunk him personally to the lowest depth of degradation, and he had dragged the court down to his level by forcing a Du Barry on its reception. But it may fairly be questioned whether the upper classes in France generally were worse—whether they were not, in many points, better—than in preceding ages. Philanthropy was the character of the times, or at least its fashion; and where doctrines friendly to humanity are in the fashion, they must be more or less in the character. The age which witnessed the twelve years provincial *intendance* of Turgot, and which saw that statesman elevated to power simply by the fame of his virtues, cannot have been quite irredeemable

from depravity but by ruin. The age which witnessed the conversion of so many parents to domestic duties by Rousseau's educational writings (whatever was his extravagance in some points), cannot have been sunk in selfishness so excessive as to require the excess of misery to raise it. We do not question that providential ends were answered by the violence of the Revolution,* but we dislike the presumption of deciding that nothing but its infliction could expiate the vices of times, of whose general viciousness we have really no very extraordinary proofs; and, as regards the body of the middle and industrious classes, no proof at all; indeed, it is probable that the manners of those classes were simpler than they are now. The description given by Arthur Young, a good observer of French character, as it appeared just before the outbreaking of the first Revolution, conveys the impression of much mildness and amiability in the higher and middle classes; and the deficiency seems to have been not in the charities but the energies of practical life. Some of the traits of domestic manners are quite incompatible with a bad general character.†

* If the tone of the present article should appear too anti-revolutionary, the writer can only ask, in the words of a recent pamphlet on French politics, "Ne serait il pas temps enfin que l'on sut distinguer entre les *Anti-Révolutionnaires* et les *Contre-Révolutionnaires?*" It is possible to have no partiality for the illusions prevalent at such epochs, yet to value whatever social good has been realized in the ultimate event.

† Some of the hotels in Paris are immense in size, from a circumstance which would give one a good opinion of the people, if nothing else did, which is the great mixture of families. When the eldest son marries, he brings his wife home to the house of his father, where there is an apartment provided for them; and if a daughter does not wed an eldest son, her husband is also received into the family in the same way, which makes a joyous number at every table. This cannot altogether be attributed to economical motives, though they certainly influence in many cases, because it is found in families possessing the first properties in the kingdom. Nothing but good humour can render such a jumble of families agreeable, or even tolerable. In dress they have given the *ton* to all Europe for more than a century; but this is not among any but the highest rank an object of such expense as in England, where the mass of mankind wear much better things (to use the language of common conversation) than in France: this struck us more amongst ladies, who, on an average of all ranks, do not dress at one-half the expense of Englishwomen. Volatility and changeableness are attributed to the French as national characteristics, but, in the case of dress, with the grossest exaggeration. Fashions change with ten times more rapidity in England, in form, colour, and assemblage; the vicissitudes of every part of dress are fantastic with us. I see little of this in France; and to instance the mode of dressing the gentlemen's hair, while it has varied five times at London, it has remained the same at Paris. Nothing contributes more to make them a happy people than the cheerful and facile pliancy of disposition with which they adapt themselves to the circumstances

There is not more ground for ascribing general profligacy to the clergy than to any other class. We must not take clerical courtiers and Parisian abbés for specimens of their whole order. From the way in which some have talked of the clergy of France in the eighteenth century, one might have thought that every dignitary was a Cardinal Dubois, or a Bernis at best, or that the habits of the order at large had relapsed to those of the thirteenth century, when it was deemed necessary to prohibit the clergy from parading their concubines in public, the monasteries and cathedrals resounded with contests arising out of games of hazard, cock-fighting was the least indecent diversion of holy clerks, and a frequent one was the mock administering of the sacraments of the church to animals. Sometimes they preferred the pleasures of the chase with their hawks and hounds, and the pleasures of the table were of course the most duly provided for. The cooks of the Abbey of St Denis had invented twenty sauces for turbot. In the more advanced opinions and manners of the eighteenth century, no such scandals prevailed as in the old times before reformers and philosophers. The majority of the bishops were piously devoted to the duties of their station, and the lower, or working clergy (*le bas clergé*, as it was latterly stigmatised), maintained religious sentiments in the mass of the people by instruction and example. Yet a good deal of scandal certainly was caused by the clergy about the court, by the enormous revenues of some great ecclesiastical dignitaries, and their profane use of them. Still more offence was given to the philosophic tendencies of the age by the obtrusive bigotry of the clergy in their contests with the parliaments and public opinion. But the popular part of the quarrel with the clergy was, in fact, a quarrel with tithes.*

The most ordinary way of accounting for the violence of the French Revolution is, by ascribing it to the refusal or delay of

of life: this they possess much more than the high and volatile spirits which have been attributed to them. One excellent consequence is, a greater exemption from the extravagance of living beyond their fortunes than is met with in England. In the highest ranks of life, there are instances of this in all countries; but where one gentleman of small property in the provinces of France runs out his fortune, there are ten such in England that do it."—*Travels in France.*

* On connait la réponse d'un laboureur normand à son curé. Celui-ci, voyant qu'il n'ensemençait son champ que de pois et autres légumes non sujets à la dime, lui disait: Maitre Pierre, si vous vouliez épierrer ce champ, y mettre du fumier, et y donner deux labours, vous pourriez y semer du froment.—Vous avez raison, monsieur le curé, lui répondit le rusé paysan, et si vous voulez faire á mon champ tout ce que vous dites là, je ne vous en demanderai que la dîme.—*Moniteur*.

reforms in the abuses of the old regime. When this is vaguely and generally stated, it it not only true, but a truism. Of course, there would be no revolutions if there were no abuses; and no violence, if no bad government had fomented bad humours and habits. But what is predicable of every revolution in history cannot go far in explaining what is peculiar in this Revolution—its particular character and occurrence at a particular time, and —what forms its most striking feature—the entire contrast between the apparent public feeling and opinion which preceded and which followed its outbreaking.

Necker, who was a much better political writer than political minister, has the following just remarks on the supposed inevitable occurrence of revolution.*

"I really do not know at what great epoch of history it would not have been easy to represent a great national insurrection as an inevitable consequence of anterior events. After the era of feudal government, it might have been said that the people, justly irritated by its long servitude, might be expected to resume all its energy, and give the law in its turn. After the crusades, it might have been said, that the people, tired of the sacrifices which the preaching of the monks had imposed upon it, was likely to have shaken off the yoke of the church, and burst through even the restraints of religious opinions. After the fatal consequences of the madness of Charles VI, after the call of the English into the heart of the country, it might have been said that this same people must feel the immensity of the hazards to which the hereditary transmission of the throne and the crown exposed it. After the civil wars of which France was the theatre under the reign of the last Valois, it might have been said that the nation could not have failed to recognise all the dangers attached to the institution of royalty—to that single and supreme rank which kept up everlasting contentions between men ambitious to arrive at command. Finally, after the state of exhaustion of men and of money in which the kingdom found itself at the death of Louis XIV, it might have been said, in like manner, that a national revolution must necessarily follow as a consequence of the vain-glorious projects of a monarch exclusively engrossed in self, and who had sacrificed the wealth and the happiness of his people to the desire of elevating one more of his family to the rank of king. Yes; after all these events, it requires but a small share of ability to ferret out an inevitable cause of the present in the past."

Recognising, of course, the existing abuses as sources of discontent, and therefore of danger to the institutions with which they were found in connexion, we do not yet find those abuses the immediate cause of the social catastrophe. That catastrophe we refer partly to the moral feebleness of Louis

* Necker—'De la Revolution Française.'

XVI's government, and partly to the growing excitability and sanguine illusions of public sentiment, for we can hardly yet call it public opinion. Certainly the most melancholy contrast ever experienced by a nation was that between the golden age of hope before 1789 and the iron age of unforeseen realities following.

"Nobody conceived it possible," says the excellent historian of the reign of Louis XVI,* "to overthrow a monarchy whose foundation centuries had consolidated, and whose stability seemed secured by such military, administrative, and judicial forces. The inferior classes alone, it was said, can produce formidable convulsions in states; these classes do not read, and by consequence do not feel the influence of such errors as may be scattered in books. This reasoning was fallacious; since from mouth to mouth, from one channel to another, ideas diffused in the higher classes are sure to descend, with more or less of alloy, to the lowest ranks. A remark which to us appears so simple, nevertheless did not strike even sound thinkers, so great an interval at that time divided the men who amused their leisure by reading and the men devoted to hard labours. There was the less fear, at that time, of political tempests, as reformers did not wish for a violent revolution. According to them, the great and the rich, in the progress of reason, would soon understand their interest better, and diffuse happiness through the whole of society. Finally, if certain writings were distinguished by ardent declamation, the security of the reader was in no degree troubled. Without feeling any alarm, he discussed the merits of style, or enjoyed the emotions excited by bold ideas energetically expressed." —"A sort of effervescence," says the same writer, "tempered by French gaiety, diffused itself, especially in the elevated ranks of society. A singular ardour began to show itself in seeking for new sensations—sometimes in lively and spirited attacks against public abuses—sometimes in enthusiasm for pretended discoveries announced to public credulity."

It was not an unreserved adoption of every dictate of the spirit of those times which could have saved France from the then unforeseen rage of a violent revolution. Indeed, it is difficult to believe that this was the one thing needful, when we consider that the Revolution was, in fact, produced by the spirit of those times—times utterly ignorant and utterly careless of the essential conditions of the continuity of national life, and social institutions of any kind. We do not mean to charge the popular writers and reasoners only with that ignorance. It was the character of despotism before it became that of Jacobinism. Much has been said, for instance, and justly, against the precipitate and arbitrary abolition of all the old provincial rights and usages at

* M. Droz.

the Revolution. But, after all, in what state did the Revolution find those provinces? There was certainly a good deal of life and energy still stirring here and there; and had a wise minister, such as Turgot, been suffered to carry out his intentions, a due degree of provincial freedom and independence would have been organised, and local rights and liberties would not have been found in so helpless a condition from their isolated character, and antiquated and abusive appendages.

There were abundant tendencies to exaggeration and error in the spirit of the times; fully as many active minds overshot the right mark as hit it; and failing all practical acquaintance on the part of the people with the working of free institutions, what was wanted was a royal dictatorship for national purposes —a king who would have said, though he said it for the last time, *L'etat c'est moi*—in order to the enforcement of such changes as the change of times called for, and the foundation of such popular institutions as could consist with monarchy. The vigorous maintenance and exertion of the royal authority was the keystone of all social order and safe reformation in old France, and afforded adequate means of securing both to the King, had he but been aware of the secret of his own strength, as the then universally recognised representative of permanent national interests.

Besenval, in his Memoirs, talks of "the state of contempt into which the *grands seigneurs* had fallen by their enormous and revolting rapacity—by the depredations they carry on at the head of the royal household. It has reached such a point, that assuredly these men are not to be feared, and their opinion does not deserve to be taken into account in any political speculation."

Louis XVI wished sincerely to put an end to this preying on the public, and never king was more conscientiously sparing of all personal expense. He sought to spare the resources of his people, as he sought to spare their blood; and, alas! in both points his self-sacrifices were to equally little purpose! "*Je vois bien qu'il n'ya ici que M. Turgot et moi qui aimions le peuple,*" said poor Louis. Unfortunate!—in that his cramped education, and unnerved will, had not enabled him to know, and act on the knowledge, that he and his minister could crush all resistance, and do whatever the body of the people felt was done in their cause.

It is difficult to explain, by anything short of judicial infatuation, the strange contradiction between the enthusiastic encouragement given to republicanism by the court and the upper classes, and the aggravated enforcement of the most offensive pretensions of caste in favour of those classes, and against the great

body of intelligence, and of monied and active wealth, in the nation. The court circles brought the doctrines of freedom in fashion, and then provoked the *bourgeoisie* to apply those doctrines against themselves. On Lafayette's return from America, the Queen conducted Madame de Lafayette in her own carriage to the Hotel de Noailles, where the general had arrived. It was understood that her Majesty, with her own hand, had copied some verses which the public applause had applied to the young hero in the drama of 'Gaston et Bayard.' The parliament of Paris wanted to make him an honorary member. French officers wore with pride the American order of Cincinnatus; and at this very time, when republicanism was aped as *supreme bon ton*, when the government had sent forces to support liberty and equality in America, an *ordonnance* was issued (1781) to prohibit the future admission to the rank of officers in the French army of any persons who could not prove their nobility for four descents! The grade of officers had already been reserved to the nobles; but a certificate signed by four of the order had hitherto been sufficient, and an understanding had taken place that it was enough to be a person *vivant noblement*—that is to say, to possess respectable means and a liberal education. Whereupon the tribe of big and little nobles represented to Louis XVI that they had no other career to follow than that of arms (being proud and idle), and found that career blocked up with *roturiers* and *parvenus*. It may be doubted whether any act so powerfully tended to throw the most active and rising classes in the country on the side of revolution. No aristocracy can be safe in whose interests there is no mixture with those of commoners. The King's service, the grand object of young ambition, could now be only entered as common soldiers by the sons of the vigorous middle classes, who had frequently brought into its ranks new blood and new pledges of loyalty. An infusion so useful was stopped by the *ordonnance* of 1781; and though non-commissioned officers had still a chance of rising as soldiers of fortune, they too regarded the *ordonnance* as an insult of the nobles to their order, which, it cannot be doubted, greatly influenced their conduct seven years afterwards. When we couple this circumstance with the impolitic importation of Prussian discipline, which was utterly repugnant to French notions and feelings of martial honour, we shall not be surprised at the spirit of disaffection which spread in the army. Saint Germain, who, in the first years of Louis XVI's reign, had been rummaged out of a corner to be made into a Minister of War, much as Sir Francis Head was to be metamorphosed into Governor of Canada, was obnoxious to opinion as the importer of Prussian discipline and *coups de plat de sabre* (while he abo-

lished simple shooting for desertion). The Queen went on one occasion to see 'L'Amant Bourru' played; and the master says of the valet in that piece, who happens to be named Saint Germain, "C'est un coquin qui fait tout de travers; il faut que je le chasse." The public turned with marked applause towards the young Queen's box. The liberty of the pit and the pulpit preceded the liberty of the press in France, and French sermons and tragedies swarmed with rather high-flown lessons of liberalism, the application of which was by no means sparingly made by audiences to existing circumstances. It is thus that popular feelings will find vent in some channel or other, and perhaps the safest channel is the most every-day and direct one. There is probably less of vague and dangerous feeling excited by journals and meetings than by their substitutes or precursors in despotic states.

The presiding spirit of the first of the epochs before us, that of the Constituent Assembly, is Mirabeau; of the second, that of the Convention, is Robespierre.

"The historian of the Revolution," says Dumont, "will perhaps be a good deal embarrassed to describe the public character of Mirabeau. He was essentially monarchical; he was opposed to the grand operation by which the commons made the Revolution of France, *i. e.* the decree which destroyed the separate orders, and merged them in a national assembly. He then maintained the necessity of an absolute veto, because, in his eyes, the King was an integral part of the legislative power. It is true that, after the royal sitting of the 21st June, he was the first to support the Assembly against the King, and that this moment was decisive; but this action must be judged by the circumstances which then existed, and not by those which arose afterwards."

One is almost tempted to consider Mirabeau as two men rather than one. One of these was the man of his epoch only, the mere favourite of the multitude; the other was the man of experience, reflection, and real insight in affairs. In the course of his public appearances, these two seem almost distinct and opposite. There was not sufficient singleness of aim and simplicity of purpose to make the whole man consistent, and it seemed almost a toss-up which of his two characters should on any occasion get uppermost. The revolutionary impulses of Mirabeau (so far as they were not calculated) arose naturally from the state of war with society in which his life had been passed. The world was not his friend, nor the world's law, under the old regime. He had suffered capricious inflictions from others, and committed grave faults of his own; he had eaten forbidden fruit, his eyes had been opened, and his feelings exasperated against the powers and opinions which had made him endure some injustice and some

justice. He was therefore naturally prepared to revolt against established forms and authorities, and to invoke those elementary and simple principles of social existence which work so powerfully on the popular mind, at certain epochs, by their very simplicity; but which none knew better than Mirabeau must, in their naked application, lead straight to anarchy. There was no man whose prescience of the dangers of revolution was clearer and fuller, or indeed more boldly avowed and acted on, at many important moments. It was the unerring insight of a powerful political genius into the men and things round him, and necessarily included foresight of the probable consequences of their movements. Madame de Stael pays a marked tribute to the justness of Mirabeau's views, which is valuable because it is the tribute of an enemy to the enemy of her father.* Madame de Stael says also what was very true, that

"Ses gouts dispendieux lui rendaient l'argent fort nécessaire, et l'on a reproché à M. Necker de ne lui en avoir pas donné à l'ouverture des états généraux."

Madame de Stael answers, that transactions of this kind did not suit Necker's character; that he left *ce genre d'affaires* to his ministerial colleagues; and that, besides, Mirabeau, whether he might accept or refuse money from the court, was fully resolved to make himself its master, and not its instrument; and that it would have been impossible to prevail on him to renounce his power as a demagogue until that power had carried him to the head of the government.

All this also might be very true, and might very well explain why Necker made no attempt to gain Mirabeau. It appears that Necker was afraid of his talents, as well as averse to his character. We are far from saying that the minister had not some reason for both these sentiments, but personal antipathies form no wise motive for public action. If Necker had been able to estimate the gigantic force which Mirabeau would exert on the new theatre which (whether Necker liked it or not) the States

* Mirabeau, qui savait tout, et qui prévoyait tout, ne voulait se servir de son éloquence foudroyante que pour se faire place au premier rang dont son immoralité l'avait banni. . . . "Mirabeau," she says in another place, "dont la raison, isoleé de son caractere, etait parfaitement sage et lumineuse." She says elsewhere, "Il se mettait à la tête du parti qui voulait gagner à tout prix de l'importance politique, et les principes les plus abstraits n'etaient pour lui que des moyens d'intrigue." There is nothing in this that particularly distinguishes Mirabeau from other parliamentary politicians; and it was a truly sublime idea in Necker of his own all-sufficing importance to suppose that, when the States General were opened, 600 popular members would bask in the beams of his importance, and let it wholly absorb their own.

General opened, neither natural jealousy of his future ascendancy, nor just disapproval of his past career, should have stood in the way of an effort being made to keep him on the side of good order; for Mirabeau was strongly predisposed, at starting, to that side, and proved, before the end of his career, how powerfully he could aid it. Indeed he had proved already, in the provincial assemblies of Provence, the potency of his nervous eloquence to agitate or to pacify. No wise ruler, perhaps, would have gone to seek such a man, and intrust him with power. No wise ruler, with a free choice of ministers, would have made Mirabeau one. And yet Calonne had been minister! And yet Brienne had been minister! It is not extremely obvious to the eye of impartial reason why, if men like these could climb into power by aristocratic and clerical ladders, Mirabeau should have found it necessary, as Madame de Stael says, to set fire to the social edifice that the *salons* of Paris might open their doors to him!

It was not a mere question of giving Mirabeau money; if that had been the minister's only oversight, it would have been well for France. But what shall be said of a minister who missed every opportunity which presented itself of giving a favourable direction to the course of events? Several such opportunities certainly offered themselves to Necker, and his self-concentrated character made him miss them all. Contrasted with the vulgar slaves of selfishness, he might be deemed disinterested; that is to say, he was perfectly regardless of money, and incapable of using power to forward mere private ends. And yet a species of self-idolatry was betrayed in whatever he did; and it was truly said that Turgot had faith in his principles, and Necker in himself. His faith in himself reached such a pitch, that he believed honestly (and acted accordingly) that neither the monarch nor the people could possibly do without him. His belief on the first point prompted the first great mistake of his public life —his retirement, namely, in 1781; leaving old Maurepas to chuckle in his success, and raise his tools to the ministry. The Queen endeavoured to prevail on Necker to remain at his post; and had he done so, six months' time would have freed him from Maurepas's covert obstructions by death; and the nation might have been saved from Calonne and Brienne's ministries, and the confusion that followed. But Necker believed, in his self-conceit, that the King would be forced to recal him; and so he was, seven years afterwards, when Necker's conceit again spoiled everything. The same self-sufficiency which had led him, on the former occasion, to believe the King could not do without him, led him, on the latter, to believe that the several parties in the States General would address themselves to him to settle all

the differences which occurred on their opening. In this vain and most delusive persuasion, he did absolutely nothing to obviate those differences, but involved himself in his virtue, waiting till men came to consult the oracle. The infatuation of the court has been blamed sufficiently; but no infatuation was so gross as Necker's in throwing away the last moment when the royal authority could be used with vigour, and the royal initiative taken at once on the first opening of the States General. When Necker was forced into power the second time, on the fall of Brienne (he was forced afterwards a third time into power, when it was too late to use it), as the only minister who could raise money and save the finances from actual bankruptcy, it is known that Louis XVI threw himself implicitly on his counsels, and acted on those counsels till some time after the opening of the States General. Between his recal and the opening of the States, Necker could do what he pleased. Financially he did wonders; politically he did nothing, and worse than nothing. He was full of his own sole importance, and studious of his own sole popularity. This he desired to keep with all classes, and so he convoked the Notables again!—the Notables, whose first convocation, under Calonne, had done nothing but mischief. Having got nothing by consulting the Notables about the relative numbers of the orders in the States but an unpopular vote, which he durst not act upon, and having produced a most hurtful fermentation in the public mind, Necker was forced to end where he should have begun, by proposing the double representation of the Tiers Etat in the royal council, where it was adopted with the expressed approbation of the Queen, who had not forgotten the resistance of the privileged orders to the royal measures. There can be no question that the convocation of the States, when once it had become inevitable, should have been viewed in the same light by the ministers—as an appeal from the orders to the nation. The orders had, in fact, compelled that appeal—the Parliament had first uttered it; and, when the King's government accepted the challenge, it should have advanced to meet all the consequences, and should have taken the lead of the States in proposing the national measures required. Necker proposed nothing; he would not hazard his credit and popularity. He never knew how to make use of the royal name for the royal interest; and never seems to have known that, well used, it was a "tower of strength"—apart from Necker's name! He appeared constantly to speak of the monarch in the style of *Ego et rex meus.* By thus leaving out of account the *prestige* of the royal name, which was still powerful, and relying instead on his own presumed personal influence, Necker failed in a proper confi-

dence, while he exceeded in self-sufficiency. To preserve his credit with all parties, he failed wholly to work the royal prerogative; whereas it was that which was still the great instrument for national purposes. A minister like Turgot, for the hour master of the King's councils, would have simply asked himself—What can the monarch do for the public good and his own glory? But M. Necker's head was full of M. Necker's position and popularity. To its cultivation he sacrificed all promptitude and decision of action at the moment when, in the King's name, he could dictate what action he pleased. It was a moment when that higher self-reliance which supposes self-sacrifice, and is utterly incompatible with petty personal regards of any kind, could alone have saved the monarchy, and taken an initiative in reforms which it was most essential not to leave to be scrambled for in the States General.

"Do not wait," said Malouet to Necker and Montmorin, "till the States General demand or order; hasten to offer all that sober minds can desire as reasonable limits of authority and recognitions of national rights. Everything should be foreseen and combined in the King's council before the States meet. You have the *cahiers*—the instructions to the members from their constituencies; ascertain the wishes of the majority, and let the King take the initiative. *Prenez une attitude, car vous n'en avez pas.*"

After the opening of the States General, and before the assumption of the title of "National" by the popular branch of that body, Mirabeau, all whose deliberate speeches show far more just ideas than Necker possessed of the royal power, and the importance of preserving its *prestige* and influence by prompt action, sought, through Malouet, an interview with Necker for the purpose of knowing his intentions.

"Ministers," he said to Malouet, "must have a plan of some sort or other; if that plan is reasonable on monarchical principles (*dans le système monarchique*), I engage to support it, to employ all my efforts and all my influence to check the inroad of democracy which is advancing upon us."

This was precisely the previous idea of Malouet, that government and some of the leading deputies should act in concert for the purpose of carrying well-considered measures, arranged beforehand. None who knew anything of the tactics of popular assemblies could fail to feel the necessity of some such preparation; and, notwithstanding the distrust of Mirabeau which his previous adventures inspired, Malouet knew enough of his power of seeing the right and supporting it to avail himself eagerly of the opportunity of bringing him in contact with the minister. Necker gave him an icy reception, and asked him what propo-

sitions he had to make. This piqued Mirabeau so much, that he made a very short answer, and took leave. The next time he saw Malouet in the Assembly he said to him, "Votre homme est un sot; il aura de mes nouvelles."

In the very next debate, however, after this incident, Mirabeau took the rational and unpopular side against the proposition of Sieyès, which re-christened the States a National Assembly. In this, as in all his other deliberate speeches, Mirabeau showed his conviction of the insufficiency of the popular power singly to create stable institutions, and the impolicy of throwing all other authorities out of account—an impolicy, however, which is almost the instinct of new popular bodies.

"In whatever manner," said Mirabeau, "you choose to describe yourselves, whether you call yourselves the known and verified representatives of the nation—the representatives of twenty-five millions of men—the representatives of the majority of the people; if you even think proper to call yourselves the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, can you hinder the privileged classes from continuing to be assemblies which have been recognised by his Majesty? Can you hinder them from deliberating—from claiming a veto? Can you hinder the King from recognising them, from preserving to them the same titles which he has hitherto given them? Can you hinder the nation from calling the clergy the clergy—the noblesse the noblesse?"

Dumont, who must be regarded as an honest, though rather a self-complacent reporter of Mirabeau's confidential intercourse, gives the following fragment of a conversation, which took place shortly before his death, with reference to this first overt act of the Revolution:—

"I shall die at my post, my good friend; when I am no more they will know my value. The evils I have arrested will rush down from all sides upon France; the criminal faction which trembles before me will no longer feel any restraint. I have nothing before my eyes but presentiments of misfortune. Ah, my friend, how right we were when we tried at the outset to prevent the Commons from declaring themselves the National Assembly! That is the origin of the evil; since they carried that victory, they have never ceased to show themselves unworthy of it. They aimed at governing the King instead of governing by him: but soon neither they nor he will govern; a vile faction will domineer over all, and will cover France with horrors."

"I was far then," says Dumont, "from suspecting that Mirabeau's sad presentiments would be accomplished in every point: I regarded them as the effects of his easily excitable imagination, and I had no disposition to believe in the wickedness of the men he denounced as leaders of the Jacobins. I thought that his hatred of certain individuals led him into exaggerations."

Singular!—that while men like Dumont could see not an inch before them, the two great political minds of their epoch, Burke and Mirabeau, could foresee so clearly, and predict so strikingly, the one in elaborate invectives, the other in vivid flashes, the form and pressure of an unprecedented regimen, as yet in embryo. The nature of Jacobinism was caught by the minds of both before it showed itself in action, and each may be said to have left the same impression of that new birth on record.

Mirabeau may be deemed, indeed, to have known more about it from his putative share in it. His part in the earlier movements of the Revolution has been variously represented. It is probable that the power he showed in public led many to exaggerate the influence he exercised behind the scenes. He has often received the credit, which appears to be unfounded, of having sent abroad those lying rumours of brigands, which armed all France. There appears no better reason to suppose his connexion with this occurrence (which others have attributed to the revolutionary activity of Duport) than the fact of his famous address to the King to dismiss the troops collected round the capital, which immediately preceded the great day of the Bastile. But this address was nothing more than the echo of the general voice of opinion. Dumont tell us it was written by himself, and his friend Duroverai drew up the resolutions which were intended to follow it. Amongst these resolutions there was one dictated by the same consideration for the royal authority which Mirabeau was constantly disposed to show, except when carried away by the impulse or calculation of popularity. "Duroverai," says Dumont,

"Foresaw that, if the people took up arms of themselves, the royal authority would be lost; but if the King presided over this operation, he might make such a choice of men and officers, that this institution, like that of the English militia, would be a safeguard against insurrections, without exciting alarm for liberty."

He accordingly drew up a resolution of address to the King for the establishment of a civic militia. This was thrown out, and the National Guard of Paris rose on the ruins of the Bastile.*

The 'Moniteur' gives almost preternatural proofs of the belief which even the National Assembly was ready to entertain of the most incredible rumours of brigands and plots propa-

* *Vous êtes des héros*, leur disait une dame, frappée des traits de grandeur d'âme qui leur échappaient tous les jours.—*Madame*, répondit un grenadier [of the Gardes Françaises] *nous sommes tout ce que nous pouvons.* —*Moniteur.*

gated at this epoch. The want of means of intelligence of facts throughout France was marvellous. Arthur Young mentions, that nine days after a very serious riot at Strasburg in which the Town house was sacked, no one had heard of the occurrence at Dijon. The same writer observes,—

"That universal circulation of intelligence which in England transmits the least vibration of feeling or alarm, with electric sensibility, from one end of the kingdom to another, and which unites in bonds of connexion men of similar interests and situations, has no existence in France. Thus it may be said, perhaps with truth, that the fall of the King, court, nobles, army, church, and parliaments, is owing to a want of intelligence being quickly circulated, consequently is owing to the very effects of that thraldom in which they held the people. It is therefore a retribution rather than a punishment."

This almost absolute want of internal communication, and ignorance of actual occurrences, is a very remarkable feature at the first outbreak of the French Revolution. To this pervading lack of intelligence, which readers of these days can scarce conceive to themselves, was owing the still more astonishing facility of credit to reports—in Paris, of what was doing in the provinces—in the provinces, of what was doing in Paris. In the country, the Queen had been made the subject of all kinds of extravagant rumours. She had plotted to poison the King and Monsieur, and give the regency to the Count d'Artois, to set fire to Paris, and blow up the Palais Royal by a mine. But the brigands sent by the aristocrats to cut the corn were the general bugbears. It is impossible to doubt that the simultaneous spread of these reports was effected by active emissaries of a party whose purpose was to arm the people—a purpose crowned with marvellous success by the public credulity. The affrighted peasantry in country places, amongst whom these reports were conveyed, armed themselves, sounded the tocsin, and sent to the next town for assistance, where, of course, their report found credit, and was again spread over a wider circle.

"In a certain town at nightfall," says the Histoire-Musée, "the people imagined they saw a troop of brigands coming on them by the Paris road. They took up arms with all promptitude, and the bravest sallied forth to combat—a flock of sheep enveloped in a cloud of dust. Would not one think one was reading the immortal exploits of Don Quixote?"

We should not like to warrant the precise accuracy of the above story, but a scarce less ridiculous scene took place in the National Assembly itself on the reading of a despatch from the mayor and municipal officers of Soissons.

"Perhaps," says the missive, "you are already informed of the fearful event which plunges us in despair. A courier who has just arrived from Cressy informs us that a troop of brigands has cut the corn in the plain of Bethisy. Messengers are arriving from Villers-Cotterets, Pierrefonds, and Attichy, where this troop has now betaken itself, and is cutting the corn in broad day. It is said that the brigands are four thousand in number. You perceive how much we stand in need of cavalry, light troops, &c."

The Assembly experienced a profoundly sorrowful emotion on the reading of this document. At the next sitting the president had to announce, that the very circumstantial alarms of the good people of Soissons had been caused by reports destitute of foundation. Another still more shocking story, against an individual nobleman, was received with equally implicit belief by the Assembly. A M. de Memmay, *Seigneur* of Quincey, happened to give a fête in his grounds to the country people, and the soldiers in garrison at Vesoul in his neighbourhood. An accidental explosion of a barrel of gunpowder killed some of the crowd at this fête; the report was instantly circulated that this was a regular gunpowder plot, and immediately gave the impulse to the burning of châteaux and pursuit of their owners in the whole district. But what is more extraordinary, the Assembly did not hesitate for a moment ['Moniteur,' 24th and 25th July, 1789] to swallow the whole of the raw-head and bloody-bones story sent up to them from the spot: the enormous improbability of a single country gentleman having plotted to blow up all the military and peasantry in his neighbourhood without rhyme or reason, struck nobody, or at least nobody suggested it to the Assembly: and an address to the King was voted, to testify the horror and indignation which had seized all the members on hearing of so dreadful a crime; to supplicate his Majesty to order immediate proceedings to be taken against its authors and accomplices; and, in case they had escaped to another country, to enjoin his ministers to reclaim them, in order that they may receive the punishment they deserve. We have not space here to relate all the real atrocities committed to avenge fancied ones; and all the absurd stories put about to encourage burning and pillage. In several of the provinces *printed orders* were shown from the King to burn the chateaux, and it was spread abroad that Louis XVI was determined that no chateau should remain standing in France but his own. In Paris, the cry was of plots all over the country and abroad, against the Assembly; and to trace the imagined plots, Duport demanded the nomination of a committee to collect information on all plots against the safety of the state; and this committee was to be appointed by an ingenious method, which

should leave the Assembly itself in ignorance who were its members. Rewbell, who was afterwards a member of the Convention and Directory, made himself prominent in these debates by putting forth the most detestable doctrines of a new despotism. Some letters had been intercepted by the permanent committee of the new commune of Paris (a body which, in its future phases, was to play so important a part), addressed by M. de Castelnau, the French ambassador at Geneva, to the Count d'Artois and others. Neither the Count d'Artois nor M. de Castelnau were under any impeachment, and yet it is made a question, in a National Assembly of legislators, whether their letters should be opened; and Rewbell, Robespierre, and other men who became of note at a darker epoch, began to use their odious phraseology of *personnes suspectes* and *crimes de lese-nation*, to justify the motion to that effect. The National Convention was already in the Constituent Assembly,* but the meaner demagogues had not yet dragged all down to their level. Mirabeau was still their master, and Mirabeau's voice was raised invariably, and generally with success, against proposals of petty tyranny.

At this time, however—that is to say, soon after the Bastile was taken, the Paris municipals and guard in full feather, and Necker brought back on the people's shoulders (but not to power: there was no power thenceforth except in the popular mouthpieces)—Mirabeau for a while conducted himself more as a mere

* This idea is followed out with spirit by Victor Hugo in the following passage of his 'Etude sur Mirabeau.' His peculiar mode of writing loses effect in translation, and is seldom free from exaggeration; but the passage may be worth citing in the original.

"Dans l'Assemblée Constituante il y avait une chose qui épouvantait ceux qui regardait attentivement, c'etait la Convention. Pour quiconque a étudié cet époque, il est evident que, des 1789 la Convention etait dans l' Assemblée Constituante. Elle y etait à l'etat de germe, à l'etat de fœtus, à l'état d'ébauche. C'etait encore quelque chose d'indistinct pour la foule, c'etait déja quelque chose de terrible pour qui savait voir. . . . Rabaut-Saint Etienne, qui croyait la Révolution finie et qui le disait tout haut, flairait avec inquiétude Robespierre qui ne la croyait pas commencée, et qui le disait tout bas. 'Les démolisseurs présens de la monarchie tremblaient devant les démolisseurs futurs de la société. Ceux-ci, comme toutes les personnes qui ont l'avenir, et qui le savent, etaient hautains, hargneux et arrogans, et le moindre d'entre eux coudoyait dédaigneusement les principaux de l'Assemblée. Les plus nuls et les plus obscurs jetaient, selon leur humeur et leur fantaisie, d'insolentes interruptions aux plus graves orateurs; et comme tout le monde savait qu'il y avait des événemens pour ces hommes dans un prochain avenir, personne n'osait leur repliquer. C'est dans ces momens, ou l'assemblée qui devait venir un jour, faisait peur à l'assemblée qui existait, c'est alors que se manifestait avec splendeur le pouvoir d'exception de Mirabeau. Dans le sentiment de sa toute puissance, et sans se douter qu'il fit une chose si grande, il criait au groupe sinistre qui coupoit la parole à la Constituante—Silence aux trente voix! et la Convention se taisait."

demagogue than hitherto. Mirabeau's conduct, shortly after the decisive day of the Bastile, was exactly contrary to that which his mind, without strong sinister bias, would have dictated. In order to understand the change from his previous professions of moderation (professions which it never was more important to act upon), we must advert to the fact that, a few days after that event, Mirabeau had renewed his overtures to the King's government, or rather to the King in person. He had chosen, as the organ of his overtures, the Count de Lamarck, a great admirer of his, and also a tried, confidential friend of the King and Queen. His friendly agent, fearing the repugnance of Louis XVI to the quarter whence these offers proceeded, thought it necessary to begin with the Queen, and submitted the negotiation to one of the ladies about her person. Marie Antoinette replied,—

"The King will certainly not be unhappy enough to be reduced to such fearful extremities."

Lamarck let the matter drop for a time.

But Mirabeau did not choose to let his public importance drop; and as he could not gain the ear of the monarch, he addressed that of the people of Paris. The only authority which had been recognised in the capital, since those days of agitation which had witnessed the taking of the Bastile, and the deplorable scenes which occurred subsequently—the murders of Foulon and Berthier, &c.—was the assembly of electors of the deputies for Paris to the States General, who had continued to meet to consult on the state of public affairs, and into whose hands the tumults of Paris devolved whatever remained of authority, when that of the officers of the Crown was suddenly overthrown. These electors were themselves the elect of the *bourgeoisie*, and the most influential amongst them were sincerely attached to the monarchy, as well as the public liberties. They had done all that lay in their power to moderate popular fury, and had shown themselves animated by the same spirit as afterwards characterised the same class in the national guard, which acted so admirably in defence of the public order, so long as it continued in some degree a select body under one commandant. In following the successive descents of power to the lowest level, a singular and melancholy spectacle offers itself in the utter alteration of composition and character undergone by the metropolitan force and municipal body from that which they first presented, until disorganised by the principle which proscribed especially all select bodies and all unity of command.

It is an important point of time—that of Mirabeau's cabals in the districts of Paris—because it is at once the epoch of the

apparent omnipotence of the Constituent Assembly, to which (after the decisive event of the struggle with the court) addresses of congratulation poured in from every public body in the kingdom, and the epoch at which the most powerful presiding genius of that very Assembly—having been repulsed by the minister and the court in his propositions for giving a popular direction to the royal measures—turned his views, for the moment, both from the court and the National Assembly, and sought to increase his ascendancy by agitating the people of Paris anew in their several districts. This is the first occasion of open resort, by a leader of the Assembly, to that power which became afterwards predominant over its deliberations, and which, in the shape of the assemblies of the *sections* and of the *commune*, organised the whole subsequent system of imprisonment, confiscation, and massacre. There was no such spirit uppermost as yet in the district assemblies; the club-orators of the Palais Royal, who could not make themselves of importance in them, declaimed against them, and wielded the arm of the populace as an opposition power. Mirabeau, who, like Barnave and others, affected to speak lightly of the lawless acts of the populace after the triumph of the 14th of July (a levity which honourable men had ample leisure to repent), affected, however, to throw the blame of these occurrences on the assembly of electors, and agitated the districts to hasten the election of a new municipal body. He seems to have been ambitious at this time, of being elected Mayor of Paris; a popular power which might have enabled him to impose his own terms on the government. His intrigues in his own district (that of the *Oratoire*) became so notorious, that Regnault de St Jean d'Angely brought forward a motion, on the 1st of August, that the National Assembly should prohibit its members from visiting the assemblies of the districts. Mirabeau's irritation provoked him on this, as on some other occasions, to use the language of anarchy, which was that of his passions, not of his intellect. "The true friend of liberty," he exclaimed, "never obeys decrees which wound it, from whatever authority they may proceed." This was the first phrase of defiance any one had ventured to use towards the legislature in the hour of its unquestioned ascendancy over all other authority. On the same day the Assembly elected Thouret its president. Thouret was odious for moderation of opinions to the ultra-popular party, and a clamour arose in that party in the Assembly against his nomination. Their protests against it were repeated in Paris; motions were made in the Palais Royal; threats were uttered of sending 15,000 men to Versailles; and Thouret was weak enough to resign his post in deference to the Palais Royal! These indications took place

while the power of the Constituent Assembly was fresh and absolute; and they betrayed the weak side of the power of a popular assembly which stood singly, and had no co-ordinate power to lean upon against excessive pressure from without. This might be its misfortune, or its fault, or somewhat, as we think, of both. It was its fate, at all events; a fate involved in the position in which it had placed itself. After the total destruction of the *prestige* of the royal power, and still more after the transference of the Assembly, along with the court, to Paris, in consequence of the mob-march to Versailles in October, 1789, the deliberations of that body cannot be said to have been conducted with freedom. The auditors in their own galleries, the deliberative assemblies of the sections, and the clubs, began to exercise a systematic and fatal dictatorship. We have heard a Frenchman remark, that his countrymen *mettent infiniment d'ordre dans le désordre*. This order of disorder is the leading character of the years before us. Its most marked feature was the thorough and complete manner in which the nominal and legal representative powers were overflowed by the direct power of the democratically organised masses. This recurs with increased distinctness and aggravated violence at each successive epoch. French writers may consider their national honour concerned in talking grandly of the philosophy of the Constituent, the eloquence of the Legislative, and the energy of the Convention; but it is incontestable that the Constituent, the Legislative, and the Convention successively (with more and more marked subjection as the Revolution advanced in its course) underwent the yoke of the more direct organs of popular will.

Whether it was the will of the majority of the people was another question. It was the will of the masses immediately available to overawe and coerce the legislature. The will of the majority of a people cannot be formed, or collected, in a moment. Many good people have not much will; many more have not much energy in expressing it. Time is wanted to convey the general will to a common centre. In order that the formation and expression of that will shall be waited for, and attended to when it comes, a pre-requisite condition is a presiding central authority, strong enough to keep the peace and suspend hasty measures. In a country where there is much need of reform, and still more passion for change (since practical amendment is finite, human conceptions and desires infinite), where, moreover, there are strong temptations in many breasts to force on events out of which adventurers may contrive to cut fame and bread—to invoke an absent and conjectural majority is the vainest thing possible. In revolution *les absens ont toujours tort*. In revolu-

tion, as in war, the majority does not decide the victory, but the greatest numbers which can be brought to bear at once on a given point. The old acknowledged central authority—the natural and permanent representative of the sober, pacific, unorganized bulk of a people and its habitual opinions—once overthrown, all public power must sink till it touches bottom in direct democracy—not meaning the power of the whole people, but of such masses as can act directly, and, as it were, mechanically, on the nominal government. The democracy of France was, necessarily, the mob, clubs, and commune of Paris.

When class and popular interests (of course we speak of immediate and apparent interests) have once been brought into that direct and open collision, into which the business of all wise government is to prevent them being brought, it is not the superior force, but unity in the direction of force, that prevails. There was a sort of unity in the will and passions of the populace, which was nowhere else. The measures it dictated, however irrational in themselves, or suicidal at length of its own power, were capable of being expressed broadly and strongly, and sweepingly carried out. The ties of habitual allegiance to the old order being once broken, everything was borne down before that destructive unity of direction which was taken by the will of the active part of the popular masses, and was perforce followed by those who appeared, or attempted, to lead it. There were anti-Jacobin forces in France which could have crushed Jacobinism, but those forces were divided. The force of Jacobinism consisted in its strong, blind, and bloody *faith*. It was a faith in impossibilities—granted; in freedom by means of tyranny—in plenty by means of laws which arbitrarily fixed the value of provisions in *assignats*—in a republic, by means of horrors from which men fled for refuge to a despotism. No matter: it was a faith while it lasted, and there was none sufficiently vigorous to oppose it. What its *works* were, we may review more in detail on a future occasion, with the aid of the graver and lighter pages of the 'Moniteur,' and the 'Histoire Musée.' I.

ART. X.—*A Hand-Book for the Architecture, Sculpture, Tombs, and Decorations of Westminster Abbey.* With Fifty-six Embellishments on Wood, engraved by Ladies. By Felix Summerly. George Bell, Fleet street.

THIS little work, which is quite a pattern for Guide Books, both on account of the fulness of its information and the good taste of its embellishments, deserves, for a still better reason, to be favourably known to our readers.

The numerous illustrations of the volume, engraved on wood, are entirely the work of women; and the accompanying specimens, which the publisher has sent us, exhibit the proficiency which may be obtained after a practice of about three or four years. Without taking more credit to our suggestions than they deserve, we believe it may fairly be said that all the engravers of these specimens became such after the 'Westminster Review' (No. LXI) first pointed out the suitableness of wood-engraving as an employment for ladies; and, either directly or indirectly, in consequence of that suggestion. The specimens show what may be attained in the period already named, and chiefly for this reason are they inserted; they may, however, be pronounced to be fair average wood-engravings independently of any other feature. In one respect, indeed, they appear to us to possess a virtue which places them considerably above the average: they are not tame, smooth-lined, and mechanical performances, exhibiting common-place handling of the graver,—the cheapest and least artistic sort of work; but they give, according to the skill of their artists, all—and little else but—the lines of the original drawings, and thus preserve the best and finest feature of wood-engraving. Copper-plate engraving is the engraver's own version of the original design: wood-engraving in its purity is the original design itself; its very perfection consists in its being nothing else. The majority of the lines which are found in most woodcuts of the present day are the engraver's, and not the draughtsman's lines. Our meaning may be understood by reference to the upper part of the engraving numbered 3, and the back part of No. 6, where the tint or shade has been produced by lines made according to the taste of the engraver. Though sometimes unavoidable, they should never predominate. The engraver's mechanism is not to be found in the woodcuts of Albert Durer, or those after Stothard. The practice is now carried to a most vicious extent: wood-engraving surrenders its most valuable and exclusive feature to affect a bastard and feeble imitation of copper, whose lines in fineness and tone it can never hope to realize with effect. The

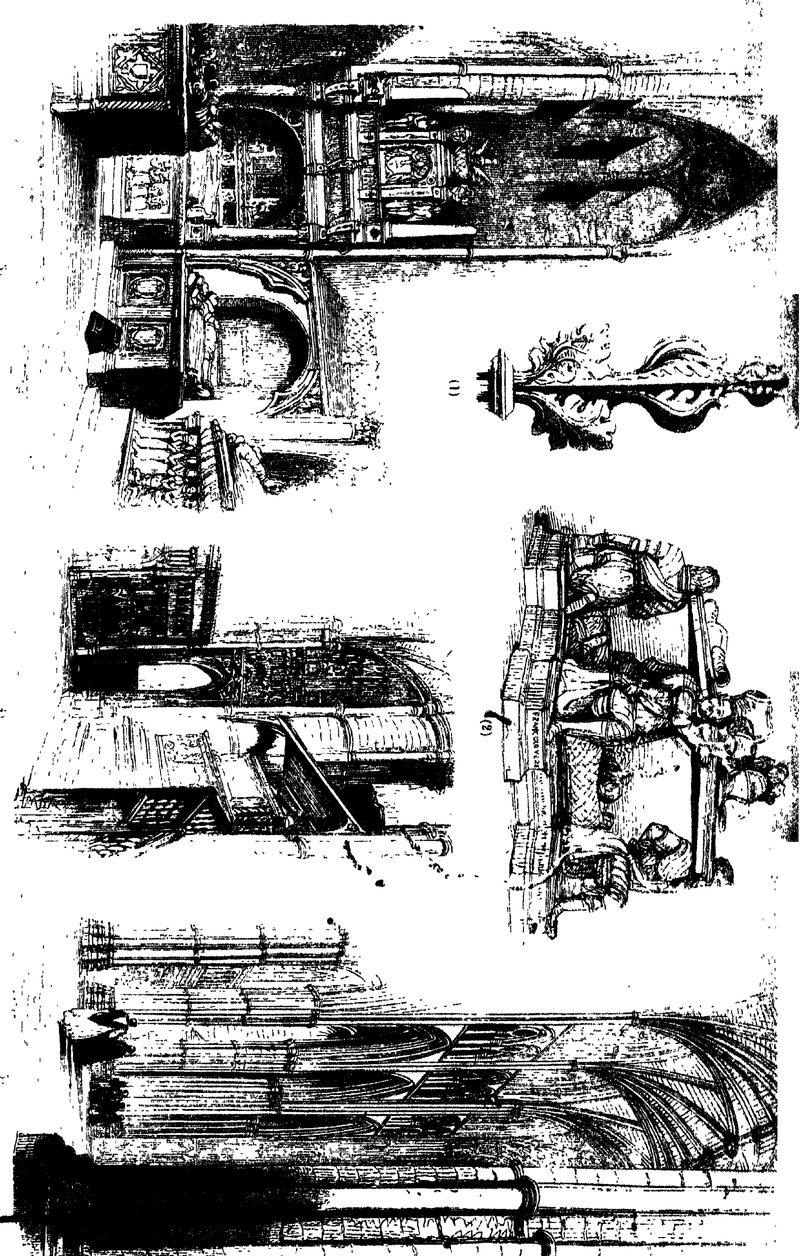
specimens given are but an eighth part of those in the book whence they are taken. The drawings of these cuts were made by Mr David Cox, junior, but it will be seen that some amateur lady-artists—Lady Callcott and Lady Palgrave among them—have generously stept forward to promote the success of their sister-artists' work.

The subjects of these specimens are as follow:

No.		ENGRAVED BY
1.	Finial from Henry VIIth's Chapel	Isabel Thompson
2.	Tomb of Sir Francis Vere, after a design ascribed to Michael Angelo	Laura Bond
3.	St Paul's Chapel	Augusta Thompson
4.	Henry IIIrd's Tomb, and Screen of Henry Vth's Chapel	Charlotte Bond
5.	View in Nave	Anne Waterhouse
6.	St Nicholas's Chapel	Harriett Clarke
7.	Statues on John of Eltham's Tomb	Juliet Dudley
8.	Edward the Confessor's Shrine, &c.	Charlotte Bond
9.	View from St John the Baptist's Chapel	Isabel Thompson

Having given specimens of the illustrations, to complete our notice of the work we must select one or two quotations from the letter-press, that the reader may judge for himself of the author's style and manner of treating his subject. We take the following from his prefatory historical sketch:—

"If we look before the Confessor's time, we shall hardly find any history of the Abbey existing, unless legends and traditions may be admitted to be such. Facts, fictions, and probabilities raise many knotty points among the learned, which it does not seem my vocation to untie. It is pleasant to encourage a belief in each and all the legends of the old West Minster at Thorney, without much scrutiny. What shall it profit us to decide whether the British King, Lucius, in A.D. 184, or King Sebert, of the East Saxons, about A.D. 616, first built a church to the honour of God and St Peter, on the west of the city of London, in a terrible place, 'loco terribili,' on Thorney Island, 'overgrown with thorns and environed with water?' Does not the vicinity—a bird's-eye view may be had for sixpence from the Duke of York's column—at this day denote a spot for the generation of rushes and thorns? Is not the 'West Minster' close to 'Milbank,' or the bank where a water-mill must have played? Is it not written indisputably, in evidence of Parliament, that the water in St James's Park is one foot below the level of the high water of the river? Why not believe that King Lucius' church was changed into the temple of Apollo, and that it *did* stand on Thorney Island, and was ruined by an earthquake in the time of Antoninus Pius? Sceptics may agree with Sir Christopher Wren, who gravely disputes the fact. Such belief does not militate against the legend that St Peter subsequently consecrated *the* Minster of the West. John Flete, a monk, relates 'that in the year 1231 there was a law-suit between the



monks of Westminster and the minister of Rotherhithe, in Surrey, for the tithe of the salmon caught in this parish; the plea of the monks being that *St Peter himself* had given them the tithe of salmon caught in the Thames, at the time he had *consecrated their church!'* Nothing here can be done to resolve these points; and having thus carried our retrospect into periods over which only the Society of Antiquaries has dominion, let us at once cut short all further historic allusions, and proceed on a pilgrimage around the exterior and interior of the Abbey itself. About three hours are requisite to pursue the course of survey laid down in this Hand-book. Three whole days, or weeks—even years—perhaps lives—would not suffice to exhaust all the sights and associations of the venerable structure. Yet a three hours' visit makes an impression indelible; and if you are stirred by such matters at all, it will not be the only visit you will make. Commence your survey about noon-tide, and you will be in time to attend the afternoon service, which begins at three and ends before four o'clock. On no account miss the service, which is the happiest termination possible to your visit. An incidental good in your attendance is, that your presence helps to sustain the performances of the choir, now excellent, but which are threatened, in these times of church changes, with deterioration,—some say with extinction."

The public have reason to be grateful for the exertions of the society formed for throwing open the public monuments, that the charges for admission have been greatly reduced: we trust the time will come when the impolicy and bad taste will be felt of allowing any charge, however small, to be exacted for admission to this great national edifice. A sum of threepence now admits to the nave and north transept, and a further sum of threepence to the southern ambulatory and the chapel.

At Poets' Corner the public are free to enter at all times, and the author quotes with admiration a passage from the 'British and Foreign Review,' of the feelings which a first entrance to the Abbey at this spot are calculated to awaken:—

"'And do not this preternatural loftiness and lengthiness, this infinitude of lines drawn up into one, these pinnacles and spires, all pointing heavenward, signify and body forth some strange overpowering feeling which existed in the hearts and minds of those who made them? Through a low door, scarce higher than our human six-foot stature, we find entrance into an enormous hollow cross, remote from the common light of day; within which, all things seem to have a different kind of existence from our ordinary world, and to be actuated by an attraction opposite to the common, everything flowing upwards, and the slightest forms bearing up the whole, while over multitudes of parts, innumerable as all the hosts of angels in heaven, one solemn monotony presides. What, then, is the effect of the whole? This:

that our little selves are annihilated in the immensity of awe and reverence; and we learn—

'Adorar' debitamente Dio.'

Coleridge, too, some years before 1838, had said, in a lecture delivered at Bristol,—'On entering a cathedral, I am filled with devotion and awe; I am lost to the actualities that surround me, and my whole being expands into the infinite: earth and air, nature and art, all swell up into eternity; and the only sensible impression left is, that I am nothing.' Though you enter Poets' Corner daily, its mystic grandeur seems always to grow. At all points, the endless perspective lines lead into mysterious gloom where the eye cannot trace their termination, and imagination pictures what is beyond. Perhaps in no Gothic building is this characteristic better illustrated than at this corner of the Abbey. The much-praised view in the nave, with its reiteration of arches and columns, is certainly imposing. But *we see the end of it*, and it wants that symbolical mysticism and infinitude which prevail at Poets' Corner."

We need not take our leave of the work with wishes for its success, for that, we learn, has already been placed beyond doubt; but we trust the encouragement the author has received will induce him to turn his attention to the preparation of similar hand-books of other public edifices, where the want of something better than the present "blind guides" has long been sensibly felt. D.

CRITICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

EDUCATION.

Our readers need not be told that this is a subject which we have always held to be of pre-eminent importance, and will require no apology from us for calling their especial attention to an omission in the Poor Law Amendment Bill, now before the House, most seriously affecting the interests of popular instruction.

It will be remembered that in the bill of last session, a clause was introduced (and at the suggestion of Sir Robert Peel himself), that the new district schools for work-house children, to be established under the joint superintendence of the Poor Law Commission and the Committee of Council for Education, should be open, when there was sufficient accommodation, to the children of the out-door poor, as day scholars.

THIS CLAUSE, THROUGH THE INTERFERENCE OF CERTAIN OF THE BISHOPS, HAS BEEN STRUCK OUT OF THE BILL; *an evidence of weakness and vacillation on the part of the present government we had not anticipated, and one which we deeply lament. It is abandoning the whole question of National Education, on the only principle upon which it can reach the class most requiring a better moral and industrial training,—that the instruction shall not be exclusively under Clerical or sectarian direction. It is abandoning popular instruction in every form, for those who would say to Roman Catholic parents, your child shall not even be taught its alphabet until you have apostatised from your religious creed, are not in earnest about the improvement of either mind or heart, and ought not to be trusted with the diffusion of that meagre allowance of knowledge which they profess to be willing to dole out in mis-named National Schools. The reports of the Poor Law Commissioners state that the average number of children found every year by the police in the streets of Manchester is 2,700; and that juvenile delinquency is chiefly to be traced to habits of early vagrancy. Yet the greater part of these children are now practically refused education because they belong to, or remain under the influence of, Irish Roman Catholic connexions. Lately, at Liverpool, they have been turned out of the town schools, where Irish Roman Catholics were at one time received, but where now the friends of ignorance and the advocates of intolerance are triumphant. We see that Mr Milner Gibson has given notice of his intention to bring the subject before the House. He will move the re-insertion of the clause. Our best wishes are for his success, and not the least important ground on which he should receive the support of every liberal member is, that in no other way can efficient day schools for the poor be established and supported. The expense attending them must be thrown upon the rates. Voluntary subscriptions and parliamentary grants will always be inadequate to the object.*

LETTERS FROM HOFWYL, by a Parent, on the Educational Institutions of De Fellenberg; with an Appendix, containing Woodbridge's Sketches of Hofwyl. Longman and Co.

THE name of De Fellenberg is well known in England; but a good account of the educational institutions at Hofwyl has long been a desideratum in this country. The latest particulars respecting Hofwyl appeared in a little work attributed to Lady Byron, entitled 'What De Fellenberg has done for Education.' It contained a general sketch of the career of De Fellenberg, and of the principles which it has been his object to illustrate in practical operation throughout a long life, but was by no means a complete exposition of the subject. The present work contains all the information relating to it the public required, and could not perhaps have appeared at a better moment.

The great feature of De Fellenberg's institutions is the combination of intellectual labour with light agricultural employment; and we recommend the work to the attention of every one likely to be connected with the new district schools of industry, and generally to every friend to the improvement and extension of education. It is full of sound principles of instruction, useful practical hints for forming the character of a pupil, and strengthening his mind and body, which ought to be familiar to all entrusted with the care and guardianship of youth.

The letters in the Appendix, from the Rev. C. Woodbridge, first appeared in the American 'Annals of Education:' they have since been revised by De Fellenberg himself, and may therefore be regarded as a correct statement of his principles and a faithful report of the state of the Hofwyl Institution at the time it was written, though perhaps with too decided a leaning to the favourable side of the picture. We should still desire to see a more critical account of De Fellenberg's institutions by an impartial practical educationist. The most useful history that could be written would be the history of the mistakes of philanthropists,—mistakes which, unhappily, they and their friends are alike anxious to conceal from the world. Errors there have been, however, at Hofwyl, as at other places of education; and one was the close connexion at first established between the higher schools and the lower. It was not in practice found convenient to carry on together one system of training for the children of the peasantry, and another system of training for those of the rich. The school for the children of the poor is therefore now removed to a distance; but the higher school is no longer in that palmy state when it numbered seven German princes among its pupils,—chiefly, it is understood, through a deficiency of masters capable of carrying forward the intellectual acquirements of the pupils in the several branches of study,—a deficiency which did not at one time exist. The "real," or middle school, still flourishes, and there we would send, without hesitation, every boy of from eleven to fourteen years of age whom De Fellenberg would be willing to receive. The physical and moral training of Hofwyl cannot be too highly praised: De Fellenberg himself is a man to remind one of the patriarchal age, whom it is impossible not to love and reverence. His daughters, who superintend the domestic economy of the establishment, are amiable and accomplished women and excellent linguists; one of them perfectly mistress of English, and the place itself is delightfully and healthfully situated. A pleasant drive of nine miles from Berne brings the traveller to Hofwyl; and when there he may command a view of the Bernese Alps, the Jura, and other mountains, scarcely to be surpassed in any part of Switzerland.

What to Teach and How to Teach It; so that the Child may become a Wise and Good Man. By H. Mayhew. Part I. The Cultivation of the Intellect. 8vo. London: W. Smith. 1842. Pp. 44.

The title of this book would lead to the supposition that it is a work on practical tuition, or a series of model lessons, whereas it relates almost entirely to the theory or general principles of education, based on Dr T. Brown's 'System of Mental Philosophy.' Although metaphysical, it is not dull, but written with spirit and constant reference to existing institutions. The common practice and notions on education are, however, occasionally analysed, and their errors successfully exposed.

It is frequently found that in speaking of education people make a distinction, if not in words, in practice, between intellectual and moral education, as if they could separate them, or as if the mere cultivation of the intellect deserved the name of education. "Moral development is education as intellectual development is teaching," says Jean Paul, and till parents and friends can be persuaded to view them as parts of the same whole, all that is said and written on the subject will avail but little.

The child's education does not begin with lisping the alphabet; it has begun long before; his first educators have been his nurses; when he leaves their hands, the first stage is already passed; and deeply important is it to his future welfare how it has been passed, as all the strongest and most abiding tendencies of character are acquired between the ages of two and seven.

Most teachers know to their cost what it is to have a spoiled child put into their hands. It is hard to say which is most to be pitied, the teacher who is required to undergo the Egyptian toil of bringing forth the fruits of labour, patience, and perseverance, where these qualities are not, or the child who is expected to submit to restraint without having been taught its use. With the daily, hourly opportunities possessed by the home educators, this branch of education, which must precede all others, is of comparatively easy practice.

"The mere ending, still beginning, task is scarcely to be accomplished by any means short of a mother's patience and a mother's love. Every one is aware that the noblest of all sciences, the science of morals, is left pretty much to chance. for it cannot be maintained that a catechism learned by rote, and a few vague maxims of morality, conveyed in the least engaging form, is moral instruction. Of the two it would be better and safer to leave the intellectual than the moral instruction of the young mind to chance. Curiosity, the love of employment, of excitement, would, in most cases, lead to the acquisition of some kind of knowledge: at any rate there is no counter principle at work; no one has any desire for ignorance *per se*. But *all* have a desire to gratify their own tastes and inclinations, if not at the cost, at least in utter disregard of another's, till they have learned the use and beauty of forbearance, till the animal has learned to give way to the moral man."

Mr Mayhew's views are so sound on this point, that it is a pity to find them in company with others not very tenable in theory, and utterly impossible in practice. Well and truly he says, in his chapter on the use of the intellect.

"Surely the sole test for the utility of a thing is the happiness that it is directly, or indirectly, capable of affording. A thing is of use only in proportion as it is adapted to become an instrument of good. Consequently it must, I think, be evident to all that the intellectual principle, or that which teaches us the relations of things or events, and so enables us to perceive the means of attaining any particular end, can be useful to the possessor and society at large only according as it is made the servant of the moral propensity. And hence it follows, that if this propensity be not properly developed, and strengthened previous to the cultivation of

the understanding, in the being to be educated, and so brought to be the constant guide and pilot as it were of his intellect, the principle which, if rightly directed, may become the greatest of all created things—the prescient reason that distinguishes man from the brute, and allies him to the God, must almost inevitably be converted into the attribute of the demon; as the sword which, in the hand of the patriot, is the arm only of defence, nay, is the very emblem of justice itself, becomes, when wielded by the robber and the invader, the instrument of plunder and destruction. We should remember that the intellect simply executes; it is either the selfish or moral propensity that designs; the intellectual principle enables us to perceive the means of attaining any particular object; it is the moral principle that leads us originally to desire that object. These are the springs, the former is merely the instrument, of all human action. They are masters, whereas the intellect is but the servant of the will; and hence it is evident that, in proportion as the one or the other of these two predominant principles, as either the selfish or moral disposition is educed in man, and thus made the chief director and stimulus of the intellectual power within him, so will the cultivation of that power be the source of happiness or misery to himself and others."

As a matter of course, the author is vehemently opposed to the system of rewards and punishments as practised in our schools; to the former, as tending to induce a belief that there is a greater prize than the acquisition of knowledge itself; and to the latter, because it is injurious alike to the moral and intellectual nature; plucking out the natural and instinctive love of knowledge that God has planted in his heart, and making fear a principle of action, and thus breeding habits of cunning and falsehood in the child that can scarcely fail to grow with the growth, and strengthen with the strength, of man. With respect to the latter, to the use of the birch as an instrument of education, the folly and barbarity of the practice are so generally admitted, that it has, we believe, been pretty generally given up in most schools except the highest and the lowest; in the latter, from sheer ignorance of its evil tendency; in the former, from an asinine pride that will not allow them to confess that they can have made a mistake.

With respect to the system of rewards, we agree with Mr Mayhew as to its inefficiency as a stimulus to improvement; but it is uncandid to state that the medal or book bestowed as a prize, is intended to be looked on as the chief thing gained by the successful diligence of which it is the outward testimony. All such extrinsic signs of merit are typical, and as such must be understood by the dullest. It might as well be said that the yard and half of blue ribbon is the thing esteemed when patricians rejoice in the Garter.

Neither can it be disputed that it is the duty of a teacher to excite the pupil's attention by exciting an interest in the subject; but when the author goes on to say that if the teacher fail, the fault rests with him, and he ought to be made to suffer for undertaking to do that of which he shows himself ignorant,—Mr Mayhew must be assuming that the mind of the pupil is a perfect tabula; whereas in most cases the bent of the character is already determined, and the choice of means for its development is no longer at his option,—he can no longer do what he will, he must do what he can. One of the greatest difficulties that a teacher has to encounter is the want of conscientiousness in the youthful mind. Generally speaking, the whole course of previous training has led the child to the conclusion that the neglect or evasion of his school duties threatens no higher penalty than the non-acquirement of some particular branch of knowledge,—a penalty he cannot be expected to dread very greatly: the ruinous effect on the character, of wilful neglect of any known duty, has yet perhaps to be felt by those who should lift up the warning voice. To say that the defect of attention in the

pupil is wholly and solely the fault of the teacher is to be unjust to one and to mislead the other.

The truth is, that as tutors are never the first teachers, neither can they ever be successful ones until they become co-labourers with the parents instead of being—as they are in most cases—inefficient substitutes, if not antagonists. To be radical, the reform of the school-room must be preceded by that of the nursery.

Mr Mayhew is a strenuous advocate for adhering to the system of nature in education; that is, teaching by the instrumentality of things, and not by words only. The study of natural philosophy he would place at the beginning rather than at the end of an educational course.

"We should instruct a child in such matters only as admit of being actually demonstrated by sensible things, and defer until such time as the volatility peculiar to its tender age has subsided into the more contemplative habits of mature years, all instruction upon subjects of an abstract and consequently of an abstruse character; for abstraction being simply the intent contemplation of some one quality or property apart from the thing to which it belongs, it follows that the study of abstract subjects must require an intensity of attention, to which children, from the very form of their constitution, cannot be adequate. We should, however, not only instruct a child in such matters as admit of being demonstrated by actual experiment with sensible things, but we should do it in such a manner as to bring the matter to be taught before its mind in a novel and striking light, and, by the frequent changes of the subject of instruction, avoid that duration of attention to the same object, which, from the restlessness peculiar to early life, cannot but be difficult and irksome to the young. We should also allow the child to repeat the experiments illustrative of the subjects taught whenever they are unaccompanied with danger, and so, by affording it some active employment, accommodate ourselves to that busy disposition or muscular irritability in children which naturally gives them a disinclination for all sedentary pursuits. By these means, the studies of the young would be made to yield them the same excitement, interest, and occupation as their games; for it is evident; if we adopt our mode of teaching to that love of novelty, variety, and action which are the necessary consequences of the temperament appertaining to youth, there must be the same inducement for a child to learn that it now has to play."

In pursuance of these views, the soundness of which are indisputable, he recommends the constant excitement of the feelings of surprise and wonder as powerful instruments in education. He says we have only to lead the pupil to expect a particular result—a result conformable to his limited experience—and then to disappoint his expectations by showing him some other result which is at variance with that experience, to produce in him a feeling of astonishment, and to set him speculating in his own rude manner as to the cause of the result which astonished him. We should rather expect him to give up speculating altogether; occasional disappointment may whet curiosity, which is the object Mr Mayhew proposes, but constant disappointment will infallibly deaden it. Knowledge, and not the paltry excitement of a conjuring trick, is the thing sought. The aim should be rather by the explanation of certain natural laws and relations to expect the result, seeing that the thing taught, however desirable in itself, is yet a secondary object to the exercise and strengthening of the reasoning faculties by the process of teaching. The constant recourse to the "wonder" of the pupil is open, moreover, to the objection of being applicable only to one or two branches of education, and of weakening the power of attention to others where it is not available, by the reaction inevitable in the use of stimuli, whether physical or moral.

In the warmth of his denunciation of what he calls the recollective system practised in schools, the author falls into the opposite extreme. Because in

them the memory is almost exclusively appealed to, he appears inclined to reject its aid altogether, forgetful of his own definition of education as the educing or bringing out of *all* the moral and mental powers.

The question may be held yet open to consideration, whether children should be taught absolutely nothing but what their minds can grasp at once? Nothing should certainly be taught that they are wholly incapable of comprehending; but a hint may sometimes be given, and the mind left to work upon it, not only without injury, but with positive advantage. The point aimed at may not be obtained at the first flight, but the exertion strengthens the pinion for further trial.

The opinion seems to be entertained by some persons, that because a careful selection of the things to be taught, and a good method of teaching, do very much abridge labour, that a very good method would spare it altogether, and effect a kind of mental transfusion, by aid of which the child should find itself one day possessed of all the mental accomplishments required without effort and almost without consciousness. He would be little the gainer if this were possible. If the true end of education be not the acquirement of a certain amount of art or science, but the bringing out of all the faculties, then the mental exertion by which knowledge is acquired is not only a means but an end.

One of the freaks of fancy in which Mr Mayhew indulges is a violent objection to the arts of reading and writing as instruments of early education: according to him they are not only for a long time useless, but positively injurious. Everything, he says, that can be communicated by literary means can be as well, if not more forcibly, conveyed *viva voce*, if the tutor be proximate or in close connexion with the pupil, "and that in consequence, it is absurdly idle to have recourse to a means of education like reading and writing, which is of use only in precisely opposite circumstances;" a position in these days of family libraries and mechanics' institutes about as reasonable and about as tenable as Rousseau's, that a child should never be spoken to on religious subjects till he was fifteen,—in a country full of priests and churches. In a treatise that professes to instruct not alone "what to teach," but "how to teach it," some consideration should also have been paid to the enormous weight of labour that would thus be thrown upon the teachers, who, after all, are but mortals. That they should be devoted to their youthful charges may be expected,—that they should be sacrificed to them cannot reasonably be required.

How are languages to be taught orally? How is the future to be read in the past in the page of history "by word of mouth?"—"Dont teach them at all," says Mr Mayhew, "orthography or any other branch of grammar, till the volatility natural to the childish temperament shall have subsided into the sedate and contemplative habits of mature years." But without stopping to dispute the expediency of not fashioning your tool till you want to use it, how many years would this process of "intellectualisation," to use his own phraseology, demand? Certainly more than double the number that can be spared in a country where the great majority who mean to eat must early learn to work.

It is also a novel doctrine, that languages are merely the "ornaments of education." In the liberal professions a knowledge of the dead languages is useful, if not necessary; to all who desire to cultivate an enlarged sympathy with the mass of mankind, and for many who are engaged in active life, it is needless to enlarge upon the advantage of an acquaintance with the living tongues.

"Language," Mr Mayhew oddly enough remarks, "is of use solely as a means of communicating thought." And is not that (even if it were all) a

tolerably important function? Food is of use solely as a means of satisfying hunger, and that has been held since the creation of the world a sufficient motive for eating.

In another edition we would suggest that the longer and more abstruse chapters might be abridged with advantage, and illustrated with a greater number of practical examples. We can, however, safely recommend the work to the attention of persons engaged in rational instruction, who cannot fail to derive advantage from it; while those who desire plenty for their money will not quarrel with an author who provides them for a shilling with matter that would fill an octavo volume. The second part of this work (which is shortly to appear) will be on the cultivation of morality. The third part will relate to the cultivation of prudence. F.

MODEL LESSONS FOR INFANT SCHOOL TEACHERS AND NURSERY GOVERNESSES. Second Part. Containing Lessons on the Natural History of the Bible, on Plants, on Form, &c. By the Author of 'Lessons on Objects,' &c. 18mo. London: Seeley. 1842. Pp. 227.

FORTY pages of this work are devoted to Lessons on Plants; the latter half consists of a series of Lessons on Form. Both portions are more elementary, and better prepared for the purposes of early instruction, than any existing works on these subjects in the language. The remainder of the book consists of religious and miscellaneous exercises. We think that the frequent and awkward endeavour to thrust religion into the miscellaneous exercises, and the lessons on plants, is calculated to defeat the author's object, and is a blemish in a work otherwise of great merit.

PHILOSOPHY IN SPORT MADE SCIENCE IN EARNEST. Being an attempt to Illustrate the First Principles of Natural Philosophy by the aid of Popular Toys and Sports. Fifth Edition. 12mo. London: Murray. 1842.

THE object of this well-known work is to explain natural philosophy by means of the various toys and diversions of childhood and youth. To give more interest and connexion to the subject, the science is set in the framework of a story, among the incidents of which the various scientific points are introduced. Much skill and originality were required to perform this task well; and the author has been successful to a degree that renders his work unequalled, excepting by Miss Edgeworth's 'Harry and Lucy,' next to which we are disposed to rank it. Like that work, it assumes that the young pupil has acquired the simplest elements of natural philosophy, and it proceeds to illustrate these, from the sports and incidents of youth, in a very original and happy manner. Such illustrations are the more desirable, as the common elementary works on physics are scanty in their examples, and rarely give many that are perfectly familiar to the youthful mind; hence several of the most useful and entertaining branches of knowledge are rendered uninteresting, if not positively forbidding.

It is an old discovery, that there is no royal road to learning; but it is not yet generally recognised that no one road to learning is the best for all persons. The man of science requires a different book from the artisan, and the child (as our author has shown) must be instructed differently from either. So long as all geometry excepting Euclid's was considered almost a sin, that simple and universal branch of knowledge was as inaccessible to the working man as if Euclid had remained in the original Greek. And we still want some daring innovator to lower down the elements of form to the benches of our common schools, where they may take their place beside

their sister elements of number, and pave the way for the elementary exposition of all branches of natural philosophy. G.

Publications of the Religious Tract Society.

TIME was when the publications of this society consisted of melancholy looking little pamphlets, printed on unusually bad paper, often sold by beggars as a substitute for matches, or given among the poor by staid gentlewomen, or distributed by their more occupied husbands from the windows of the stage coach. With some exceptions, the matter was akin to the appearance; and, therefore, comparatively little of the effect anticipated by their promoters could have been produced by these widely dispersed tracts. We are not aware that any blame attaches to the society on this account. If they have failed in creating popular addresses to the uninstructed on the highest moral and spiritual subjects, they have failed in common with almost all who have made the attempt.

Two new classes of publications have more recently engaged the attention of this society. First, reprints of the smaller works of eminent divines and religious writers; second, works of instruction in natural history, natural philosophy, history, and antiquities; a religious turn being given, as far as possible, to these subjects, and the engraver's aid called in unsparingly on all proper occasions.

This last class of publications gives satisfactory evidence of the increasing good sense and liberality of this influential body, which no longer exhibits the spirit of the Moslem warrior, who destroyed the Alexandrian library because it contained other works than the Koran.

DR O'GREGORY'S LETTERS ON THE EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY. 12mo. 2s. 6d. BUNYAN'S HOLY WAR. 12mo. P. 346.

AS specimens of the society's reprints, these editions are very creditable. The former is an abridgment of a well-known work, into one neat pocket volume; the latter is a well printed and beautifully illustrated edition of Bunyan's celebrated work. The extensive catalogue of the society contains many of the best works of Baxter, Bunyan, Burder, Chillingworth, Doddridge, Flavel, Hall, Henry, Krummacher, Mason, Owen, &c. &c.

HEAT; its Sources, Influences, and Results. Sq. 16mo. Pp. 196.
LIGHT; its Properties and Effects. Sq. 16mo. Pp. 192.
PLANTS. Sq. 16mo. Pp. 160.
SHELLS, and their Inmates. Sq. 16mo. Pp. 214.
INSECTS, the History of. Sq. 16mo. Pp. 192.
BRITISH BIRDS. Sq. 16mo.
BRITISH QUADRUPEDS. Sq. 16mo.

To speak first of the form—every means is taken to make it agreeable, the above-named books being beautifully printed, handsomely bound in cloth and gilt, and embellished with numerous wood engravings, generally of a high character. A few of the most interesting subjects have been extracted from these works, and printed separately at a cheap rate; as the 'Ant,' the 'Spider,' the 'Leaf,' the 'Flower,' 'Grasses,' &c. &c.

The works on light and heat endeavour to unite scientific explanation with illustrations derived from the more important operations of nature. Those on plants, shells, and insects, do not fall into the error, so common in elementary books, of attempting to compress a science into a pamphlet. They select a few striking and important points, which they illustrate in

detail. These five works are not treated in a manner suitable for young children, being probably not intended for the earliest instruction; and although we conceive a little more familiarity of expression to be desirable, we must also admit that we could point to few works which excel them in clearness.

We must, however, remark that scraps of religion are often introduced very awkwardly—in a way, indeed, little calculated to promote piety among juvenile readers, some of whom would be thereby deterred from reading the works, and many others would assuredly skip these passages which break the connexion of the work. The society would probably say, " We only accept science and art as the handmaids of religion." Of this we do not complain; but we do doubt the possibility of exalting religion by dressing her up in the old clothes of her attendants. We have seen a pious arithmetic, and more than one religious English grammar, and certain we are that no high frame of mind can be promoted by such ill-judged attempts. When religious reflections can be introduced appropriately, as they are occasionally in these works, the effect is striking; but let them not be affixed to every monkey's tail, or entwined in the mechanism of long division and the rule of three. We trust that these remarks will be received in the spirit with which they are made, as we are far from supposing that the best intentions have not actuated the society; although we fear that an effect, the contrary to their wishes, will sometimes be produced.

The works on British Birds and British Quadrupeds give a short explanation of each animal, with a variety of amusing and original anecdotes. They are exceedingly well executed, and would give pleasure to persons of every age.

QUADRUPEDS, or Outlines of a Popular History of the Class Mammalia, with a particular notice of those mentioned in Scripture. Illustrated by upwards of 80 engravings. 8vo. Pp. 124. 4s.

THIS treatise is as scientific as a popular work could be made. In every respect, it is one of the most able and interesting publications of the society. It gives a full account of each animal, notices any remarkable peculiarity of anatomy, and gives excellent wood engravings of the animals, and occasionally of their skeletons, skulls, &c. Being printed in double columns, with a small, but clear type, it contains a great deal of matter; and, independent of its other merits, is one of the cheapest books we know.

THE TRAVELLER, or a Description of Various Wonders of Nature and Art. 18mo. Pp. 188.

AN account, supposed to be given by a traveller to some young friends, of the most remarkable mountains, precipices, caverns, earthquakes, deserts, rivers, cataracts, whirlpools, &c., and also of the most useful and interesting inventions. It is one of the numerous works suggested by Peter Parley's publications, and is respectably executed, has a variety of tolerable woodcuts, and is very cheap.

AUNT UPTON, and her Nephews and Nieces. 18mo. Pp. 108.

AUNT UPTON is a mawkish Peter Parley in petticoats, or a Mrs Peter Parley spiritualized. Her conversations are about the sun, moon, stars, earth, sea, clouds, winds, rain, &c., which are diluted with so large a portion of pious reflections as to leave little space for the ostensible subjects, while the modicum of science given is not treated with suffi-

cient familiarity for young children. The numerous woodcuts are beautifully executed.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF COMMON THINGS. 18mo. Pp. 104.

THIS tract gives a clear and able description of building materials, and iron, glass, coal, and the candle. It is one of the best publications of the society; and has few equals among our elementary works on science for children above the age of 10 or 12. We hope the author may be induced to write several more treatises on the philosophy of common things.

THE GIRL'S WEEK DAY BOOK. 12mo. Pp. 236.

THIS work professes to give the conversations of an elderly lady with some girls, and her subsequent addresses to them, relating to the events of her childhood and school-girl experience, with the illustrations and reflections those events are calculated to excite. It displays throughout a truthfulness, and a tone of cheerful thought and affectionate earnestness, which must make due impression on the juvenile reader, and give no mean opinion of the attainments and character of its author. We fear, however, that it will be less read by young persons than it deserves, on account of the introduction of religious admonitions to so great an extent as frequently to overlay the other matter, epecially in the earlier pages.

THE BOY'S WEEK DAY BOOK. 12mo. Pp. 232.

THIS book would fain be twin brother to the last, but it is clearly of very different parentage. It is a strange jumble of religious texts and admonitions with ill-told anecdotes and half-told facts on all conceivable subjects, displaying throughout a vulgarity of mind singularly at variance with the female work.

EASTERN ARTS AND ANTIQUITIES, mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures, with numerous illustrations. Sq. 16mo. Pp. 392.

THIS work illustrates, in an interesting and familiar manner, a great variety of subjects mentioned in the Bible. The works of numerous commentators and travellers have been laid under contribution to perfect it, and it contains many well-executed wood engravings. G.

A GRAMMATICAL CHART, OR A KEY TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR. By Walter William King. Houlston and Stoneman, Paternoster row.

(*Second Notice.*)

A BRIEF but complete view of the rudiments of English grammar, intended as a first course for children. It consists of a rather ingenious diagram, representing a general scheme of the science, and of the connexion of its parts with each other, followed by an explanatory catechism.

The author abandons the usual divisions, and makes but seven parts of speech instead of the orthodox nine. This he does by classing the "articles" together with the "demonstrative pronouns" of the ordinary grammars, as adjectives "adjectives of distinction," and the "interjections" as adverbs. The *rationale* of this latter arrangement we do not perceive. He defines adverbs to be "words added to and qualifying verbs, adjectives, and sometimes other adverbs;" a definition which can hardly be made to include under it such exclamations as "Oh, Ah," &c. "Care has been taken," we are told in the preface, "to give illustrations, chiefly selected from the holy Scriptures, of the uses of the different parts of speech." We think this a mistake. The advantage of getting a child to learn thus by rote some half dozen more "texts" than he might perhaps otherwise do

while at school, is dearly purchased by this secular and irreverent use of them, and by the habit which is evidently thus taught him of using scriptural forms at a time when all his mental powers are demanded for other than religious purposes.

Another objection to this manner of using the Scriptures might also be urged here, were it not of so much less moment than the one we have already given. It is that obsolete forms of language should be especially avoided in the examples given as models to a child by his grammatical teacher. The author's own style, however, "hath" (as he delighteth to call it) a certain antiquated stiffness of this kind belonging to it, from which we may infer, perhaps, that he esteems it as a desirable peculiarity.

G. N.

RATIONAL READING LESSONS. By the Author of the 'Diversions of Hollycot.' Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd; London: Simpkin and Marshall.

AN excellent selection of reading lessons upon all sorts of subjects likely to interest children, arranged in the elliptical manner, and with (in a pocket in the cover of the book) a 'Key,' containing the omitted words.

Miss Corner's Histories for Children.

HISTORY OF FRANCE. Adapted for Youths, Schools, and Families. By Miss Julia Corner. Dean and Munday, Threadneedle street.

THIS is not a mere chronicle of the kings, the most prominent court intrigues, and the wars of France, but, combined with as much of these as is desirable, the more important history of its people, of their manners and habits, and of the progress of their civilization, as far as these are susceptible of being made interesting to children. An intelligent schoolmaster, who has introduced this work into his school, informs us that his 'Readings from the History of France' are quite successful in fixing the attention of the boys, who have, in a few weeks, acquired from it a very good outline knowledge of the subject, and that he finds the 'Rational Reading Lessons,' noticed above, an excellent book to give his pupils to copy from. This sure method of acquiring correct orthography, now much used in our best schools, has, in the ordinary manner, the disadvantages of being (except with a few of the most intelligent pupils) a merely mechanical exercise; but with books printed in the elliptical method, the child being required while copying (without of course having access to the 'Key') to supply the omitted words, or such others as shall complete the sense, it becomes one of the best exercises of the higher mental powers, without losing any of its efficiency as a spelling lesson. The children, too, are much interested by the variety thus given to an otherwise rather monotonous employment.

G.

THE HISTORY OF GERMANY AND THE GERMAN EMPIRE. Adapted for youth, schools, and families. By Miss Julia Corner. Dean and Munday, Threadneedle street.

THE HISTORY OF POLAND AND RUSSIA. Adapted for youth, schools, and families. By Miss Julia Corner. Dean and Munday, Threadneedle street.

THE writer of history for children is required to fulfil several not very compatible conditions. The parent and teacher demand from him, that he shall not omit to make mention of any important event, name, or date; however meagrely done, they must have the whole outline for their money.

But the child itself, who cannot be left entirely out of the question, cares absolutely nothing for all this completeness, and requires only that whatever is set before him shall appeal effectually to his imagination. The only history which he will or *can* lay hold of is that which calls up in him a succession of life-like pictures; for lists of names and dates he has no sort of appetite, they are chaff and bran to him, as are, for the most part also, all attempts at philosophizing upon the subject, abstract disquisition, as well as systematic accumulation and grouping of facts, belonging but in a very small degree to his marvellous-loving and volatile age. That when Athelstane entertained several northern chieftains, the royal company drank beer, seated on wooden stools around a fire upon the hearth, the smoke going out at a hole in the roof, and that the Saxon king had a large sword placed on his knees indicative of his determination to suppress all too turbulent demonstrations of joyousness, and that yet the same Saxons built churches, resembling perhaps the one in which he has sat on the preceding Sunday,—this haunts his imagination, and becomes a source of curiosity, which, once awakened, may in time make him as laborious and methodical a student as his schoolmaster even can desire.

He too, child or man, who has in any degree a feeling of what kind of people the Saxons were, and of what part of our common nature predominated in them, even though incapable of citing the names of any two of their kings in chronological order, is yet in possession of the very kernel of their history, the thing for which their history is to be studied. A knowledge of the names and order of succession of all the kings that have ruled over a nation, and of the dates of all the remarkable events that have happened in its history, is—compared with the power of representing to one's-self the people who lived through these epochs, and did and suffered these events, and of the thought and feelings which actuated them—what a knowledge of the names of the drugs in an apothecary's drawers, and of the dates of their preparation, is, compared with that of their nature and effects.

Miss Corner, another of whose histories we have already noticed, appears to possess the requisite sympathy with the childish imagination. She selects and compiles with good sense and good feeling, and works up the required amount of systematized details with the smallest possible interruption to the interest demanded by the young. G. N.

The following are by the same author.

HISTORY OF TURKEY AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

———— ITALY AND SWITZERLAND.

———— HOLLAND AND BELGIUM.

Darton and Clark's Publications.

Blair's First or Mother's Catechism. 87th Edition.
——— Second ———
——— Third ———

A work that has gone through 87 editions may set the critic at defiance, though nothing will stop his carping and cavilling. With so long a vista of editions behind us, shall we be permitted to observe that the "common things necessary to be known at an early age," and unfolded in these tracts, might be simplified considerably in subject, arrangement, and language, and many of the topics omitted with advantage? For example, we do not see the use of obliging children, at an early age, to learn the dates of the acces-

sion of the English kings from the heptarchy, the distances of the planets from the sun, or the fact that Jeddo is the capital of Japan, and Lassa of Thibet. Neither do we apprehend that little children would be much wiser for many questions and answers like the following.

"*Q*. Are the dominions of the Queen of Great Britain very extensive? *A*. The British islands are of inconsiderable extent; but, as the British fleets govern the seas, the colonies of England are great and powerful in every part of the world."

A little child would not comprehend the meaning of the words *dominions*, *extensive*, *inconsiderable*, or *colonies*: "*fleets govern the seas*" would need a world of explanation; while the discovery of the sequence between this proposition and the subsequent one respecting colonies, might possibly prove too much for the instructors of even older children.

The First Catechism of Geography. By the Rev. T. Wilson. 18mo. Pp. 80. 9d.

First Lessons on Natural Philosophy for Children. By the same Author.

Second Lessons on Natural Philosophy. And

Third Lessons on Natural Philosophy.

Admitting that the form of a catechism is the best for instruction (which we are far from doing) these little works are very respectably executed. The answers are unusually short and clear, and it would be difficult to give more facts in fewer words. If learning by heart a number of propositions be the aim of education, these must be considered excellent school books. But if knowledge should be put into the form most fitted to develop the faculties of children, a very different course must be pursued, and all hope of squeezing a science into a nutshell must be abandoned. When our instructors are instructed they will perceive that no important phenomenon of nature is to be understood by merely getting by heart the most abridged statement of it in words; and that they must consider the answers in these tracts as texts to be expanded and illustrated before they can be rendered suitable for instruction. The 'Catechism on Geography' is very well arranged, and gives the most important points with great clearness and brevity. The first of the series on natural philosophy consists chiefly of astronomy and physical geography; the second relates to mechanics; and the third to hydrostatics, hydraulics, and pneumatics. The subjects are not treated fully or scientifically, but such practical points are taken as are supposed to be within the reach of young persons. These tracts form part of a series projected as a sequel to Blair's 'Mother's Catechisms.'

Peter Parley's Modern Maps and Geographical Tables. 4to.

An atlas of twelve tolerable school maps, with introductory remarks on maps, and tables of population, towns, mountains, rivers, and a large index of latitudes and longitudes. A map of central Europe is wanting, and the mountain chains are too slightly marked. Decidedly a cheap work.

The Book of the United Kingdom. Written by Uncle John. Illustrated by S. Williams. Sq. 16mo. Pp. 475.

This stout little volume contains Uncle John's account of his travels in the United Kingdom, after the manner of Peter Parley, in which he describes the most remarkable objects and localities, and gives many historical and miscellaneous anecdotes respecting them. Although of no particular merit in the execution, it will be found more interesting to young persons than the common school geographies of the United Kingdom. The numerous well-executed illustrations by Williams add greatly to the value of the work.

Peter Parley's Wonders of the Earth and Sky. Sq. 16mo. Pp. 345.

Peter Parley's style of writing is too well known to require explanation. The present work treats—1st. On extinct animals, volcanoes, earthquakes, and basaltic rocks. 2nd. On the frozen ocean and tropical sea, with some of their inhabitants. 3rd. On the colour of the sky, aurora borealis, meteors, aerial reflection and refraction, and some other topics; all of which are illustrated with many wood and lithographic engravings.

Peter Parley's Wonders of Art, Ancient and Modern. Sq. 16mo. Pp. 380.

The subjects noticed in this work are the most remarkable buildings of antiquity, including several edifices of the East and a few celebrated statues. But the greater part of the work relates to coal mines, gas manufacture, steam vessels, railways and presses, silk, cotton, and wool machinery and processes, the manufacture of glass, &c., explained with the degree of familiarity and minuteness likely to interest and instruct young persons. The book is full of excellent wood engravings. G.

Le Tresor de L'Ecolier Francais. By Louis Philippe R. F. de Porquet.

Modern French Spelling Book. By the same.

The Parisian Grammar a l'Usages des Commencants. By the same. F. Porquet, 11 Tavistock street.

M. de Porquet's grammar possesses one of the most important merits which a grammar for English students of French can possess, namely, that of very carefully pointing out the difference in the idiom of the two languages.

It contains also one or two useful tables of reference; and the difficulty *par excellence* in French grammar—the difficulty in the correct use of the passive participles, is lucidly treated. Much of the work, however, is compiled in a very slovenly manner; and the use which the author makes of the names of the popular French grammarians, Noël and Chapsal, is not warranted by anything contained in his book. These gentlemen tell us that the part of their grammar which contains the exercises is "la partie vraiment neuve de l'ouvrage;" and of this part no use whatever is made by M. de Porquet. They, too, do not puzzle the student by talking about the declension of nouns in the grammar of a language the nouns in which are invariable (except for number); whereas M. de Porquet insists on translating, not Noël and Chapsal's, but the Latin Grammar, in this part of his compilation, and runs his nouns through nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, and ablative, the obstinate substantives remaining throughout the six cases just whatever they happen to be in any one of them.

We will cite a passage or two as specimens of the negligences we have complained of:—

"Q.—What do you understand by common substantives?

"A.—They are words which designate objects and ideas, as stone, *pierre;* hat, *chapeau.*

"Q.—Proper names or substantives?—(*i.e.* what do you understand by proper names or substantives?)

"A.—Paris, Londres, Caton, César, Brutus, Napoléon."

The definitions in Noël and Chapsal are—

"Il y a deux sortes de substantifs; le substantif propre, ou nom propre, qui ne convient qu'à une seule personne ou à une seule chose, comme Alexandre, &c.;

et le substantif commun, ou nom commun, qui convient à tous les individus, ou à tous les objets de la même espèce, comme homme, &c."

At p. 22, "Je lui donne" is given as an example of the use of a pronoun of the second person. At p. 10 we are told that, "as a general rule, not without exception," substantives ending in a certain manner "are oftentimes feminine." The answer to the question, "What do you understand by a passive verb?" (p. 63) is, "It is quite different from an active verb, inasmuch as the action of the former is past, done, or performed," and the first example given is "Je suis admiré," in which the action is evidently not past, but present. Noël and Chapsal define the active and passive verbs as follows:—

"Le verb actif marque une action faite par le sujet et a un régime direct. * * Le verb passif est le contraire du verbe actif: il marque une action reçues, soufferte par le sujet et se forme du verbe actif dont on prend le régime direct pour faire le sujet du verbe passif."

The subjoined definition of grammar, too, is certainly not the clearest that could be written for a "commençant:"—

"The author ventures to assert, that simplicity and facility, an observance of the prescription of popular and vernacular custom, and a strict adhesion to conventional rules, form the spirit and soul of genuine grammar. He has built his unpresuming grammar of the French language upon this sure foundation."

In justice to those who may be induced to use his grammar, M. de Porquet should correct the defects of which we have given examples, and, in justice to his own reputation, should get his English rewritten for him by an Englishman. G. N.

Conversations on the History of England. For the Use of Children. By Mrs Marcet. 18mo. Longman. 1842.

This work is stated by its accomplished authoress to be the result of actual conversations with a little girl during the perusal of Lady Calcott's 'Little Arthur's History of England.' The observations and questions of the child, and the replies and remarks of the mother, are simple and natural, and quite within the comprehension of any tolerably instructed child; while the events are illustrated in that familiar and happy manner for which Mrs Marcet is so much distinguished. The book is intended to be read while some elementary history of England is perused by the child, and Mrs Marcet has selected Lady Calcott's as the most suitable text for her own commentary; but any history of England for young persons would answer the purpose.

The Game of Grammar. By Mrs Marcet. London: Longman. 1842.

A box of counters, and numerous bits of card, with words of the different parts of speech printed on them, are the materials for playing this game. The little book describes the game, which is the most rational grammatical amusement we have seen, and the most likely to interest children, and to assist instruction under other forms, in unfolding the difficult science of grammar.

Ince's Outlines of General Knowledge. 18mo. London: Grattan.
—— Outlines of English History.
—— Outlines of French History.

The first of these tracts is a treatise on things in general, but too brief to be of much use to children. The historical 'Outlines' are necessarily ex-

ceedingly brief, and are too much on the old plan of giving the lives of kings as the history of a nation.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION. By A. B. A. 8vo. Ridgway. 1842. Pp. 33.
A CALM and temperate examination of the education given at the University of Cambridge, with suggestions for its improvement.

The following educational works have been published by Mr Murray, Albemarle street. We regret that we have not space in the present number to notice them, severally, with others deserving attention in the subjoined list:—

Conversations on Nature and Art.

—————————Second Series.

Latinæ Grammaticæ Rudimenta.

Græcæ Grammaticæ Rudimenta.

————————— Minora.

History of the Late War, for Children.

Selections from the Proverbs, in four Languages.

Garry Owen; or, the Show-Woman.

The following educational works have been published by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, in addition to those formerly noticed.—

Introductory Atlas of Modern Geography; with an Index. By A. Reid.

Nouveau Cours de Littérature. Par C. P. Buquet.

A work compiled for French students on the principle of an 'English Reader,' containing a large selection in prose and verse from the best authors, on moral, historical, and biographical subjects. A very useful work for schools.

A Grammar of the French Language. By M. Hallard.

A French, English, and Latin Vocabulary. By T. A. Gibson.

Elements of Astronomy. By Hugo Reid.

The New French Manual and Traveller's Companion. By Gabriel Surenne.

English holiday travellers about to visit France, with but a slight knowledge of the language, could not do better than put this work in their pockets. They would find it practically of the greatest use, as it relates to all the objects of such excursions.

Rudiments of English Composition. By Alexander Reid.

Diversions of Hollicot; or, the Mother's Art of Thinking.

Miscellaneous Educational Works.

The Chronicles of England; a Metrical History. By George Raymond. W. Smith.

We agree with the author, that many things are best remembered by the aid of rhymes—but the rhymes for that purpose should be in the form of short songs or easy couplets. Two hundred and seventy-four pages in rhyme is somewhat too much to commit to memory, with a view of learning the history of England. We doubt whether any child will be the wiser for Mr Raymond's book; many may be the sadder. We recommend all schoolboys and schoolgirls to enter their protest against the task with which they are threatened in the following terms:—

Raymond, the 'Chronicles of England' in rhyme,
For children, will prove but a waste of their time.

A Grammar of the German Language. By H. Apel. C. and H. Senior.

Greek Poetry, for Schools. Simpkin and Co.

The Practical English Linguæduct. Darton and Clarke.

A Complete Treatise of Practical Arithmetic. By John Abram. Darton and Clarke.

The Arithmetician's Guide. By W. Taylor. Longman.

Fractional Arithmetic Reviewed. By E. Clifford. Simpkin and Co.

Cæsar de Bello Gallico. By P. Smith. Simpkin and Co.

A New Analogy for determining the Distances of the Planets from the Sun. Whittaker.

The Pictorial Grammar. Harvey and Darton.

Guide to Service: the Clerk. C. Knight.

——— the Laundry Maid.

An Exposition of the Nature, Force, Action, &c., of the Gravitation of Planets. Whittaker and Co.

Select Poetry for Children. By J. Payne. Relfe and Fletcher.

A very suitable and pleasing selection.

Abridgment of Murray's English Grammar. By J. Harvey. Simpkin and Co.

Statistical Exercises on the Maps of Great Britain and Ireland. By E. C. Nunn. Simpkin and Co.

Questions on the History of France. By Miss Julia Corner. Dean and Munday.

A Peep at Grammar for Children. By a Private Teacher. Darton and Clarke.

Prideaux's Concise Rules for acquiring the Genders of French Nouns. Relfe and Fletcher.

The English Maiden; her Moral and Domestic Duties. Second edition. London: Talboys & Co. 1842.

Amongst the many educational books with which the press teems, the 'Village Maiden' must have attained to its share of popularity, since this new edition appears to have been called for in less than twelve months from its first publication.

The education of woman is an important subject—too important to be squeezed into a nut-shell. Some of the author's views are narrow—others untenable; but an earnestness and absence of all pretension runs through the whole, well calculated to disarm criticism.

FICTION.

Blackwood's Standard Novels.

1. The Annals of the Parish, and the Ayrshire Legatees. By John Galt.
2. The Entail. By John Galt.
3. The Provost, and other Tales. By John Galt.
4. Sir Andrew Wylie of that Ilk. By John Galt.
5. Tom Cringle's Log. By Michael Scott.
6. The Youth and Manhood of Cyril Thornton.
7. Valerius.

The above novels, which, through the medium of 'Blackwood's Magazine,' are already favourably known to a numerous circle of readers, now appear in the form of neat small octavo volumes, ornamented with steel frontispieces, and accompanied with biographical notices of their authors. We would have all works of fiction printed of the same size, and with the type

of this new edition ; the letter-press not too small nor crowded for the eye, and yet sufficiently condensed for cheapness ; each book not too large and heavy for the hand. Novels ought not to require the assistance of a magnifying glass, or of a reading desk. We surrender ourselves to the pleasures of the imagination on the sofa, and diamond and large octavo elephantine editions interfere with our love of ease. The contents of the first four volumes are by John Galt, one of our favourite authors. The great characteristic of his novels is their home interest, and the fidelity of his sketches of middle life ; sketches with which we are always better pleased than with attempts to delineate the character and artificial manners of those who move in the upper circles. Of life among the aristocracy we have had somewhat too much, and the public, we suspect, are beginning to arrive at the same conclusion. Even novel writers must defer to the utilitarian tendency of the age. It is not sufficient that a novel should amuse for an hour. The writer must have an answer for the question, *cui bono?* It is given in most of the works of John Galt. His 'Laurie Todd' and 'Bogle Corbett' are, for emigrants, among the most useful works ever written. They form a complete manual of emigration in all that knowledge of the social character of new settlements which every one requires to possess, who contemplates quitting his native land. The story of the 'Entail' is a moral and political lesson, which, in this country of entail and primogeniture, cannot be without fruit. It will help, we trust, at some distant day, to put an end to the system. The irrationality must at last be seen of allowing a man in his grave to direct the disposal of his property through all succeeding generations.

Sir Andrew Wylie is perhaps one of the most amusing tales of the present series ; but the whole are good, and recommend themselves both to the drawing room and the circulating library.

Next to John Galt few writers of 'Blackwood' have shown greater power of delineation than the author of 'Tom Cringle's Log.' The papers published under that title in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' now collected in one volume, do not, however, possess the moral and philosophical merit of Galt's novels. They consist of clever sketches of a nautical life, West Indian society, the scenery of the tropics, and naval engagements, all striking and effective, but strung together with little art. We miss the object, and want some better connecting link than that which forms the mainstay of the story. The author was Mr Michael Scott, who, until the whole were published, preserved a strict *incognito*. He died Nov., 1835.

CAKES AND ALE. By Douglas Jerrold. 2 vols. How and Parsons.

Two pleasant volumes of light reading, consisting of tales which first appeared in a popular miscellany, and among the best, perhaps, of those which assume the magazine form. They will be acceptable to the numerous class of readers who for the first half hour after dinner feel disinclined for graver studies, and are glad to employ themselves with an amusing story before dropping asleep in an easy chair. For this purpose the tales are exactly of the right length ; and, while smartly written, they are not without some moral point. We cannot, however, do better than quote a specimen.

"KIND COUSIN TOM.

"Jack and Tom started in life from the same point : Jack crept a step or two and then stuck fast, whilst Tom took ogre's strides into the pleasant places of the world. At times they met, or rather passed each other, nothing inducing Jack to suspect that there was the slightest distinction between them—that Tom, except

from a growing defect of vision, could have failed to see him. 'Poor fellow! he always used to be dim-sighted,' Jack would say; 'but bless me! how very fast he walks. Capital fellow, cousin Tom—always very fond of me.'

"It was, in truth, an annoyance to Tom that his extraordinary position in the world—his increasing reputation in the market, was wholly unacknowledged by his vulgar cousin Jack, who saw cousin Tom, and would have seen only cousin Tom, had he been clothed in cloth of gold, and dubbed a knight. There was the same laugh—the same gripe of the hand—when Tom found it impossible to avoid the grasp—the same kind salutation as in former years. Tom, when confronted by Jack, seemed humiliated by his very heartiness; his robust welcome awoke a recollection of former annoyance. Jack rose before the prosperous Tom the ghost of departed poverty.

"'What an excellent fellow is my cousin Tom!' said Jack, warm from one of these meetings, to a brother clerk—a fellow vassal—in the office of Smith and Smith.

What's he done, Jack?' asked his friend.

O, he's done nothing,' replied Jack; 'but he's a fine fellow! So anxious about me.'

'Well, I am happy to hear it. I suppose he promises something, then?'

Not at all; but he has given me capital advice. Tom was always fond of me.'

Advice? And shall you take it, eh, Jack?' asked his companion.

I can't say I shall; but, poor fellow! he meant it well—a good-hearted creature. I'll tell you all about it. You see this morning, as I was going along Cheapside, I met Tom between Alderman Poger and Snarl the common-councilman. "What! cousin Tom," says I, and caught hold of his hand—"how are you? How are you, cousin Tom?"'

"'And what said the alderman and——'

"'O, they nodded and laughed to Tom, and no doubt, thinking I'd something particular to say to my cousin, they dropped his arm and walked on.'

"'And was your cousin,' asked Jack's friend, drily, 'very much pleased at the meeting?'

"'To be sure he was—haven't I told you Tom was always so fond of me?'

"'Well, and his advice?'

"'Why, he asked me to walk down Gutter lane with him; and when we had gone a little way he stopped, and looking at me in his kind, good way, he said, "Cousin John——"'

"'John!'

"'"Say Jack," says I, "cousin Tom—no John between relations—Jack as always."—"Jack," says he, "what's your present salary?"—"Seventy-five pounds a-year," says I.—"It's very little," says he, and I couldn't deny it; "very little for a man of your talents."—"Why," says I, "not to say much about talents, I've known greater fools get a good deal more; but never mind that."—"And you've a wife and two children?" says he.—"Ha! you've never come and taken a bit with us," says I, "as you promised. Cousin Sally would be so happy."—"Well, I will come, says he; "but now to business. A wife and two children?" says he.—"Between you and me," says I, "there's flannel wanted for a third."—"It's a great pity," says he.—"Can't be helped," says I.—"However," says Tom, "this makes the matter more urgent. Cousin Jack, you're wasting your abilities in England—you are indeed," and, poor fellow, he seemed quite concerned as he spoke.—"What would you have me do, then?" says I.—"Do!" says he, "why, I wouldn't have you stop another week in London. If you want to be a man,—they're the words of a friend, Jack,"—and here he squeezed my hand quite like a brother,—"go to New Zealand: there's no place like it—four harvests a-year and no taxes—good-bye! but *do go* to New Zealand."'"

On a fine Sunday in May cousin Tom is standing conversing with a new and fashionable club acquaintance, the Hon. Alexander Pulington. Suddenly he was roused to the gross events of wayfaring life by a most vehement slap on the shoulder.

"Quick as thought he turned, and—oh shame!—oh horror!—oh death to his new-born friendship with the Hon. Alexander Pulington!—there stood cousin

Jack, all his good-natured face melting with a smile, his right hand outstretched, while his left forefinger pointed gracefully and significantly down to his feet, where in a red dish smoked a breast of veal that moment from the baker's—a breast of veal hissing and bubbling on a bed of brown potatoes!

"'I knew you'd come—I told Sally there must have been a mistake. She said it was pride—but la! I knew you'd drop in upon us and take pot-luck. Come along—bring your friend with you—there'll be quite enough, and you'll be welcome, sir, as the flowers in May.—Here, Tommy, and cousin Jack turned to his eldest son, a plump urchin of seven years old, glistening in a white pinafore, and carrying in his two hands a mug of porter—" Cousin Tom," and Jack smiled again as he displayed the boy, " you know he's your namesake; I christened him after you because I knew you were always so very fond of me.—Here, Tommy, run to the Coach-and-Horses, and tell 'em to send home another pot of beer—in their own pot—mother won't mind the halfpenny—and now, cousin Tom, if you and your friend will just follow me down that court——"

"The despairing artist, feeling that the passion of his heroine defied his skill, modestly yet cunningly hung a veil before her. A like difficulty suggests to us a like escape. We shall not attempt to describe the agony of cousin Tom—the tortures of the moment. Talk of the punishment of the brazen bull—what was it to the horrors of that breast of veal? We will not linger on the theme, but simply assure the reader that neither Tom nor his friend, the Honourable Alexander Pulington, dined with cousin Jack. We have, however, to record another painful incident arising from this ill-timed hospitality. After many struggles, cousin Tom was compelled to quit the club; for a month he wrestled with his destiny; but it was too much for the nerves of a stoic that his appearance should be the inevitable signal to divers members to commence an earnest inquiry of the waiters if there was in the house a breast of veal, with particular and most significant queries touching—baked potatoes.

"How cousin Jack was anathematized by cousin Tom!

"A year or two passed away, and cousin Tom fell in love; it was prudent in him to have an intense affection for Dorothea Sybilwitz, the only child of a German baron, who, philosophically regardless of the evanescent advantages of nobility, devoted his many days to the vending of a certain precious ointment made patent by the state. The daughter of the medicinal philosopher had a dowry of twenty thousand pounds; she had, moreover, a very proper notion of the delightful privileges of worldly station. She was a mere woman, and was not content to sink the nobility inherited from her father in her father's gallipots. Hence, Dorothea Sybilwitz, as the phrase runs, looked high. How it happened, let Cupid answer; but certain it is that, with all these aspirations, Dorothea fell in love with cousin Tom. It was true—she reasoned with herself—he had no high relations to recommend him; but then, upon his own showing, he had no poor, beggarly connexions to cast a shadow on her golden fortunes. It was thus Dorothea compromised between her love of nobility and her love for cousin Tom. Rank was, after all, an abstract idea; whereas cousin Tom was really a tall, well-made young fellow, with very tantalizing whiskers. The match was settled—Dorothea Sybilwitz was the affianced bride of cousin Tom.

"What a lovely day was the Derby day of 1837! Cousin Tom, within one month of his coming marriage with Dorothea Sybilwitz, with his bride and two female friends, took the road to Epsom. There never was such a delightful day; even the confusion that now and then occurred upon the way, served to give a whet, a zest, to the pleasures of the scene. A thousand and a thousand vehicles lined the road. Cousin Tom was all attention, and Dorothea Sybilwitz was all bliss, when suddenly a voice roared above the hubbub,—'Tom, Tom,—cousin Tom, I say;' and Tom, casting his eyes down, beheld in a low spring-cart, drawn by a pony something less than a Newfoundland dog, the happy, smiling cousin Jack! 'How are you, cousin Tom?—here we are, you see!—here's Sally, and here's the two boys, and here's baby—couldn't leave baby behind, you know—and here's Mr and Mrs Simcox, all neighbours and friends—beautiful pony that—small; but I'll bet you a bottle of ginger beer that he keeps up with you all the way.'

"Cousin Tom's face became yellow as his glove, and Miss Dorothea Sybilwitz,

with ashy lips and terrible eyes, said mutteringly, 'Cousin! cousin!' Cousin Tom said nothing; but cousin Jack was resolved to be seen, because he knew cousin Tom was so fond of him.

"'Tom, cousin Tom,' he cried, 'here's Sarah! Don't you know your cousin Sarah?' and the husband with a look of triumph pulled the coat of cousin Tom, compelling him to glance at cousin Sarah, at the time in a coarse straw bonnet and cotton shawl, suckling her last-born. 'So you're going to be married, Tom, are you?—I heard something of it—well, I wish you joy; and I wish you joy, ma'am, for I can see by your blushing and biting your lips that——'

"To the inexpressible relief of cousin Tom, the postilions cut out of the line and distanced the pony-chaise; hence cousin Jack could see no more. Miss Dorothea Sybilwitz had, however, learned the existence of a horribly poor, and therefore horribly low cousin, and Dorothea smiled not again that day.

"Early the next morning—even whilst cousin Jack was at his breakfast—cousin Tom, threading the intricacies of the Brill, Camden Town, presented himself at the humble dwelling of the poor lawyer's clerk. 'I knew some day you'd come to see me—I was sure you would,' cried joyous cousin Jack, 'because, though you are a little better off than I am, still I knew that could make no difference to you; no, no, I knew you were still very fond of me.'

"In many words cousin Tom told the purpose of his errand. He thought the situation held by cousin Jack was far beneath his talents; and therefore, as he would not go abroad, if he would consent to retire into Wales, he and his family should be amply provided for by cousin Tom. This was the offer, recommended by all the arts of language at the command of the visitor.

"'God bless you, Tom!' cried Jack, 'you have a heart indeed; you always were so kind to me. What I get is, to be sure, little enough for Sarah and—and—and they're nice little things, ar'n't they?' said Jack, in a thickened voice, averting his head, and pointing to his children.

"'Beautiful babes!' cried cousin Tom, taking one upon his knee, and trying to smile upon it. 'But what say you to my offer, Jack?'

"'I say, God bless you—but I can't take it—no, I can't. Though, as a poor clerk, I write my hand down to the stump, I can't eat the bread of obligation.'

"And on this point cousin Jack was resolute; and cousin Tom, with a perplexed and angry face, quitted the house. * *

"Misfortunes suddenly fell upon cousin Jack, for that day week he was discharged from his office. This was the more strange, as it was only two days before that Smith and Smith, his employers, were splendidly entertained at the table of cousin Tom. Poor cousin Jack owed two or three debts; the creditors became clamorous—he could obtain no new employment; to make things worse, two of the children sickened, as it was thought, for the measles.

"With an aching heart and a pale brow, cousin Jack knocked at the door of cousin Tom.

"'God bless you, Tom,' he cried; 'it would be a long story to tell you what I've suffered for this fortnight past. Ha! you are a friend indeed—but I must take your offer—I will go, and, for the sake of others, end my days in Wales. May God bless you,' and the tears ran down Jack's face, 'for your kindness to me!'

"In six days cousin Jack and his family were buried amidst the mountains of North Wales; and Miss Dorothea Sybilwitz consented to bear the name of cousin Tom; whose kindness for Jack was still further enhanced by an offer, that when the boys should be old enough, he would place them very eligibly at sea.

"Cousin Jack still lives in Wales; still enjoys his forty pounds a year from cousin Tom."

HISTORY.

History of Scotland. By Patrick Fraser Tytler. Vol. VIII. W. Tait.

The History of Guernsey. With Occasional Notices of Jersey, Alderney, and Sark. By Jonathan Duncan, Esq., B.A.

The ordinary conception entertained of the Channel Islands is that of a couple of comfortable residences for half-pay officers and bilious East

Indians, where poultry and butchers' meat are emphatically "reasonable," where wine and spirits are to be had without duty, and where the only things contraband are tax-gatherers and excisemen. Truth there is in all this; but this book of Duncan's tells us that Guernsey and Jersey are famed for something more, and a page is opened to us which the philosopher may read, and rise, moreover, from the recreation with a mind set thinking by the facts there set down.

The first two hundred and odd pages of the volume bring the political history of Guernsey down to the end of 1835. Of this portion of the book we shall only say that it is worthy the author of the 'Dukes of Normandy.' The chapters which demand the reader's especial attention are those upon the commercial history and the agriculture of the island.

Guernsey has long enjoyed freedom of trade, and under that wise rule its commerce has flourished beyond all precedent. From the time of Edward the Third to the reign of William and Mary, it enjoyed neutrality in times of war; and the commerce both of Guernsey and Jersey being free, they have been in a position to take advantage of the folly of European nations, and carry on that trade which the nations in question might carry on for themselves. The details of the chapter on the commerce of Guernsey may be read with profit, but we find nothing that is adapted for quotation, and therefore pass to the chapter on agriculture, by far the most important in the book.

Guernsey contains a gross superficies of 15,366 acres; on deducting places not susceptible of culture, 10,240 English acres fit for cultivation. On this narrow field 26,700 people subsist in comfort, and there are circumstances connected with their condition which render the island a study for the economist and statesman. Of the circumstances affecting the condition of the people, by far the most pregnant with consequences is the tenure of land, which is thus explained by the author:—

"The tenure of property partakes of the double nature of land held as a farm, subject to the payment of annual rents, and as land held as freehold in perpetuity. A purchase may be made by the immediate payment of the price agreed upon, or by the payment of a part only, and the conversion of the remainder into corn rents to be annually paid; or finally, by converting the whole of the price into such rents. In the two last cases, where a part of or the whole of the price is stipulated for in annual rents, the purchaser is, to all intents and purposes, as much the proprietor as in the first case, where the whole price is paid down in cash; and so long as the stipulated rents are paid, he and his heirs can never be disturbed, but hold the land as freehold for ever. To the former proprietor the rents are guaranteed by the land sold, and by all the other real property held at the time of sale by the purchaser free from incumbrance; and the rents being transferable, and such property being always in demand, money can be raised by their sales with as much ease as it could before on the land itself. Thus, without the necessity of cultivating the soil, the original possessor enjoys the net income of his estate, secured on the estate itself, which he can resume in case of non-payment; while the purchaser, on due payment of the rent charged, becomes real and perpetual owner, having an interest in the soil far above farmers under any other tenure. Experience has proved that, under this tenure, a spirit of industry and economy is generated, producing content, ease, and even wealth, from estates which, in other countries, would hardly be thought capable of affording sustenance to their occupants. And thus, also, arose two classes mutually advantageous to each other,—the one living on its income, or free exercise of trades or professions; the other composed of farmers raised to the rank of proprietors, dependent alone on their own good conduct. The faculty of acquiring land in perpetuity, without paying any purchase money, is undeniably proved to have been of infinite benefit to the people of this island; but it is obvious that this source of so much good could never have existed, or could never continue, without a corresponding security, well guaranteed to the original proprietor of the land before he parted with it."

This statement is then explained by an example :—

"This relation of landlord and tenant being peculiar to the Channel Islands, it may be advisable, for the sake of English readers, to whom the system is a novelty, to explain it more fully by example. Suppose A posesses land valued at 1,200*l.*, which he desires to *sell*, we should say in England,—or *give to rent*, as the phrase runs in Guernsey,—the following would be the process :—A would either convey his estate to B, the purchaser, wholly in quarters, without receiving any cash ; or, as in the more usual mode, he would receive one-fourth of the price, and convert the remainder into quarters. One Guernsey quarter is equivalent to 20*l.* local currency. In the first case, B would have to pay annually to A sixty quarters, the interest on 1,200*l.*, the assumed cost of the estate, at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum ; in the second case, he would have to pay annually forty-five quarters. The reason why it is usual to pay one-fourth of the purchase money in cash is, that such payment may be some guarantee to A that B will faithfully work the estate and pay the rent regularly ; for should the rent fall in arrear, then A, by a process called *saisie*, may totally eject B from the property, and the 300*l.* paid by B when the contract was passed would be lost to him for ever. In this manner, then, is the seller, or landlord, secured in the receipt of the equivalent for which he has parted with the estate. As soon as the contract is executed, B can fell timber, convert meadow into arable, and arable into meadow, and perform any and every act that a tenant in fee-simple can do in England. The estate thus acquired descends to the heirs of the blood of the purchaser, lawfully begotten ; and on failure of direct issue, to his nearest of kin. Sometimes these annual quarters are made permanent, but most frequently they are redeemable by certain instalments, as the buyer and seller may have agreed. Their value may be fixed at a definite sum, as 20*s.* per quarter ; or they may be fluctuating, so as to depend on the current value of a quarter of wheat ; which latter is the fairest mode of computation, for if corn is high, then the farmer can afford a high rent, and if corn is low he is relieved from paying more than his crops warrant."

Here, then, the tenant has the interest of a freeholder, and he naturally treats the land as his own. Perhaps there is no circumstance so unfavourable to the improvement of agriculture in this country as the weak estate which the tenant has in the lands of his lord. For the sake of political influence, tenancy from year to year is common in most parts of the country. This is only one degree better than the old tenancy at will ; and we find many instances where notices to quit have followed a popular election, to the injury alike of the tenant and of his lord. Men who feel no security that they will be permitted to retain their farms, cannot be prevailed upon to sink a single shilling in improving the soil where the outlay cannot be returned before a notice will legally expire. They will sow because the law permits them to reap, but to plant a hedge or construct a drain, the advantages of which may be transferred to another, is what no man in his senses can be expected to do.

To the Irish landowner this chapter may be safely recommended, as describing a system which might be there applied with great advantage. The people of Ireland are in the habit of occupying small holdings, but the rudeness of their tillage and the improvidence of their habits are proverbial. Give them a more permanent interest in the soil, and if improvement doth not come upon them, we can only say they differ from all other human beings.

We cannot further dwell either upon the book or chapter, because the space assigned to us is limited ; but we earnestly recommend it to English, Scotch, and especially the Irish landowners, for it opens to their view an instrument whereby their interests may be promoted, whilst the condition of their tenants will be greatly elevated. S. S. C.

POETRY AND THE DRAMA.

Poems. By Alfred Tennyson. In two volumes. E. Moxon.

Poems. By Robert Nicholl. (Second Edition). W. Tait; Simpkin and Co.

England's Trust, and other Poems. By Lord John Manners. Rivington.

Thoughts at Whitsuntide. By Lord Leigh. E. Moxon.

Plighted Troth; or, a Woman her own Rival. Saunders and Otley.

Travellers' Thoughts; or, Lines suggested by a Tour on the Continent. By W. H. Leathem. Longman.

Emilia Monteiro, a Ballad. By W. H. Leathem. Longman.

The Siege of Granada, a Dramatic Poem. Longman.

Shakspere. Knight's Library Edition. Vols. II. and III.

We find ourselves compelled to postpone our notices of the above works, and regret that we cannot at present do more than direct the especial attention of our readers to the two placed at the head of the list; both works of high merit. We shall find, however, a fitting opportunity to do justice to Mr Tennyson's new volume, and the Poems of Robert Nicholl, deservedly styled Scotland's second Burns.

ATHELWOLD. A Tragedy in Five Acts. By William Smith, Esq. Blackwood and Sons. 1842.

WE are daily struck with the increasing interest in dramatic literature and the increasing number of dramatic aspirants; and while we cannot but rejoice in seeing the genius and talent thus profusely applied, we cannot but regret that it should also be so *mis*applied. This branch of literature is gradually taking a higher, purer tone—but this intricate and subtle *art* is nowhere advancing. Poems are written, not dramas. We have directed attention to this subject more than once, and endeavoured to point out the necessity of the poet's profoundly studying both the drama and the stage. We have before us another instance of the neglect of this necessity.

On rising from the perusal of 'Athelwold' we were struck with the great qualities of the writer, and with the very inefficient nature of his work. Here were thought, passion, poetry, dramatic feeling, and subtle dramatic power—all wasted. A fair house built on sand. There were flowers, but they grew not in the earth; they were plucked, and bound together into a nosegay by a whisp of—straw! We might gaze at them in delight, and enjoy their freshest fragrance—but we felt that they were not planted in the perennial ground of artistic truth.

'Athelwold' is not a tragedy. It has neither tragic *motive* nor tragic action. Its claim to tragedy hangs on the slender point of the end being miserable. But deaths do not constitute a tragedy—witness 'Tom Thumb.' 'Athelwold' is not even a drama—in any practical sense of the word; but a dramatic poem of mixed merit. We will take a rapid glance at the subject.

The first act is utterly superfluous. With the second the story begins. Athelwold is sent by Edgar to see Elfrida, of whose beauty he has heard great report, and if Athelwold should deem her equal to her fame he is to offer her the king's hand in marriage. Athelwold sees and loves her. He is tormented by the treachery of his thoughts—but her father, wishing to have him as a son-in-law, proposes it to him. He accepts—and to blind the king he returns, reports Elfrida to be anything but a beauty, but assuring him that she has "large possessions," begs permission to marry her himself. They are married. The king hears of this treachery, and comes to judge Elfrida's beauty for himself. Athelwold, apprised of the king's coming, begs her to smutch her face with some "tinting juice;" she de-

mands an explanation, and he reveals to her the deceit he put upon the king—she is enraged at having been "cheated of a crown"—she meets Edgar in all the blaze of beauty and captivates him. Athelwold is arrested for the treachery, and Edgar makes love to Elfrida, who, finding he wishes to make her his mistress, becomes filled with remorse and resentment. She seeks Athelwold in his prison, and a fine passionate and dramatic scene ensues—not unlike the last act of 'Marion de Lorme.' She begs forgiveness—she entreats him to take her once more to his heart—he refuses, and she threatens him with marrying Edgar, which will bring on his death—he still refuses, and she opens the door—the assassins enter, she points to Athelwold—they fall upon and slay him. The king then enters—offers his hand—proclaims her queen, and while she is holding out her hand for the nobles to kiss, she falls broken-hearted on her husband's body.

The dramatic faults in this play are obvious. We will suggest them for the author's consideration in any future attempt. Few as are the *dramatis personæ*, there are too many by half. Dunstan, the best and most elaborately drawn of the whole, is purely episodical; the same with Wolfric, Jester, Gilbertha, Edith, and, in an artistic sense, Olgar. These characters neither advance, assist, nor illustrate the dramatic action. In so far they are hindrances, and the scenes wherein they appear superfluous. The carrying off Edith from the convent—the scenes that result from it—Dunstan's interference—the fight between Athelwold and Wolfric—the grand scene of Dunstan's temptation—all these are irrelevant to the subject. "They show the time—they illustrate the characters," may be the author's reply; a plausible, but pernicious one. It is this which leads to so much erroneous writing; men will not keep the *dramatic* object steadily before them, but persist in branching out into other regions. All such attempts at *couleur locale*, and they are very desirable, should be *also* vital points in the drama.

To end here our objections to this play, we may now more briefly express our delight at the beauties in it. Dunstan is a character drawn with masterly skill—the unconscious sophistry of the priest, the fierce fanaticism, the unbounded ambition of the churchman, all mingling with his real faith and noble feelings, are in the finest dramatic spirit; nor can we sufficiently admire the profound pathos where, after his temptation, after combating with spirits which his brain created, he rushes into the presence of the king and his mistress, exclaiming "Let me be with my fellow kind. Your hand." Though often careless in the employment of his words and his rhythm, yet a genuine poetry irradiates every page—sometimes venting itself in description, as—

> "The generous cup *that tastes*
> *Less of the wine than of the revelry,*
> And all that music, all that song bestows
> *Of sweet vague passion on unwounded hearts.*'

Or this—

> "Joy is a weak and giddy thing that laughs
> Itself to weariness or sleep, and wakes
> To the same barren laughter; tis a child
> Perpetually, and all its past and future
> *Lie in the compass of an infant's day.*
> *Crushed from our sorrow all that's great in man*
> Has ever sprung.

Sometimes in finely expressed reflection, as—

> "Tumultuous passions hale us on
> To the mad sacrifice, and thrust the knife

Into our bursting palms, and all the while
We are the victims, not the gods of it.
Oh, ye wise priests that have one common song
For all men and all seasons, ye but know
Scantly the human heart. Ye weigh a sin
Ta'en in its final full accomplishment,
And weigh its penance out—but of the *sinner*
And *how he came to stumble on the crime*
How little do ye reck!"

Or this of jealousy—

"Tis the gross outgrowth of gross minds—the rage
Of little men that have one virtue left,
They know their littleness."

Or this of fanaticism—

"The cruel zealot
First frames a duty Heaven never meant,
And in fulfilment of it acts such crimes
As wondering Hell made no provision for."

In a word, we see all the evidences of dramatic power in as far as they can be shown when inartistically arranged. The art of the drama is difficult, but it is to be learned, and till it is learned all evidences are but of little avail. G. H. L.

ASTOLFO; A DRAMATIC ROMANCE. In Three Parts. London: G. Purkess. 1842.

ASTOLFO, the abbot of a monastery situated—the author tells not where—in Spain or Italy, however, we suppose, who dealt

"*In spells, in magic, and most damning arts,*"

who

"*Longed to pierce the cloud which hung o'er death,*"

is denounced to the Inquisition by some of the members of the brotherhood over whom he presided.

The familiars of the holy office enter the monastery, and carry him off to that dread place, where he swallows poison, and so ends the piece.

In design and execution it sets criticism at defiance, and in regard to style, such expressions as—"stiff bones iron'd to position"—"marble gaze, nailed on vacancy"—"the beauty of the fairest of earth's daughters is as hag"—"devil-crutched," will be sufficient to indicate its character.

VILLAGE PENCILLINGS, in Prose and Verse. By Elizabeth Pierce. London: William Pickering. 1842.

'VILLAGE Pencillings,' in Prose and Verse, is the production of a lady who glories in being the daughter, the wife, and, if God will, the mother of a clergyman of the Church of England. The contents are various, and the work might have taken its rank with the numerous pretty volumes with which the press abounds, but for the unusual pretension with which it is ushered into notice. A circular accompanies it, wherein the reviewer is kindly entreated

"To pay particular attention to its varied contents, and especially to the essay entitled 'The Light of the Parsonage,' which is a defence by the wife of a clergyman of the lawfulness of marriage to the Protestant ministry of the Church of England, a subject now much mooted by the Puseyites, who, in their extreme zeal for the celibacy of the clergy, with other attempted revivals of Romish peculiarities,

have branded the domestic condition of the Anglican priesthood as a state of profane concubinage."

We turned to the 'Light of the Parsonage,' but found none of those powerful arguments, deduced either from the organization of man or the constitution of society, against the practice of priestly celibacy, which the pompous announcement led us to expect.

The fair authoress deems the creation of woman from a rib of the man, and the high and important stations she has been called upon to fulfil, from the creation to the present day, when the diadem of Protestantism rests on the unsullied brow of woman, a sufficient sanction for clerical marriages, and triumphantly asks—"Who shall presume to banish woman, in her purity, from one of the domestic hearths of England?"

We are no advocates for priestly celibacy, and therefore leave it to the Puseyites to take up the gauntlet thrown down by the writer, should they deem her an antagonist worthy of their notice.

Among the poetical pieces, we deem the 'Lines on the Anniversary of the Duke of Wellington's Birth-day' the best; they are, however, too long to transfer to our pages.

A Record of the Pyramids: a Drama in Ten Scenes. By John Edmund Reade, author of 'Italy,' 'Catiline,' &c. London: Saunders and Otley. 1842.

The present drama, like all the other productions of this gifted author, breathes throughout a spirit of genuine philanthropy, and a sincere desire to elevate and enlighten the oppressed and benighted portion of his fellow-men.

Prometheus, abstracted from the grand ideal in which he is represented as having lived and moved, and brought down to the level of humanity, is chosen as the hero of the piece.

The son of Moeris, he was confided with a twin-brother, Epimetheus, to the care of Amasis by their dying father. Amasis resigned them to the priesthood; and the holy fraternity, in return, placed him on the throne of Moëris, the last of the shepherd-kings.

Prometheus fled, while his brother Epimetheus remained at the court of the usurper. The play opens with the meeting of the brothers in the lone cave of Prometheus; an explanation ensues, and the reputed sage agrees to accompany Epimetheus to court, with the avowed intention of interpreting a dream of the king, but with the secret design of arousing the flame of liberty amongst the oppressed Egyptians.

From the opening scene we extract the following highly poetical lines. Prometheus, gazing on the distant view of Memphis and the pyramids, exclaims:—

"Beautiful country, and my own! even now
My heart swells toward thee with a childlike fondness;
And who that looked along those lovely plains
Would deem that aught save Freedom there could dwell?
How tranquilly the gorgeous city lies
Robed in the rich gleams of the setting sun,
Reflecting back its glories! her high domes,
And towers, and groves, all softened in the distance!
While Mœris threads its pure stream through her gates,
Like a bright, glistering snake with mazy folds;
And round her the old Nile his girdle spreads
Of golden sands till lost 'midst the blue hills.

Yea, all is blessed there save human life:
Behold those Pyramids! those accursèd heaps
Of black misshapen stone; and those pale slaves,
Those human ants that throng round them in dense
Clusters, like bees around their waxen cells;
Toiling to rear them with a zeal as great
As is their self-abasement. Ants?—*they* store
The wholesome produce in their useful cells
Of hard-earned labour for existence;—these
Rear piles for rottenness and foul corruption;
Tombs for dead kings, who, ere the work be done,
Shall be forgotten; leaving them the records
Of baffled tyranny for ever buried.
Oh! that for one brief moment my will were
Embodied in a power! how would I launch
The thunder from this height, and crush the work
And workmen in their ruins!"

From the scene where Prometheus discovers himself to the people, we could extract much that is poetically grand and politically just, did not our limited space forbid.

Lilis is a beautiful and highly poetical creation; but as if too pure to mingle in our terrestrial scene, we see her no more till she appears on a mission of mercy in the dungeon of Prometheus, who, deserted by the fickle multitude, calmly awaited his doom. The whole scene is one of deep pathos; nothing can be more beautiful and touching than the last boon craved by Lilis, on finding the captive inexorable to her prayers, that he would seek safety in flight.

"One latest boon I ask, for which I kneel!
We meet no more upon this earth: thou goest
To join the spirits of thy fathers; I,
To dwell on thy remembrances—to live
Upon the light which thou hast left behind,
And soon, perchance, to follow thee. But, oh!
When in the realms of death, where thou wilt be
So hallowed and revered—forget not Lilis!
If memories of earth cling to us there,
As sure they do; for the dead come to us
In dreams, and woo us to revisit them;
Then, when thou meetest me again, remember
How I looked up to thee on earth, and smile
A look of welcome on me then!"

The closing scene of the martyr's life is conformable with his exalted character, and draws from the chief prefect the following rebuke to the exulting guards:—

"Fools! look round ye—*he* triumphed as he died."

Appended to the drama are a few miscellaneous and spirit-stirring poems relative to the cause of Poland, &c. A. C. H.

THE WORKS OF MONTAIGNE. Edited by William Hazlitt. Templeman. 1841-2.

IT would be difficult to say anything new about Montaigne. His Essays have passed through such a series of minds, from Shakspere down to Smith; they have been the familiars of so many generations, and, inciting all to thought, have provoked some recognition from almost every one; have left the critic no single word to speak;—and, were the word to be spoken, it must needs be superfluous. What is great and enchanting in him—and

there is a charm in his very faults—and what is imperfect or erroneous in him, these are so thoroughly known, that all disquisition on the point becomes superfluous.

But though Montaigne be peacefully beyond the reach of critics, not so the various editions of him. For these there is always ample scope; and critics, who are as tasters for the public, directing them where to advantageously exchange their capital for the wealth of intellectual enjoyment, may let their acumen or dulness (mostly the latter) slant off from the great monument they can neither puff up or puff down, to concern itself with the pedestal and surrounding railings.

The pedestal here is the translation; the railings are the notes. In what condition are they? Of the translation (being Cotton's) luckily fame has already satisfactorily settled the merit. Mr Hazlitt, recognising this to the full, also on diligent comparison recognises certain *mis*translations, sometimes mere carelessness, other times more reprehensible ignorance. These he has set himself to correct, thus preserving the vigour and raciness of Cotton, and supplying the omissions of his carelessness. The notes are here assembled of all the commentators, and Montaigne's classical quotations amended, and the authorities of each supplied. Nor must we forget to mention one point. Montaigne has been honoured, and justly, for being the first to write for the people—the first to "appeal from the porch and the academy to the haunts of busy and of idle men—the first that taught the unlearned reader to observe and reflect for himself." And yet, though appealing to the unlearned, his works are crammed with quotations from the learned authors. In this edition every such quotation has a translation affixed;—not always the best nor the closest, but mostly from approved authors. This is fitting a work addressed to the people, and fitting an edition whose low price brings it within the reach of the people. Beyond the 'Essays' this edition will contain his 'Letters,' his 'Journey through Italy,' and a 'Biography of Montaigne.' The 'Journey' is now first translated. It is exceedingly curious and *naïve*, and interesting from observing the effect produced by strange customs and people on a mind like his. But it is tedious in any other point of view; and the reader returns again with double pleasure to his 'Essays.'

One remark may be allowed us respecting commentators. Much has been the dispute about Montaigne's want of memory, of which he excuses himself. Mr Hazlitt thinks Montaigne right, and answers the argument built upon the multiplicity of quotations thus:—

"These quotations are frequently inexact, and he occasionally contradicts himself, even when not quoting; persons accustomed to authorship know that it requires no great memory to quote, and this frequently. '*A faulte de mémoire naturelle*,' says the forgetful Montaigne, '*j'en forge de papier*.' And this is the whole secret."

Here Mr Hazlitt, and all who have sided with him, are manifestly wrong. In the first place, his inexactness is a proof that such quotations were remembered, not copied, by him. Secondly, authorship, which is now a craft, was very different in Montaigne's days, and quotation was not so easy then. In the third place, Montaigne's memory is not exhibited alone in Latin quotations, but in a prodigious mass of anecdotes, historical illustrations, proverbs, &c. These anecdotes swarm so quickly as sometimes to make up the essay with only a few connecting remarks between them. And, finally, the proof of Montaigne's memory is his wisdom; upon memory all wisdom must necessarily be built, for what is it but a connexion of previously experienced truths?

G. H. L.

Sir Uvedale Price on the Picturesque: with an Essay on the Origin of Taste, and much original matter. By Sir T. Dick Lauder, Bart., and sixty illustrations, designed and drawn on the wood, by M. Stanley, R.S.A. Edinburgh: Caldwell and Co.; London: Orr and Co. 1842.

The works of Sir Uvedale Price are so well known, and have been so long before the public, as to render criticism on our part almost a work of supererogation. It is therefore chiefly the matter furnished by the present able editor, Sir T. D. Lauder, of which we shall endeavour to afford some idea to the reader.

In the preface to the present edition we are informed that

"The text will be found to correspond accurately with that of 1810, with this difference, that the numerous foot-notes have been incorporated with the text. The few remarks of the editor, which have also been introduced into the text, are distinguished by brackets and the letter E."

"The subject of Sir Uvedale Price's Essays," says the editor, "are capable of being considered under two different points of view. That popular view, which contents itself with the mere enumeration of the objects of the material world, or their combinations, which are most generally capable of exciting in us emotions of beauty, of sublimity, or of the picturesque, and that deeper and more philosophical view which involves inquiry into the manner in which the human mind is affected by such objects. Price has almost wholly contented himself with the first of those views, but his editor conceives that the work will not be deemed less valuable, or the beauty of his pictures less enjoyable, by a few pages being devoted to that which is now held to be the true theory of the process by which the human mind is affected by emotions of beauty, of sublimity, or of the picturesque."

"From a careful examination of the opinions of those who have written most correctly and philosophically on the origin of taste, it seems to be established that there really are no intrinsic or inherent qualities of sublimity or beauty actually existing in the objects of material creation; but that the emotions of sublimity or beauty which we experience whilst regarding them, are immediately excited in us by the material qualities of those objects being associated in our minds with the mental qualities, the virtues, the vices, the passions, the happiness, or the misery of man; for it is man and his concerns alone that can rouse us to yield that degree of interest which is capable of sympathetically awakening human feelings."

The associations so formed may be either certain or accidental, general or particular, permanent or temporary. The material object is, as it were, but the mirror that reflects the emotions which have been instantaneously awakened by association in our own bosoms. But this development of the mode by which the human mind is affected with emotions of sublimity or beauty, by the objects of the material world, by no means does away with the necessity of the cultivation of the art of selecting, of creating, or of combining objects, for the purpose of giving delight to man. For, as that individual will certainly have the most delight from the contemplation of the works of nature, or of art, who has the most numerous and the most powerful associative perceptions of beauty, so it is evident that those objects which are capable of exciting the widest range of association throughout the entire mass of the human race, will always be the most generally pleasing and acceptable to mankind, whilst those objects which are most capable of touching responsive chords of general association among the educated portion of mankind, must necessarily be most generally acceptable to all who belong to this more cultivated cast. He, therefore, who has the taste and the discernment to discover these, to classify and

to combine them, and to point out how they may be so placed before us, so classed and so combined, as to afford the greatest quantum of pleasure to persons of such refinement who may contemplate them, must necessarily deserve the attention as well as the thanks of those for whose delight he labours. Sir Uvedale Price has conferred this boon upon us in a very high degree by his observations on landscape gardening, in which the acuteness of his perception, the nicety of his discrimination, and the highly cultivated delicacy of his taste, have enabled him to give the happiest selection of the liveliest and most pleasing pictures, illustrative of all that this fascinating art ought truly to be.

In Chapter II, we have a condemnation of the neglect of the picturesque which prevails in the works of modern improvers, and which the author attributes to the exclusive attention paid to high polish and flowing lines, to the total neglect of variety and intricacy. In this portion of the work we meet with much that is valuable, as well as in the examination of the principles and practice of some of the most eminent painters.

For the Essay upon Architecture and Buildings we must refer to the volume itself, giving our most cordial assent to the remark of the editor, that to those who have the ground and the means, we know nothing so well calculated to increase the interest of any locality as a well placed and judiciously constructed village, or even a cluster of cottages.

In an Appendix is inserted the correspondence between Sir U. Price and Mr Repton, and a dialogue on the distinct characters of the picturesque and the beautiful, in answer to the objections of Mr Knight.

The numerous embellishments by Montague Stanley are characteristic in design; we had almost said perfect in execution. Its exterior is gorgeous, and its price pre-eminently cheap, even in this age of cheap literature. A. C. H.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Latest Information from the Settlement of New Plymouth, New Zealand. Smith, Elder, & Co.

England in 1841. By Frederick Von Raumer. 2 vols. J. Lee, Strand.

Wells on the National Finances. Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

Recreations of Christopher North. Vol. I. Blackwood.

Mesopotamia and Assyria (Edinburgh Cabinet Library). Oliver and Boyd.

American Criminal Trials. A. Maxwell.

Six Lectures on Arithmetic. Whittaker and Co.

The Trade in Slaves from Africa. By J. Bandinel. Longman.

A History of the Vegetable Kingdom. By W. Rhind. Blackie and Son.

Punch, or the London Charivari. Office, 13 Wellington street, Strand.

A weekly periodical published at threepence, and containing at least four times the quantity of genuine wit and humour we have met with in any similar work. Punch is an excellent recipe for hypocondriacism. We recommend him to the faculty as likely to prove of the greatest benefit to patients suffering under "Melancholia," or a disease of the spleen.

A Fourth Political Word. By the Hon. W. L. Wellesley. Hatchard and Son.

Works of the Hon. and Rev. W. Herbert. Vols. I and II. Bohn.

'Union,' the Patriot's Watchword at the Present Crisis. By the Rev. Henry Edwards. Groombridge.

Brief Remarks on Employment and Recreations. T. Hurst.

Aristocratic Taxation, with Proposals for its Reform. Ridgway.

'No Popery!' the Cry Examined. Snow.

Remarks on Currency and Banking. Murray.

Lectures on Animal Physiology. By B. T. Lowne. Simpkin and Co.

Life of Lieutenant General Hugh Mackay, of Scoury. E. Bull.

Nagel on the Pronunciation of the German Language. D. Nutt.

Bell on Country Banks and the Currency. Longman.

The Pictorial Catechism of Botany. By Ann Pratt. Suttaby and Co.

London Encyclopædia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture. Longman.

A new edition of a well-known and valuable work, with a Supplement containing three hundred additional engravings.

ENGLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: CORNWALL, Parts IV, V; LANCASHIRE, IV, V.

IF not in the van, we certainly should not place 'England in the Nineteenth Century' in the rear of those serial illustrated works so much the fashion of the day. With a vast mass of statistical and other useful information, is agreeably blended vivid descriptions of scenery, ancient traditions, and pictures of living manners.

The embellishments are neatly executed, and strikingly illustrative of the work. In the mining county of Cornwall, for instance, we have sections of mines, engine shafts, miners' tools, breaking copper ore, as well as views of St Ive's Bay, St Michael's Mount, &c. The illustrations of Lancashire consist of many a feudal castle, peaceful monastery, and antique church, which

> "*Time has mouldered*
> *Into beauty,*"

as also views of the machinery employed in the various operations of the cotton manufactories.

The work is one corresponding in character to the 'Pictorial History of England,' but relating to the present instead of the past. When complete, it will require and deserve a more extended notice than we can give at present of its varied contents.

MUSIC.

Musical Athenæum; or, Nature and Art, Music and Musicians. By Joseph Mainzer. Simpkin and Co.

Numbers 1 and 2 of the author's reminiscences of the most celebrated of the continental musicians.

Lectures on a Metropolitan Music Hall. By J. Hansom. Barth.

A pamphlet of which it would be premature to speak until we see the published designs.

The Vocal Class Book. Purday.

Another manual of vocal music, and one which promises to be of considerable utility.

The Christian Month. By Miss Mouncey. Ollivier, Bond street.

A series of original Psalm tunes of a pleasing character, but not greatly above mediocrity.

Hymns and Anthems. By Eliza Flower. C. Fox.

A work of superior merit to which we shall return.

PAMPHLETS.

Drainage of Lands, and Distribution of Water. By J. Bailey Denton. Ridgway.

Letter to Earl De Grey, on the Amelioration of the Agricultural Classes. By W. W. Simpson. Sherwood and Co.

The Constitutional Right to a Revision of the Land Tax. J. Ridgway.

A legal argument, drawn up with great ability, by a barrister for the Anti-Corn Law league.

The Duty of Free States; or, Remarks suggested by the Case of the Creole. By W. E. Channing, D.D. Simpkin and Marshall.

Reply to an American's Examination of the 'Right of Search.' By an Englishman. J. Rodwell.

Report of the Proceedings at the Conference of Delegates at Birmingham. Davis and Hasler.

The People's Rights, and how to get them. By the Rev. T. Spencer, M.A.

Choice of Site and Designs for Lunatic Asylums. By R. Sibley. Marchant and Co.

Operation of Monopolies on the Production of Food. By G. Beauclerc. Ridgway.

PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE.

Letters on the Rudiments of a Science called formerly Political Economy —recently, more pertinently, Catallactus. From Patrick Plough. J. Masters.

Berkeley's Theory of Vision examined. By Samuel Bailey. Ridgway.

Telegraphic Railways. By W. Fothergill Cooke. Simpkin and Co.

Iron as a Material for Ship Building. By J. Grantham. Simpkin and Co.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities. Nos. 29, 30, and 31. Taylor and Walton.

Essays on Family Nomenclature. By Mark Antony Lower. Smith.

Outline of a Method of Model Mapping. With a view to append, by an application of the art of Levelling to that of Area Surveying, the advantage of a section of Elevations and Depressions to the uses of a Map of superficial contents, &c. By J. Baily Denton, surveyor. London: J. Weale, Architectural Library, 59 High Holborn; William Grapel, Church street, Liverpool.

The fact that the above 'Outline' has reached a second edition, is a sufficient evidence of the interest taken in the subject by landowners and surveyors, to whom Mr Denton's remarks are principally addressed. Professional men are too apt to suppose that plans and sections convey to their employers the same accurate information that they do to themselves; this, however, is far from being the case. In every instance in which it is necessary to obtain the co-operation of unprofessional persons it is desirable to give them the best data for coming to a correct decision. How many injudicious designs would have been abandoned or amended had their defects been rendered obvious by a well-executed model; and, on the other

hand, how many obstacles to the execution of plans of public improvement would have been removed had the parties interested been made fully aware of its nature and effect. Mr Denton, in the address to the governor and members of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, prefixed to the second edition of this pamphlet, thus expresses himself upon this subject :—

"I have ventured to publish the following pages under the conviction that no general measure of agricultural improvement will ever be carried out with the ready sanction of landowners, under the mysteries of the present method of sectro-planography, as adopted by order of parliament."

We are fully aware of the objection that exists against model maps, particularly of extensive countries, viz., the necessity of employing a larger vertical than horizontal scale, and the consequent exaggeration of the heights and slopes of mountains. This objection, however, loses much of its force when applied to the model of an estate. Another and more important objection to many—that of expense—cannot be urged against Mr Denton's, inasmuch as a model of the average of the estates in England may be made at a cost of from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d., a sum little exceeding that paid for the production of a finished map formerly :

"And as, by a trifling addition to the expense, the model may be so constructed as to pourtray the substrata as well as surface, and thus be made, in addition to its general usefulness, a means of exhibiting geological formations of country."

For further information we recommend the perusal of Mr Denton's pamphlet, and would advise all landowners having the opportunity to profit by Mr Denton's invitation to inspect the models at his office, No. 9 Gray's Inn square. L.

A Treatise on the Application of Marine Surveying and Hydrometry to the Practice of Civil Engineering. By David Stevenson, author of a 'Sketch of the Civil Engineering of North America,' &c. Adam and Charles Black, Edinburgh; Longman and Co., and J. Weale, London.

The following extracts from the preface will give the student some idea of the nature of the information to be expected from this volume.

"The reader is supposed to be already familiar with the art of surveying as generally taught, and with the use of the theodolite sextant and level, which are the implements employed."—"The series of operations necessary in surveying a river, embraces almost every point required in making any marine survey for engineering purposes ; and if all the steps of a river survey be thoroughly understood, no difficulty will be found in applying the system recommended in the following pages to a harbour survey, including part of a line of coast, or to any similar case. I have, therefore, in order to simplify the subject, confined my observations principally to the details of river surveying, noticing as they occur such points as require further explanation with reference to the survey of a harbour or of a line of coast."

The work is illustrated with a coloured plan of the river Lune, with thirteen plates and various woodcuts.

RELIGION.

Hints for the Revival of Scriptural Principles in the Anglican Church. By the Rev. Geo. Bird. Whittaker and Co.

Works of the Rev. William Jay. Collected and Revised by Himself. Vol. III. Bartlett.

Ecclesiastica; or the Church, her Schools, and the Clergy. By E. M. Roose. Hatchard and Son.

THE LIFE AND LABOURS OF ADAM CLARKE, L.L.D. Second edition. London: Longman and Co. 1842.

THE Wesleyan Methodists, from their wealth, their numbers, their zeal, and the peculiar organization of their society, must be regarded as the most influential and important section of dissenters—if dissenters they may be termed—from the established church.

Their founder was eminently fitted to become the Coryphæus of a new sect. Untiring in the work of conversion, well acquainted with the workings and the weaknesses of the human mind, with an elasticity of conscience which permitted him to become "all things to all men," his success was great beyond example.

Dr Adam Clarke, the subject of our present notice, has been justly regarded as one of the most efficient and influential preachers of the Wesleyan connexion. The present edition of his life and labours, we are informed in a preface, differs in many respects from the former. The narrative has been divested of the somewhat controversial aspect it bore in several parts, and now contains nothing that can justly give offence to the most sensitive partisan of any class of opinions.

Numerous transpositions have been effected, with a view to a stricter chronological arrangement. A vast deal of fresh matter has been introduced, derived principally from letters and other documents published since the appearance of the first edition; and in every respect the volume is now more interesting, accurate, and complete.

Adam Clarke was born in 1762 or 1763, in the obscure village of Moybeg, in the county of Londonderry, of which his father was schoolmaster. To eke out the pittance gained by his scholastic labours, he cultivated a small farm with the assistance of his sons. While engaged in the rural occupations of the field, Adam had early learned to make observations on the weather; he believed meteorology to be a natural science, and in which every country child makes, untaught, some progress,—"at least, so it was with me," he says, alluding to this subject in after life.

When he could read with tolerable facility, his father, anxious he should become a classical scholar, put him into Lilly's grammar; but Adam was an inapt pupil. By great exertion he reached the middle of "As in præsenti," when he came to a dead stand. The jeers of his school-fellows and the anger of his father roused him, however, to renewed exertion; he resumed the book, and speedily conquered the difficulty. He was fond of reading, and his juvenile library, a catalogue of which has been preserved, contained, amongst others of a similar stamp, 'Tom Thumb,' 'Jack the Giant-Killer,' 'Guy, Earl of Warwick,' 'The Babes in the Wood,' 'The Seven Champions of Christendom,' 'Sir Francis Drake, 'Robinson Crusoe,' 'Valentine and Orson,' 'Arabian Nights' Entertainments,' 'Life of Sir William Wallace,' 'Chevy Chase,' 'Gentle Shepherd,' 'Pilgrim's Progress,' 'Æsop's Fables.' To the perusal of the 'Arabian Nights' ' tales he attributed that decided taste for Oriental literature on which his subsequent fame depended. With 'Æsop's Fables' he was particularly delighted, and derived so much moral improvement from 'Robinson Crusoe,' that he was careful to place it in the hands of his own children.

Young Clarke was at one time led away by the wonders of magic, which he afterwards abandoned; but not before his fame as an enchanter had spread so wide as to secure his father's premises from midnight thieves, from which they had previously suffered.

Among his youthful compeers he was noted for feats of strength and agility, such as putting-the-stone, lifting great weights, balancing chairs, sledge-hammers, &c., on his chin, nose, and forehead.

Adam owed his religious impressions chiefly to the teachings of his mother; he early expressed a desire for the ministry, to which the narrow circumstances of his father, however, presented insuperable obstacles. In the meanwhile, a fall from a horse threatened to supersede all care concerning his future occupations; and subsequently, a narrow escape from drowning seems to have impressed on his mind the idea that he was destined by Providence for matters of great and high importance.

Without entering into the question of special providences, it may be permitted us to observe, that the recoveries from extreme danger, whether brought about by medical skill or the efforts of nature, can never lead to the conclusion that the objects of them were set apart for high and important purposes.

What influence such an opinion may produce on an ardent and poetical mind,—whether, like the vaticinations of the astrologer, it may frequently lead to its own fulfilment,—it would be rash to aver; but in the case of Dr Clarke, we find him, at the termination of more than half a century after his submersion, affirming to the late Dr Letson his conviction that he had been actually dead, and again recalled to life by the special interference of Providence!

In 1777 Adam Clarke first came into contact with the Wesleyan preachers at Agerton, near Coleraine, to which place his father had some time before removed; but their preachings were productive of no effect till the arrival of Mr Barber. In the phraseology of the sect, "many were awakened" under his ministry, and amongst others the subject of the present memoir.

In 1782 he preached his first sermon; was soon after appointed to a fellowship by Mr Wesley, proceeded to England, and received treatment the most revolting at Kingswood school. About this period he was confirmed by Dr Bagot, Bishop of Bristol; and for this "figment of popery," as it is termed by the Presbyterians, we find a curious—we had almost said Jesuitical—apology by Adam Clarke, who gloried in having conformed to a rite for which certainly no countenance is to be found in the New Testament.

From the period of his being admitted into the society, his labours as a missionary and itinerant preacher were incessant. In Ireland, in England, in the Shetland Isles, into whatever district Adam Clarke penetrated, he may be said to have changed the aspect of society; schools sprung up at his bidding, funds poured in from every quarter, obstacles the most formidable vanished before his zeal and perseverance.

Had we space we would willingly follow Dr Clarke, step by step, in his missionary and literary labours: one prominent characteristic of this extraordinary man—his intellectual activity under circumstances the most unfavourable—ought not, however, to be passed over in silence. With little education beyond an elementary knowledge of Greek and Latin, early engaged in the laborious duties of an itinerant preacher, denied access to books from his straitened means and roving life, unaided by instructors, Adam Clarke, nevertheless, says a contemporary writer,—

"Attained to so great eminence as an Oriental scholar, a biblical critic, a theologian, an antiquarian, and a man of general knowledge, that he had not many equals, even among the men who were placed through life in the most advantageous circumstances for the prosecution of their studies. Many individuals, doubtless,

might be found who surpassed him in particular branches of scholarship; but few men among his contemporaries excelled him in the extent of their acquirements."

Dr Clarke was a member of several learned societies, and in 1807 he received the degree of M.A. from King's College, Aberdeen; and the following year the highest designation in their gift, that of L.L.D., was unanimously voted to him by the Senatus Academicus of that University.

Subsequently he was recommended by the Hon. Charles Abbot, one of the Commissioners of Public Records, to collect and arrange those state papers, which might serve to complete and continue Rymer's 'Fœdera.' In the execution of this Herculean task, which occupied several years, Dr Clarke encountered many difficulties; but a careful economy of time was the key to his success in this, as in whatever else he undertook.

We had marked out for quotation Dr Clarke's valuable letter to Mr (now Lord) Stanley on education in Ireland, as well as the account of the presentation of his 'Commentary,' which occupied nearly forty years of his life, to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, and that prince's letter in reply, &c.; but we have already far exceeded our limits. We can, therefore, only compliment the editor on the completion of a work alike amusing and instructive, and cordially recommend it to all classes of readers, whether Dissenters or Episcopalians. C. H.

TRAVELS.

Notes of a Traveller on the Social and Political State of France, Prussia, Switzerland, Italy, and other Parts of Europe. By S. Laing, Esq. Longman.

Every one remembers with pleasure Mr Laing's 'Journal of a Residence in Norway:' his next work, 'A Tour in Sweden,' was hastily compiled, and although it excited much attention, did not add to his reputation as a philosophical and dispassionate observer. Whatever truth there may have been in his strictures, there was too obvious an *animus* against Swedish institutions, as opposed to Norwegian, to allow the reader to place implicit faith in the author's representations. His attempt, also, to prove from statistical data the wholesale demoralization of Sweden, as compared with that of other countries, we think was altogether a failure. We have very little faith in figures, and deem it always necessary to suspend our judgment in any conclusions derived from them till we know the process by which the figures were obtained. A Swedish traveller taking our police returns for 1841, of commitments for drunkenness during the Christmas week, as compared with former years, would infer that the temperance movement had made extraordinary progress in London; the fact simply being that the police have received instructions not to bring drunkards at Christmas before the magistrates as heretofore, but, if found helpless in the street, to lock them up for the night, dismissing them in the morning.

The little reliance to be placed upon statistical data in the case of criminal returns, struck us forcibly on an occasion when we happened to hear a city magistrate declaiming against the new police. He brought it as a serious charge against the police commissioners, that three times the number of offences appeared to have been committed since the commissioners were appointed, than under the old system of watch and ward;—this worthy magistrate, confounding the moral state of the population with the criminal returns, thought that to diminish their amount nothing more was required than a less efficient constabulary force; as if offences kept out of sight and out of mind had therefore no existence.

In 1832 Earl Grey reported 9,000 criminal offences committed in Ireland;

and upon this fact he based the necessity of his coercion bill. In 1840 the prison inspectors report 23,000 similar offences committed in the same country; and yet it is matter of notoriety that the moral state of Ireland has greatly improved. Different modes of obtaining returns lead to very different results, and it should be borne in mind that there are no criminal returns in countries wholly demoralized. In such instances there is some satisfaction in even a heavy calendar, for it is an evidence that anarchy is ceasing, and law beginning to exert its force.

We wish Mr Laing had less faith in the authority of printed documents; he allows them too frequently to lead him astray. In the present volume his account of the Muckers, a Prussian sect adopting lewdness as a principle of religion, can only be received as an instance of the credulity of travellers. Facts, no doubt, there were to give some colouring to the reports which obtained circulation, but that the principles of the sect were widely spread among the nobility, clergy, and official people of Prussia, and that a large portion of the most educated part of the population were in the habit of frequenting the conventicles of the sect in a state of nudity, utterly surpasses all reasonable belief.

Upon simple questions of fact nearer home, Mr Laing has taken very little trouble to establish correct premises. Thus a chapter in the present volume, devoted to the corn laws, opens with the following assertion:

> "A reduction in the wages of labour is generally admitted to be a necessary consequence of a permanent reduction of the cost of the main article of the subsistence of the labouring class. That is, indeed, the main object avowed by all the political economists who advocate the abolition of duties on corn."

This is a gratuitous assumption. One political economist at least, Mr Senior, has taken the trouble to expose at length the fallacy of the doctrine, that wages are necessarily dependent upon the price of corn; and the instance of America, where high wages and cheap food generally co-exist, is alone sufficient to disprove the statement that wages have a natural tendency to fall to a level with the actual cost of subsistence. The case of the corn laws and the labourer lies in a nutshell. High prices are indicative of scarcity, low prices of abundance. Is abundance or scarcity the better for the labourer? Is it likely that the greatest demand for labour, and the highest rate of remuneration (not nominal, but real), will be found where a general deficiency is felt of the means of subsistence, and an artificial scarcity created to keep up prices.

Mr Laing is, however, an advocate for a repeal of the corn laws, on the ground that it will, as he supposes, lead to the abolition of the large farming system, and give the labourer a greater interest in the land than he now possesses. Mr Laing is a believer in small farms as the cheapest form of production,—unquestionably an error, if the expenditure of labour in both cases be fairly estimated. Small farms, however, there would be if the manufacturing towns ceased to be purchasers of home-grown corn,—an improbable supposition. Small farms abound wherever no effective money demand exists for agricultural produce, and where the greater part must be consumed on the spot. In a country destitute of manufactures, a large population can only live by the small farming system; but manufacturing prosperity has always a tendency to produce a consolidation of farms, the external demand leading to a supply by the most economical arrangements.

Improvements in agriculture, however, depend less upon the extent of farms than upon the nature of the holding. The best policy for a nation is that which enables the cultivator to become a proprietor of the soil; and hence we entirely agree in the remarks made by Mr Laing on the effects produced in France by the abolition of the law of primogeniture.

"It is stated by Dupin, that the amount of arable land at present in France is but little more than it was in 1789, but that the population is increased by about eight millions; and in consequence of the division of property by the law of succession, that one-half of the whole population are proprietors, and, counting their families, two-thirds of the whole are engaged in the direct cultivation of the soil. It will not be said by the most strenuous advocate of those feudal arrangements of society which the French revolution annihilated in France, that the French people now are worse fed, worse clothed, worse lodged, or less generally provided with the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries of life, than they were before 1789, before the revolution, when Arthur Young described the wretched condition of the people. The imports and consumpt of the tropical products in France prove how superior, beyond all comparison, is the present state of the people. Now how is this additional population of eight millions of individuals fed from the same extent of arable land, if not by their superior cultivation of that land? The same extent of arable land is supporting about one-third more people—for the population of France was then reckoned about 25 millions, and now about 33 millions—and in greater abundance and comfort. How is this, if the land is not in a more productive cultivation, under the present division into small properties? It is evident from the statistical facts, that without any noticeable improvement in the modes, rotations, or utensils of husbandry, the mere subdivision of the area to which labour is applied into small-property farms cultivated in a garden-like way, and the converting the labour formerly applied to the same area, from hired labour, or perhaps unpaid labour of serfs, into the labour of proprietors working on their own land, are sufficient to account for a more garden-like cultivation and productiveness of the same extent of arable land. Two generations of adults, or fifty years, have passed away under the deteriorating effects of the partition of land, denounced by Arthur Young, in 1789, as even then 'the greatest source of misery that can be conceived.' This greatest conceivable source of misery has not diminished the population, nor made it more miserable. This partition and repartition of land has not reduced all estates to one minimum size, like an Irish cottar's acre. Estates of all sizes and values, from 500*l.* to 50,000*l.* in price, are to be found on sale in France as in England. The aggregation of land by deaths of co-relatives, balances the partition of land by deaths of parents. The application even of great capitals and scientific skill to objects of husbandry, has not been impeded by this partition of land. The capital, for example, laid out in France in establishments for making beet-root sugar, is greater, perhaps, than has been laid out in Britain during the same period on any one agricultural object. The thing itself, the making sugar from beet-root, as an agricultural operation in modern husbandry, may be impolitic, if such sugar can only be made under protecting duties, and if sugar can be got cheaper, and without slave labour, from the West Indies—a point not at all ascertained; but the value of the fact for our argument remains the same. A beet-root sugar work requires science, skill, expensive machinery, and very considerable capital. Hydraulic presses of the best construction to express the juice, and steam-engines to pump it up, are not rare in beet-root sugar works. I have visited one in the Pas de Calais, in which the presses and engines had been made in London for the work, at a time when we scarcely knew that such an agricultural object existed, and was carried on so near us. At present, that is in 1841, France has 389 beet-root sugar works in activity, although no longer favoured or protected by any unequal duty on colonial sugar; and from January, 1840, to the end of May, 1841, these have delivered to the consumpt of the country 26,174,547 kilogrammes, or 5,234,909 cwt., which have paid in duty to the revenue 3,205,783 francs. The total consumpt of France yearly appears to be about 16,518,840 cwt. of sugar. It may perhaps be a question whether, in all England south of Trent, there can be found so many threshing machines of the best and most expensive construction—such as cost from 800*l.* to 1,200*l.*, in the best agricultural districts of Northumberland, Roxburghshire, and the Lothians—as France, under her partition law of succession, can produce of these complicated, and far more expensive establishments.

In proof that the labouring classes of France are in a better condition than those of England, Mr Laing states that, while here little or no inducement

of bounty is required to make able-bodied men enlist in the army, in France as much as 80*l.* sterling is often offered for a recruit to serve in the army as a substitute for one drawn by ballot.

"How ludicrous, as one sits on the deck of a fine steam-vessel going down the Soane, or the Rhone, or the Seine, passing every half hour other steam-vessels, and every five or six miles under iron suspension bridges, and past canals, short factory railroads even, and new-built factories—how laughable, now, to read the lugubrious predictions of Arthur Young half a century ago, of Birbeck a quarter of a century ago, of the 'Edinburgh Review' some twenty years ago, about the inevitable consequences of the French law of succession. 'A pauper warren!' Look up from the page and laugh. Look around upon the actual prosperity, and well-being, and rising industry of this people, under their system. Look at the activity on their rivers, at the new factory-chimneys against the horizon, at the steam-boats, canals, roads, coal works, wherever nature gives any opening to enterprise. France owes her present prosperity, and rising industry, to this very system of subdivision of property, which allows no man to live in idleness, and no capital to be employed without a view to its reproduction, and places that great instrument of industry and well-being, property, in the hands of all classes. The same area of arable land, according to Dupin, feeds now a population greater by eight millions, and certainly in greater abundance and comfort, than under the former system of succession; because now its produce is applied to feeding reproductive labourers, who, either in husbandry on their own little estates, or in manufactures, or trade, are producing, while they are consuming, what brings back either consumable produce, or the value of what they consume, in due time. But the produce applied to the feeding of soldiery, of labourers employed by a splendid court in works of mere ostentation and grandeur, in building palaces, or constructing magnificent public works of no utility equivalent to the labour expended, and, to a certain extent, even in the fine arts, and, above all, in supporting a numerous idle aristocracy, gentry, and clergy, with their dependent followers, was a waste of means, a consumpt without any corresponding return of consumable or saleable produce from the labour or industry of the consumers. In this view, the comparison between the old feudal construction of society in France, and the new under the present law of succession, resolves itself into this result,—that one-third more people are supported under the new, in greater abundance and comfort, from the same extent of arable land, in consequence of the law of succession having swept off the non-productive classes, forced them into active industry, and obliged all consumers, generally speaking, to be producers also, while they consume. In this view, the cost of supporting the old court, aristocracy, gentry, clergy, and all the system and arrangements of society in France, under the ancient régime, has been equivalent to the cost of supporting one-third more inhabitants in France, and in greater comfort and well-being; and this is the gain France has realized by her revolution, and by the abolition of the law of primogeniture, its most important measure."

The contents of the present volume are various, a great number of subjects being touched upon, and often with much originality and power. At page 402 we find a reflection upon the comparative advantages of climate, which may help to reconcile us to that of England, notwithstanding all that we hear from other travellers of the sun of Italy, and know of our own fogs.

"In all these fine southern climates, one evil peculiarly affecting the condition of the working man weighs heavily against all their advantages. It is that, in reality, there are two winters in the year for man and beast. There is not only our winter, little felt, indeed, in some particular localities, as about Naples, but still wet, occasionally cold, and of such weather that agricultural labour is interrupted from the state of the land, cattle must be tended in-doors, and in general in Italy it is very severe; but there is another winter as far as regards labour, a summer-winter, in which, for three or four months, all out-door work of man and beast is suspended by heat, and much more interrupted that it ever is by cold in our climate. All cattle must be provided for in-doors, as in winter. Fodder must be cut and water carried to them. From extreme cold, man and beast have a relief in

hard work; but from overwhelming heat there is no relief but bodily inaction. All water power, as well as animal power, is interrupted by it, and many arts and manufactures cannot, evidently, be carried on in these southern climes, without an enormous waste of labour and life. This summer-winter, also, is the season of malaria, producing fevers among working people exposed to the heat and dews, far more generally, and dangerously, than epidemic diseases in our climate."

We would willingly make room for further extracts, for the volume abounds in information and food for reflection; but we must conclude by recommending the work to the reader as one which, notwithstanding the drawbacks we have noticed, will amply repay the perusal.

NOTES OF A HALF-PAY OFFICER; OR RUSSIA, CIRCASSIA, AND THE CRIMEA IN 1839-40. By Captain Jesse. Madden and Co.

WE are indebted, it appears, for these volumes, to the effects upon a constitution of two fevers, a cholera morbus, and a residence of some months in a barrack-yard in India situated in a swamp several feet below the bed of an adjoining river. Captain Jesse, finding it necessary at last to abandon his cantonments in search of health, returns to England, and afterwards, by the advice of his physician, commences a tour through a considerable part of the south and north of Europe. The volumes before us contain the notes made during the tour, and relate chiefly to Russia, embracing every object of interest on his route from Odessa to St Petersburg. The result of the whole is a book of travels of more than usual interest for the general reader, and containing much novelty of information, not overlaid with statistical details, or attempts at profound political disquisitions.

Unlike some recent travellers who found every difficulty in their path smoothed by the politic attentions of the government, Captain Jesse did not see everything in Russia *coleur de rose*. The first step it was necessary to take at Odessa before he could visit the interior, gave him a keen insight into the characteristic vices of Russian administration. To obtain a passport, it was necessary to go first to the police office with his *carte de séjour;* but—

"Before this document, however, could be forwarded to the police master, it was requisite that it should be accompanied by a petition, and as I could not write Russ, I had to look about the office for one of the numerous scriveners who make a livelihood by inditing these official 'billet-doux.' This was of course drawn out upon a stamp, and having given in the two papers, I departed, with an intimation that I might 'call again to-morrow.' Three hours were consumed in this preliminary step. The next morning, at the appointed hour, I was again at the office; and after having had the satisfaction of seeing the hand of the cuckoo-clock describe two circles, an understrapper announced to me the agreeable intelligence that I might follow him. Keeping close to his heels, we threaded, or rather pushed our way through a crowd of petitioners, all of the lower orders, until my companion confronted me with a man in a green coat with brass buttons,—the civil uniform. This was only a chinovnik,* though, judging by his important manner, he might have been Count Benkendorf himself. I now observed that a third document had been appended to the two I left the day before; this being, as usual, on a stamp, I paid for it, and in the official catechism that followed the gentleman in green was so pre-occupied, that he forgot to give me my change. The office jackal now took me to at least ten different persons, who signed and countersigned each paper; and after wheeling in and out of almost every room but the one I wished to get into, the principal one, I was brought back to my absent friend with the brass buttons; here I had to pay for another stamped paper, and have the 'change taken

---

* An under clerk.

out of me' again. My silent submission to this roguery procured me a low bow, with a request to leave the papers with him, and 'call again to-morrow.' Before I left the office I was informed that this delay was to give the police time to inquire whether there were any claims against me in the town for debt. The following day I was once more at my post; but this time it was evident that the legal (though not the illegal) forms and demands had been complied with. My papers lay duly arranged upon the table, but the man in green paid no attention to me; and though many applicants were successful, the crowd around him appeared to increase rather than diminish. I soon saw how matters stood; and feeling certain that, unless I followed the example of those who had retired, I should again be desired to 'call again to morrow.' I put my hand into my pocket, a sign manual which this purveyor of signatures perfectly understood, and we effected an amicable exchange. Handing me the papers, he pocketed the silver with the most perfect *sang froid*, telling me, as he dropped the 52-copeck pieces into his pocket, that 'the Imperial salary would not keep him in boots.'"

The same annoyances which beset the traveller on entering Russia attend his departure.

"No foreigner can leave Russia, or rather obtain a passport to do so, unless he has had his name advertised three times in the German and Russian newspapers, which will take ten days. It is immaterial from what point he takes his departure, for the rule is enforced at every town in the empire. This is done with a view of giving his tradesmen timely notice of his intention. But while the government is exerting itself in the laudable task of protecting its subjects from fraud on the one hand, its *employés* are fleecing the traveller on the other; and, before his passport is safe, the eagles and triangles have again to be propitiated. In the provinces, a trifle will go a good way with these gentlemen; but in the capital, peculation and knavery, like everything else, is carried out on a grand scale."

Captain Jesse draws a melancholy picture of the mental, moral, and physical condition of the serfs of Russia, amounting, according to his estimate, to forty-five millions of the population.

"The conduct of their proprietors towards them is in all respects devoid of any characteristics which might be considered evidence of the civilization they lay claim to, and the constant accession to this class from the ranks of the army of men devoid of education and generosity of feeling, renders the chance very prospective; the tyranny under which they suffered as subordinates they practise as masters. Even the generality of those who have had all the advantages of birth and education, whose nobility is of long standing, make but few attempts to elevate the character and condition of their dependents. The principal idea they have in connexion with their improvement, is to increase their value as property. A tailor is worth more than a labourer, but only a few get the benefit of this spurious benevolence. I knew a nobleman who, from similar motives, had his serf taught music; this man always played the pianoforte at his quadrille parties in the country; at Petersburg he did duty as a footman. Why do not those, who have both the means and power, patiently and earnestly persist in improving the habits of the serf? why do they suffer them to feed like swine, and not give them any idea of a decent deportment? The task would be difficult indeed to teach them to appreciate these things, but if only made to do them, it would be one step gained in a generation. This modest line of benevolence, however, would be unseen and unfelt but by the poor and humble, and vanity forbids such waste of pains."

We agree with Captain Jesse in his concluding remarks, that it is not in St Petersburg the traveller can form a just opinion of Russian character; but in too many instances conclusions have been too hastily formed, drawn from the manners of the court and nobility, and from the sums spent in improvements which make a great show, but extend not to a melioration of the condition of the great mass of the people.

Brief Notices of Hayti. With its Condition, Resources, and Prospects. By John Candler. Ward and Co.

The present little volume will be welcome to all who, with ourselves, take an interest in the progress of the coloured races. We have before noticed the difficulty of procuring any information of the actual state of Hayti upon which reliance could be placed. Mr Candler's work supplies a deficiency which has long been felt; and although his narrative is not so full as we could have wished, the facts it contains are important, and appear in a trustworthy shape. Mr Candler visited Hayti in 1841 on a missionary tour to the West India Islands; but, unlike many missionaries and abolitionists, he does not attempt to conceal defects in the negro character, or to suppress facts which might be supposed to militate against emancipation; and his remarks are entitled to the more attention from the tone of candour and obvious impartiality by which his observations are pervaded. An instance of the kind we may take from the Introduction to the work, in which a favourite prejudice is thus assailed:—

"It is the delight of the lovers of liberty to dwell with enthusiasm on the talents and exploits of Toussaint L'Ouverture, undoubtedly the greatest man that took part in the revolution of St Domingo, and one of the ablest Generals of his age; but it is very doubtful whether his character, as a leader in the great struggle, will come out of the crucible of impartial history, with all that brightness and purity that some modern narratives, half history, half romance, seem to assign to it. The opinion of many persons in Hayti, whether well or ill founded we stop not to inquire, is certainly adverse to such high pretensions: these individuals represent Toussaint as one of the best men of his day; but not as free from many of the blemishes which generally attach to warriors."

Of the present President of Hayti, General Boyer, Mr Candler gives the following account:—

"An aid-de-camp in waiting led me to the hall of audience; and in a few minutes after, the President himself, attired in a plain suit of black, entered by a private door, and taking me by the hand, requested me to follow him to his own apartment. The manners of the ruler of Hayti are simple and unaffected; to republican plainness he adds the polish of France, and preserves a quiet independent dignity suited to his rank and station. His age is sixty-eight; but his robust health and evident activity make him appear much younger. He is a mulatto, with the physiognomy of the French; is rather under than over the average height; and is neither thin nor corpulent: he has a keen expressive eye, and an intelligent countenance. With strangers he converses only in French, though he has travelled in America, and understands the English language. During the interview of half an hour, with which he kindly favoured me, he made particular inquiries after the venerable Clarkson, with whose character, as a strenuous advocate of the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, he was well acquainted, and of whom he had a more intimate knowledge than of other men, from his correspondence with Christophe, in which he manifested such an intense interest in the best welfare of Hayti. 'All the letters of Wilberforce and Clarkson, addressed to Monsieur Christophe,' such were his words, 'are in my possession; they thought highly of the man, but they did not understand his real character; they thought him the genuine friend of his country, but he deceived them. I received a letter from Mr Clarkson,' he continued, 'soon after the death of Christophe, in which he requested me to show kindness to his widow. I thought it somewhat singular; for though Christophe was a cruel man, and though he killed my own brother, I would have forfeited my life a thousand times rather than have shown unkindness to his widow. I always protected Madame Christophe. He entertained,' he said, 'a high regard for the religious Society of Friends; he had known some of that body in America, and was acquainted with some of their customs. I might depend on his protection

whilst in Hayti; and he had given an order to the authorities to furnish me with all the papers I had asked for, to illustrate the resources and condition of the republic.' He wished me, however, as a stranger, not to overlook the single fact, that Hayti was a young nation; that it was only yesterday that she was released from the menaces and fears of France, by a new treaty of compensation for her territory; and that, till the present time, there had been no opportunity for the government to devote itself in earnest on peace principles, to improve the institutions of the country. On rising to take leave, I begged permission to present him with some religious publications, handsomely bound; he received them very courteously; and on observing a series of the tracts of the Peace Society, which had been translated into the French language, he said with an air and tone of sincerity, 'If the principles of that society had been acted upon by the nations, what an accumulation of misery would the world have been spared!'"

A very unfavourable picture is given of the capital of Hayti, "Port-au-Prince:"—

"Instead of a handsome city, such as it appears from the ship's deck at sea, rising on a gradual elevation from the shore, and adorned with good houses and gardens; you enter into streets of wooden buildings, with the pavement dislocated or broken up, the drains neglected, and filth and stable dung interrupting your steps in every direction. The quay is spacious, but the water is shallow near the shore; and all sorts of uncleanness are suffered to annoy the senses. A constant malaria is the consequence, which at certain seasons of the year renders the lower quarter of the city very sickly, and occasions much mortality among the sailors from foreign ports. Port-au-Prince, with all its advantages of situation, with every inherent capability of being made and kept delightfully clean, is perhaps the filthiest capital in the world. The houses in general are of two stories, built slightly of wood, to avoid the rend and tear occasioned by earthquakes, which at different times have nearly demolished the city. Some few of the better habitations are of brick or stone, and may be called handsome edifices. The senate-house is a plain substantial building, with no pretension to splendour; and the palace of the President, the largest edifice in the city, was built by the English, for the General's head-quarters, during their temporary occupation of the south of the island; and is, therefore, as little like a royal palace as any republican could desire. The Haytien flag, of red and blue, floats on its turrets; and it has in front a spacious court, in which are lodges for the military guard of horse and foot, who are constantly on duty. These are the only public buildings worthy of notice. The Roman Catholic church is a capacious structure, but very plain and homely."

One of the greatest obstacles to improvement in Hayti would appear to be the corruption of the Roman Catholic Priesthood; a body of clerical adventurers from Europe availing themselves of every opportunity to amass wealth by the ignorance and superstition of the people. The following is a description of a banquet given by the principal ecclesiastic of Hayti to the author:—

"It greatly exceeded our expectations; its cost and magnificence were far beyond any idea we had formed of the power of priestly wealth in this country. It carried us back in imagination to the times of Cardinal Wolsey. The company consisted of our generous host—the Abbé himself, the Chief Judge of the Court of Cessation, three senators of Hayti, five merchants of the city, three Roman Catholic priests, a physician, who married the only daughter of General Inginac, with his amiable and intelligent wife, and ourselves. It would be useless to enumerate the various courses and dishes that were served on the occasion. Soups, fish, flesh, fowl, and game were brought on the table and removed in quick succession, together with a great variety of ices, creams, pastry, and confitures; there was also a splendid dessert, and many kinds of wine."

The income of the Abbé d'Echeverria, at Port-au-Prince, was variously

estimated at from 800*l.* to 3,200*l.* per annum. Many of the priests become speedily rich, and how their wealth is obtained Mr Candler explains :—

"The chief object of the ecclesiastics in Hayti (their number is about seventy) is to secure gold and silver as quickly as they can, to send to Europe for investment. Three instances of this sort came under our own observation; in one of which a priest, having heard that we possessed some doubloons, came privately to us to bargain for a few of them, to send abroad; and in the others, money to a considerable amount had been placed in the hands of English merchants of our acquaintance to invest in the English and French funds. One priest told me how much he had placed in our Three per cent. Consols, and asked me confidentially what I thought of the safety of entrusting his money to a certain merchant in one of the trading towns, for transmission abroad. The means of acquiring wealth, by greedy ecclesiastics, are unhappily always ready to their hand; they encourage superstitious feelings in the people, and receive donatives without law as well as by virtue of it. Not contented with baptising children for gain, they baptise houses, boats, and door-posts! A merchant at Gonaives assured us that he had paid on one occasion twenty dollars to a priest for baptising a small vessel when ready for sea, which belonged to a female friend of his; and related to us many other instances of church rapacity."

Another incubus under which Hayti labours, entailed upon it by the recent hostility of France, is its standing army, which, although now in process of reduction, was, in 1840, numerically 25,000 men—a force out of all proportion to the extent of the population.

The debt due to France was reduced by treaty with Louis Philippe to sixty million francs, of which 4,500,000 francs were paid off by Hayti in 1838, 1839, and 1840.

With these burdens we need not be surprised to hear that the government can raise no funds for public works or the education of the people. Ignorance is all but universal; and what schools there are appear to be attended only by the mulatto portion of the population. In the midst, however, of much to discourage, it is gratifying to observe the signs of slow but yet real progress. The government is solvent; the revenue exceeds the expenditure; the amount produced by the import duties is continually on the increase; and the exports exceed a million sterling. But for the narrow policy of other countries the amount would be larger.

"Horns and hides of cattle* were once exported in great quantities from the eastern part of the territory, and live cattle for slaughter in the neighbouring islands; but this trade has almost entirely ceased, owing to the narrow policy of England, France, and Spain, which nations have long forbidden a free intercourse between Hayti and their respective colonies. To the present moment no communication subsists between Hayti and Jamaica, though they lie within a day's sail of each other, and though a valuable exchange of commodities might often take place between them. England, a short time since, offered to open a trade between Hayti and the British West India islands, on the condition that certain preferences should be given to British merchants over those of other nations in the ports of Hayti: this the Haytien government very properly refused, and the negotiation ended.

"During our residence at Kingston, Jamaica, a sloop under Haytien colours entered the harbour in distress; the vessel was permitted to come up to the quay for repair, but no communication was allowed with the shore; the captain and crew remained prisoners in their own barque, and were not permitted to receive even a friendly call from a stranger. The exclusiveness of other nations begets exclusiveness in Hayti. No white man, as we have seen, is permitted by the law of the republic to hold a foot of land within its territory; no white man can marry a Haytien woman, and thereby become entitled to her real or personal estate; and no white man can trade without a special licence, renewable yearly, with a heavy

fine; nor indeed, generally speaking, can he trade at all without being associated with a Haytien partner. Such restrictions as these tend to exclude capital from the country, to paralyse industry, and to prevent the increased cultivation of the soil."

Since the above was written, we regret to learn that a considerable part of the Island has been devastated by an earthquake, during which, it is said, some thousands of lives have been lost.

THE

WESTMINSTER

Review.

JANUARY—APRIL, 1842.

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

"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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THE

WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

ART. I.—1. *Wilhem's Method of Teaching Singing, adapted to English use; under the superintendence of the Committee of Council on Education.* By John Hullah. Printed by W. Clowes and Sons, Stamford street, for her Majesty's Stationery Office, and published by Authority, by John W. Parker, West Strand, London.

2. *Singing for the Million; a Practical Course of Musical Instruction.* By Joseph Mainzer. Simpkin and Marshall.

3. *Music Simplified; or, a new Method to Propagate the Study of Music.* By Edward Jue de Berneval. Sold by the Author, 41 Great Castle street, Regent street.

PERHAPS there are few persons among those who take an interest in the moral and intellectual improvement of the people who are not aware that, for some years past, efforts have been made to encourage the study of vocal harmony among the working classes, and to introduce it in schools as a branch of national education.

We believe the honour of having first called attention to this subject is due to Mr Edward Taylor, the Gresham professor of music. His lectures revived the memory of the time when part singing was the fashionable accomplishment of the English court; when the madrigal, the catch, and the canon were sung in every rank of life, and when England was called "Merrie England," from the love of singing which almost universally prevailed. Through the same medium the public first became acquainted with the fact that in every country in Europe where a national provision has been made for the education of the people, singing and the notation of music are among the ordinary branches of school instruction. The lectures of Professor Taylor, delivered in all the principal towns of England, were

the means of sowing the seed from which have sprung many of the musical societies now in existence;* and perhaps, indirectly, the one called the Society for the Encouragement of Vocal Music, which set seriously to work to apply the principle, and, beginning at the beginning, introduced singing, with varying success, in many of the humbler class of schools. As fellow-labourers in the same field, we have much pleasure in acknowledging our personal obligations to Professor Taylor for the stimulus which he was the means of giving to our own exertions for the promotion of the same object.

That object we believe to be one worthy the support of every philanthropist. But we will not now dwell upon the arguments in favour of this proposition;—suffice it here to assume, that such a direction may be given to vocal music as to render it not only a source of pleasure, but a means of raising the national character. The coarse manners and gross taste of a large portion of the population of the United Kingdom have often been lamented. Why should we not soften and refine them? We have long enough been told, that to a large section of the working classes the term social enjoyment merely suggests an opportunity for indulging in the pleasures of gin and beer and tobacco;—but when have we endeavoured to teach the people that there are higher means of gratification, or sought to place rational enjoyments within their reach? Penal measures, and moral exhortations, fail to reach the hearts of the people—why not try to act upon them through the medium of their amusements?

The propriety of such an attempt is now very generally admitted. Music is connected by the temperance societies with the means employed for the reformation of the drunkard; and, thanks to the somewhat arduous labours of those who addressed themselves to ears once as deaf as stone walls on the subject, the principle that music should be taught in all schools is now recognised (though in some cases only with a view to psalmody) by all the educational societies in Great Britain and Ireland.

It has also been recognised by her Majesty's late Ministers, in the Committee of Privy Council for Education (a committee formed out of their own body); and in a minute of their lordships' affixed to the work, entitled Wilhem's 'Method of Teaching Singing, adapted to English use,' many excellent reasons

* The lectures of Mr T. Philips (whose death by a railroad accident we have noticed with much regret) contributed also materially to the same end.

are given for connecting the study of vocal harmony with the measures in progress for extending popular education.

All this is highly satisfactory; it is another proof of what perseverance and the rightly-directed energies of a few individuals may accomplish in the face of obstacles apparently insurmountable. Some years ago, when Mr Wyse once ventured to hint in the House of Commons that singing should be taught in all schools, as in Germany, the suggestion was received with ridicule, and was deemed deserving of no further response than a loud laugh.

In the then state of opinion it required some moral courage on the part of those who first undertook to demonstrate, *con amore*, the practicability and utility of adapting vocal music to the discipline of schools, as they knew that for their pains they would only be looked upon, by the cold formalists of society, as benevolent but wild enthusiasts.

Good taste would, we think, have dictated in the minute of the Committee of Privy Council, some allusion to the pioneers in the cause by whom the labours of Mr Hullah had been preceded. A stranger taking up the work before us, would suppose the subject was one which had entirely originated with Mr Hullah* or with the Committee of Privy Council. But we confess, had the Committee acted otherwise, it would have been contrary to the usual practice of the English Government. Letters of thanks have been often addressed to magistrates for the suppression of riots, to naval and military commanders for their achievements, but never, that we remember, to those who have most successfully employed moral agencies for advancing the welfare of the community;—and even in the instance of many administrative reforms which rise to our recollection, when they have been determined upon, the usual course has been to set aside the parties with whom the reforms originated, and who in fairness should have been consulted upon the means of giving effect to their own opinions, in favour of some person or persons of influential connexions, who took no part in the early struggle, but, at the eleventh hour, helped perhaps to secure a victory already won. In the present case no disappointment need be felt that Government did not depart from the rule of established precedent.

It is always, however, to be regretted that this disposition of governments to look at every question with reference only to party politics or personal predilections, invariably tends to

* It is due to Mr Hullah to say, that in his introductory course he acknowledged his obligations to others for much of the literary or argumentative portion of his lectures.

defeat, or greatly impede, the object sought to be promoted; a fact of which we have now another illustration.

We have said it was highly satisfactory that the principle had been recognised by the Committee of Council, that the people should be instructed in vocal harmony. It would have been still more satisfactory had the Committee stopped there, or at least not have attempted to aid the cause, until they had taken some steps to ascertain that the measures to be adopted, however well intended, would not practically have the effect of opposition, and put a stop to further progress.

To the great majority of the friends of education, the object appeared to be gained, when Mr Hullah was placed, under especial Government patronage, at the head of a class of schoolmasters, and when it was announced that a new and improved method of teaching music, as adapted for the use of schools, was about to be published by the authority of Government.

It will be our duty (and far from a pleasing one) to show that this was a mistake, and that in the publication, by authority, of the tabular lessons, and the work now lying before us, a retrograde movement has really been made.

Before the interference of the Committee the influence of the exertions made by private individuals, and chiefly by the members of the Society for the General Encouragement of Vocal Music, had begun to be very sensibly felt. The number of musical societies had very greatly increased, and singing and the notation of music had been introduced in a multitude of schools, some as far north as Inverness in Scotland, and even in schools for black children in our West India colonies. The only limit to yet further successful exertion was the want of funds, and, consequent upon it, the difficulty of finding efficient teachers.

When Mr Hullah, the author of the music in the 'Village Coquettes,' and favourably known as possessing many of the qualifications required in a good teacher, was induced to devote himself to the instruction of classes, a desire was expressed by the Society for the Encouragement of Vocal Music to avail themselves of his assistance.

Little was then known of the method Mr Hullah had been studying at Paris, but the Society proposed to Mr Hullah to accept of an engagement as the conductor of one of their madrigal societies, and to divide with him the expense of a room in which he could receive either his private or public classes; with a view of giving Wilhem's system a fair trial.

This arrangement was ultimately declined by Mr Hullah, though somewhat unexpectedly, as he had at first assented to

it, and had been with the Secretary to look at several rooms adapted for the object.

Mr Hullah had, at the time, a prospect of higher patronage than that of the Society, and no one can blame him for preferring to be placed at the head of a new school in music, to that of remaining a simple fellow-labourer in the same field in which others had long been engaged.

No one either could have blamed the Committee of Council, if, in patronizing Mr Hullah, they had shown an equal desire to support any other man of equal or greater ability, as, for instance, M. Mainzer, who, as a teacher for the working classes, has been far more successful than any other; but the Committee not only did not do this, but they did that which is perfectly inconsistent with all improvement in the art of teaching, they set about making proselytes to one particular method of instruction; they published their faith in Wilhem, and practically announced that no teachers of music but those who had been formed in his school were deserving of public encouragement or support.*

There is, perhaps, no error among educationists which has been attended with such deplorable results as that of confounding the work of instruction with *methods* of instruction. No doubt one method is often better than another, but, to the

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* The immediate effect of the steps taken by the Committee of Council were to paralyse the exertions of the Society for the Encouragement of Vocal Music. The Committee of Council declined to give any money for the support of a singing school, which, we think, would have been a most legitimate application of their funds; but they assumed the superiority of Mr Hullah's 'Manual,' and went out of their way to print it at Government expense. The singing classes at Exeter Hall had, therefore, to be supported by private subscriptions, and many of the subscribers to the above-mentioned Society were applied to for pecuniary aid. Among them there were some who said, "We will not subscribe to both, and we will support the new Government institution rather than the Society, because that which has Government patronage is most likely to succeed." Thus the means of the Society diminished while the efforts making to give *éclat* to the new institution prevented the Society taking any effective steps to recruit its own funds, which, by withdrawing attention from Mr Hullah, would have seemed like an ungenerous rivalry. At the same time the announcement of a new method for teaching music, published by authority, almost put a stop to the diffusion of a knowledge of music by other plans. Local educational committees wishing to introduce music in their schools felt a desire to adopt that method, which, as they naturally supposed, possessed the greatest excellence, having received the highest possible sanction. The question was continually asked, "Why don't you unite with Government in propagating Wilhem's system?" to which the answer was one which failed to be satisfactory to all parties; viz., "We were willing to assist in giving Wilhem's method a fair trial, and offered to do so, but we cannot admit the inferiority of every other plan without some evidence of the fact."

teacher who understands his subject, and knows how to adapt himself to the capacity of his pupil, a thousand methods will present themselves.

Few, however, among those who found schools and write about *systems*, have made this discovery. Forty years ago Joseph Lancaster appeared,—a man of extraordinary ability as a teacher,—a schoolmaster, worshipped by children,—who could teach a thousand pupils with more success than many teachers would instruct one pupil. All the world went to see his school: his pupils were observed standing in semicircles, with their faces towards the wall, and the world went away with the notion that the secret of education lay in semicircles. Soon after Dr Bell came over from Madras, a man of scarcely less ability than Lancaster, and equal to him in zeal and energy. The pupils of Dr Bell were seen sitting or standing in squares, and since then the world has been divided in opinion upon the great question whether the method of the square, or that of the semicircle, is the more deserving support.

The public did not perceive that the success of these celebrated teachers lay not in their systems, but in themselves, and perhaps neither Bell nor Lancaster were conscious of the fact. Tell us not of systems, give us a teacher who has got his soul in the work: we care not for squares or circles, semicircles, heptagons, or pentagons—all mechanical arrangements and methods are but the dry bones of a system, utterly useless without there be a teacher who can infuse into it a spirit, and make the dry bones live, and speak to the mind and heart.

What is required of Government is, not to find new methods for bad teachers, but good teachers, with full liberty to adopt any method which may appear to them the readiest means of obtaining a given end.

If Government would improve the state of education, its duty is very simple. As it appears to us, it is this:

1. To provide such means of payment for schoolmasters as would induce men of superior capacity to enter a profession from which they are now driven by miserable stipends, lower than the wages given to a journeyman carpenter; and this is not to be done by Government grants, which will never be adequate to the object, but by a general school law, authorising local authorities to levy a school rate in every district where schools are needed.

2. Institutions for the education of schoolmasters, not so much in methods and mechanical arrangements as in knowledge;—knowledge of the sciences they will have to teach, knowledge of the human mind, knowledge of themselves, know-

ledge of the mind of children, to the capacities of which their own must be adapted.

We would not say that a Central Board of Education might not advantageously be employed in diffusing a knowledge of improved methods, and even in the preparation of elementary books; but undoubtedly not a Board *composed of Ministers of State;* and however a Board might be constituted, to begin with this would be beginning at the wrong end. Surely, before we set about casting new tools, we should consider whether the workmen can be found to use them, and if found, how the workmen are to be paid.

The preparation of elementary works by a Government Board of Education is also, under any circumstances, a task to be entered upon with great circumspection.

One half the difficulties of the Irish Education Board arose from their well-intended but injudicious attempts to introduce an improved version of the Bible in their scripture readings. Among their lesson books there are some extremely good, but others much inferior to corresponding works published by private individuals; and in this case a great injury is done to authors and the public. To authors, because neither author nor bookseller can compete with a Government publishing works not only without profit, but at a pecuniary loss; and to the public, because those who could write good books are prevented doing so from the same cause.

The best Board for the preparation or examination of elementary works would be one composed of highly educated and intelligent school Inspectors—such as exist in Holland; men employed continually in visiting schools, comparing the qualifications of schoolmasters and the merits of different methods of instruction. Such a Board would necessarily bring to the task a greater degree of practical ability than could be possessed by any other class of individuals. The worst conceivable Board, however, for such an object is that of a Cabinet Council —men perhaps individually well qualified if in private life, but as ministers of state, leaders of a great political party, with the cares of an empire upon their shoulders, utterly unfit for it, because placed in a position in which it would even be a crime to the State to allow their attention to be absorbed in the revision of children's books. Such, however, was the constitution of the Board which authorized the printing of Wilhem's 'Method of teaching Music' by the Stationery Department—and such is the present Board appointed by Sir Robert Peel, to sanction, we presume, the issue of similar publications.

We must be pardoned if we are so far prejudiced as to entertain

the opinion that those who take upon themselves to pronounce authoritatively upon the best means of teaching a science, should understand something of it themselves. We may assert however, with confidence, that not one member of the late Board was able to read music so as to sing at sight, and even their very zealous and active secretary, Dr Kay, is understood not to be a musician. The Committee appear to have been led to the conclusions at which they arrived entirely by their confidence in Mr Hullah, and in the favourable reports received from persons connected with the French Government of the success of M. Wilhem.

The Committee would have placed less reliance upon those reports had they been better able to judge of the facts. We should ourselves have had some deference for the opinion of a German or Italian Government on music, but none for the musical judgment of the Government of France. Notwithstanding the fact that the Conservatoire and the French Opera, supported at a great loss to the revenue, have produced some clever composers, we believe musical taste to be at a lower ebb in France than in any other country in Europe. Any one, we think, would be convinced of this who has seen a French audience endure with patience the wretched snatches of song introduced into their vaudevilles, always *a-propos de rien*, and always sung out of tune. It is not, at least, to France that England would look for the improvement of choral singing.* France has had its troubadour songs and other national melodies; but part singing has never been so extensively practised in France as in this country—madrigals, glees, catches, canons have never been in France, as with us, the favourite pastime of large classes. While we have had our great musical festivals for almost a century back, assembling every two or three years masses of singers from the manufacturing districts, nothing of the same kind has existed in France; and even to this day the choruses of Handel are, to the great body of French musicians, entirely unknown.

In listening, therefore, to the accounts transmitted by French officials of the effects produced by the choral singing of M. Wilhem's pupils, some allowance should have been made for their comparative novelty in Paris, and it ought to have been known that those effects were no evidence whatever of the superiority of M. Wilhem's method over a thousand other

* We have heard it stated that M. Wilhem is a German, but this is a mistake: the corresponding German name is *Wilhelm;* no foreigner could have obtained the exclusive patronage of the French Government.

methods which have led to the same results in Germany and other parts of the continent. A stranger visiting Paris with letters of introduction to members of the French Government, would of course hear nothing but of the one method under Government patronage; but his admiration would be somewhat qualified if he stayed long enough to discover that no other methods had been allowed to come into competition with it.

M. Wilhem is a man of some talent, but not of such superior merit that his own efforts would have raised him above other teachers, had he not had the good fortune to possess a friend in M. Orfila, a member of the "Conseil Royal" for Public Instruction. When the French Government determined that singing should be taught in all the national schools, its direction was entrusted to M. Orfila, who had some knowledge of music, while most of the other members of the Board had none; and M. Orfila could see no better means of furthering the object than that of conferring the exclusive patronage of the Government upon M. Wilhem.

As the person patronized must always be the friend of some body, we should have nothing to say to this if the patronage had not extended to the creation of a monopoly, and if the system upon which others would speedily have improved had not been converted into an exclusive patent.

A very illiberal spirit was shown to all other teachers in the same profession. To give an instance:—no public concerts are allowed, excepting in the theatres, without especial permission from the police. An order of the "Conseil Royal" makes an exception in favour of the concerts given by M. Wilhem and his pupils. M. Mainzer, the first to show on a large scale what could be done in teaching singing to the working classes, could never obtain a similar privilege. Through the influence of some members of the Polytechnic Association, he was allowed to give a grand concert in the Salle des Concerts St Honoré, when nearly a thousand working men of Paris, whom he had taught, gratuitously, to sing in parts, executed a variety of concerted pieces with great precision and effect. The Duke de Choiseul Praslin presided on the occasion, and the concert, the fame of which extended to every part of Europe, produced an extraordinary impression; but it was never allowed to be repeated. M. Mainzer applied for leave to open gratuitous singing schools for workmen in various parts of Paris, but in vain. The police thought that bringing great bodies of working men together might lead to an *emeute;* but no such consequence was apprehended from the tempered enthusiasm

of M. Wilhem's pupils.* M. Jue de Berneval, another talented class teacher, and now professor of sight singing at the Royal Academy of Music, met with similar discouragement.

The method of M. Wilhem is formally imposed on all the national schools of France, and M. Wilhem himself, with a liberal salary, is made Inspector-General of singing for all the public schools of Paris, belonging both to the Municipality and the Government. There are upwards of 120 of these schools in Paris, supported at the public expense, embracing about 30,000 children, besides 12 schools for adults, in which, with reading, writing, and arithmetic, singing is taught. M. Wilhem, as Inspector-General of singing, visits personally, or by his agents, the whole of these schools, and ensures two objects, which no wise government would have connected together; one, that the study of music shall not be neglected, the other, that no method but the method of M. Wilhem, and no music but music prepared by him, shall find admission into the public schools.

Where so many are taught upon one plan, it would be no miracle, even if the plan were wholly destitute of either novelty or merit, that its object should be attained by a considerable number of pupils. Let Mr Hawes or Mr Turle be made Inspector-General of singing for London, and be placed at the head of a well-paid corps of teachers, and we should soon have some thousands of children reading music as well as the boys of St Paul's Cathedral, the Chapel Royal, or Westminster Abbey, and no pupils of M. Wilhem read music better. This, however, would be no proof that our old-fashioned methods are the best, but it will at once be admitted that there would be no improvement upon them under the deadening influence of protection.

We have seen with some alarm that protection is likely to be the rule of the Committee of Council for Education, and our only hope is, that by showing how great a mistake has been committed in this instance a series of similar mistakes may be prevented. With this view we take up the subject.

Before, however, we proceed to an examination of Wilhem's method as adapted to English use, let us do justice to Mr Hullah, and explain that the remarks we are about to make are dictated by no spirit of hostility to him. No one who has attended his lectures at Exeter Hall could assert that he is wholly unqualified as a teacher. He is a young man of pleasing address, possessing in a high degree the tact necessary

* We understand that since M. Mainzer has left France, an intimation has been given that the police would no longer interpose obstacles to his exertions should he return to Paris.

to keep up the attention of adult pupils, and maintain an interest in his lessons. The art of teaching does not lie so much in methods employed, as in the ability to correct the mistakes of a pupil when they occur, and explain at the moment how they are to be avoided. This art Mr Hullah eminently possesses, and he is therefore deservedly popular with his classes. No person who wished to improve himself in the knowledge of written music, if gifted with sufficient perseverance to go through a very dry course of exercises, could fail to profit (though not, perhaps, to the extent the public have been led to suppose) by joining Mr Hullah's class. At the same time, we would caution him against the method developed in Mr Hullah's book, as one which will necessarily fail in the hands of ordinary teachers, and which is about as ill adapted for the instruction of *children* (its especial object), as any method yet devised.

Every good teacher of adults, however, is not necessarily fitted for the preparation of children's elementary books; something more than mere professional knowledge is required for the task. Dr Johnson, if he had tried, would probably not have succeeded so well in writing reading lessons in words of two syllables, as many a nursery governess profoundly ignorant of Latin. For preparing elementary books a peculiar kind of talent is needed, which, if ever possessed by Mr Hullah, had at least never been exercised when he received his commission. Above all, a knowledge of children is required, and, up to the time of the first tablets being published by the Committee of Council, Mr Hullah had never taught in any instance a class of children. The class with which he commenced at Battersea was not a class of children, but of young men training for schoolmasters, the youngest of whom were youths of fourteen, the most intelligent lads that could be selected from all the Union schools. The whole class consisted of but thirty, and among them several possessing the best voices, and consequently able to lead the rest, had already mastered the elementary difficulties under the instruction of another teacher, Mr Plumstead.*

The experiment at Battersea was therefore no trial at all of the method as adapted for National and British schools, where the average ages of the children are from 8 to 11; neither is the experiment of the classes at Exeter Hall a fair trial, where

* We think this should have been acknowledged (however lightly estimated) when the Battersea pupils were first brought forward.

the pupils are all adults, many of them already members of choral societies, and some among them accustomed to teach singing in schools before they came to Mr Hullah, with a view of obtaining what they supposed he would enable them to acquire—a thorough mastery of the science. The Committee of Council should also have known that a gentleman of much higher standing than Mr Hullah in the musical profession, Mr T. Cooke, had previously studied the method of M. Wilhem in Paris, but after introducing it in his own classes in London, had ultimately abandoned it as of little or no value.

Mr Hullah has been thrown into a false position, and no one regrets the fact more than ourselves, since it places us, in common with almost the whole musical profession, and with those who, although not members of it, exerted themselves to promote the object, in the invidious light of appearing to oppose Mr Hullah, when we would simply condemn the precipitancy of those who confided to inexperience the exclusive direction of a great national movement.

Had the musical tablets, extensively circulated by the Committee of Council, and the work printed at the expense of the Stationery Department, and published by authority, simply appeared as any other book of lessons, with the name of a private individual, we should not have thought of submitting their contents to a severe analysis. Every such work should be received in the most friendly spirit, and welcomed as an additional evidence of the growing interest excited in the subject. We may shut our eyes, from kindly motives, to the faults of a professor limited to his own immediate circle, but the case is very different with faults of which Government undertakes the responsibility, and to which its patronage is to give wings reaching every corner of the globe in which the English language is spoken. The public have a right to expect that a Council, composed of the greatest officers of the nation, appointed to consider the means of improving and extending education among a population of seven-and-twenty millions, would, if it undertook to publish educational books, call to its assistance all the intelligence and proved fitness for the task to be found upon a careful inquiry in every part of the kingdom. Gross blunders, and errors of slovenliness in execution, are inexcusable on the part of such a Board. The public naturally believe that a work published by the authority of the highest officers in the State has been first subjected to the revision of several competent persons, so that the errors which

escaped one mind might be corrected by the judgment of another.*

In Prussia and Austria, in the case of a new law, it is not unusual to circulate extensively printed copies of the proposed enactment, with a view of gathering opinions upon it before the measure is submitted, in a shape fit for final discussion, to the Supreme Council of Legislation. With us, on the contrary, the rule of Government is mystery:—the seal of official secrecy is placed upon every intended measure, until the moment when leave is obtained to bring in a new Bill, and the world is then often startled by the profound ignorance of details displayed by its authors.

This supposed necessity for mystery was no doubt the reason why no copies of Mr Hullah's tablets or lessons were to be obtained beyond the circle of his own pupils (who were naturally anxious to avoid a breach of confidence) until the moment arrived for publishing them with the sanction of the Committee of Council. We regret this, for it would have given us much more pleasure to have offered our criticism in the shape of private suggestions, while the work was passing through the press, than to have submitted them here. Whatever may be thought of the method of M. Wilhem, there is no real friend of Education who would not freely have lent his aid to obviate the more glaring defects of the first elementary work of the Committee of Privy Council: defects of which the existence is a reproach to the cause; and National Education has not yet so many friends that we can have the slightest pleasure in seeing its most influential supporters sacrificing themselves and the object to blunders they might have been helped to avoid.

It would now, however, be dishonest to suppress an unfavourable opinion.

The question at issue is not merely how shall music be taught, but whether the steps taken are in accordance with those by which every branch of instruction might be improved. The question is, what should be the spirit of the whole educational policy of Government? and better is it that the cause of National Education should stand still for a time, than that efforts should be only made in a false direction.

Looking at the subject in this light, we shall make no further

* This was the plan adopted in the elementary publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and we might mention several educational works upon different subjects not published by that Society, but deservedly popular, every page of which was written and re-written several times over, and not finally printed till it had been extensively circulated in manuscript, and approved both in families and schools.

allusion to Mr Hullah, of whose professional success in life we shall always hear with pleasure, but shall direct the attention of our readers to the responsible publishers of the work before us, the Committee of Council of Education, at whose instigation it appears, from their own minute, the 'Manual' was prepared.

We have not at hand, and from friendly motives we do not wish to recal, the names of the former Committee of Council of Education. We may be allowed to forget them, since the present Board have already adopted the responsibility of this, undoubtedly the most questionable act of their predecessors. We give, therefore, only the names of the new firm—the present publishers of the work entitled 'Wilhem's Method of Teaching Singing'—a firm at once and fully entering into the spirit of trading competition;—not hesitating to decry in their advertisement the works of other publishers, by asserting that hitherto there had been no method* of instruction (meaning, we presume, none worthy of the name) published in Great Britain to facilitate the teaching of vocal music in elementary schools.

COMMITTEE OF PRIVY COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION.

Lord Wharncliffe, President of the Council.
Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, First Lord of the Treasury.
Duke of Buckingham, Lord Privy Seal.
Right Hon. Henry Goulburn, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Lord Granville Somerset, Chancellor for the Duchy of Lancaster.
Sir James Graham, Bart., Secretary of State for the Home Department.

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* "Among the impediments to the introduction of a more general cultivation of vocal music among the lower orders in Great Britain, has been the want of a method of instruction facilitating the teaching of vocal music in elementary schools."—'Prefatory Minute of the Committee of Council,' p. 5.

The Committee need not have gone further than the shop of their own agent (Parker, Strand) to have found Mr Turner's 'Manual for Teaching Singing in National Schools.' A cheap and meritorious work of the kind forms a part of Chambers's 'Educational Course.' The works published by Taylor and Walton—Cocks, Biddulph, and Co., are also well known, and we might mention many others. This assertion of the Committee is the more remarkable since the first diagram in their 'Manual,' page 2, for illustrating the intervals, is taken with a slight and immaterial alteration, not from Wilhem, but from 'First Lessons in Singing,' page 40. Wilhem's diagram is a staircase.

Twenty years ago, Mr Edward Taylor, using his own method, taught sight singing to two hundred Norwich weavers, who recently performed the most difficult oratorio ever written, Spohr's 'Crucifixion,' to the entire satisfaction of the composer.

Before we notice either the synthetical or scientific claims of this first publication of the above noblemen and right hon. gentlemen, we will say a word or two upon its literary merits.

In the prefatory minute of the Committee we find some excellent remarks upon the importance of national songs as "a means of forming an industrious, brave, loyal, and religious working class." We are told that in infant schools "The words of the songs commonly sung are rather foolish than simple, and fantastic than sprightly." The Committee do not appear to have been aware that of late any attempts have been made to remedy this defect, but intimating that they have undertaken the task themselves, call our attention to *their* labour songs, consisting of "words adapted to the music in this part of the course, chiefly such as may inspire cheerful views of industry." We naturally, therefore, turned first to this part of the work, and not without some expectation that the task had been fairly executed, since, in the land of Shakspeare and Milton, a Ministerial Commission of Inquiry might certainly succeed in finding some national songs worth adapting to music, and possibly poets capable of writing them. The words "brave and loyal" reminded us of Campbell's celebrated song of—

> "The flag that braved a thousand years
> The battle and the breeze;"

and thinking this was one the Committee had probably selected, we caught ourselves, as we turned over the pages, involuntarily repeating the words—

> "Britannia needs no bulwarks,
> No towers along the steep;
> Her path is on the mountain wave,
> Her home is on the deep."

Instead, however, of quoting Campbell, we found the Committee had employed a poet (name unknown) to write such verses as the following:—

THE SPINNING WHEEL.

> "The wheel, O how it hums,
> The merry spinning wheel,
> Good dame, when the snow comes,
> The shepherd shall not feel
>
> "The blast; with plaid and hose
> He'll breast the wintry storm;
> And, hark! how loud it blows
> Around our ingle warm."

The connexion of the spinning wheel with snow, and the snow with a shepherd keeping himself warm in a blast (for a fall of snow is not necessarily accompanied with wind) is not very clear; and why, in an elementary work, introduce such an obsolete and inappropriate term as *ingle?** We were rather surprised to find such verses printed among songs designed to supersede those, which are "rather foolish than simple, and fantastic than sprightly." The poem proceeds—

"Oh dame! thy sailor boy
Upon the giddy mast
Sits high, and sings with joy
(Tott'ring before the blast).

"God speed the murm'ring wheel,
That spins the lambkin's fleece,
Which wraps us while we reel
Across the swelling seas."

As we cannot suppose a poet laureate of the Committee of Council would express himself ungrammatically, we must conclude it is the sailor boy, and not the giddy mast, that is here alluded to as "tott'ring before the blast;" and the sailor boy is probably represented as singing to divert his thoughts from the fear of breaking his neck. From the next verse, however, we fear the reader will suppose that it was the poet who was "tott'ring," in consequence of his brain "reeling" when writing about spinning the fleece of lambkins (new-born lambs), and imagining that *fleece* and *seas* were rhymes.

This specimen of improved national songs is made to do service through three different lessons, pages 103, 114, 126! It is arranged to rather a pleasing air of Wilhem.

While the Committee of Council claim credit for the superiority of their *libretto*, others have pleaded in extenuation of its faults, the difficulty of adapting new words to old music; but the apology is one which, in this case, cannot be admitted, because the words are, after all, not adapted to the music, as will be observed from the following striking instance of false accentuation:—

A strongly accented note is here made to fall upon the unaccented word *the*, a fault almost inexcusable in an elementary

* "'Ingle,' a flame or blaze; a wood fire, whence 'Inglewood,' the name of a forest in Cumberland."—*Johnson.*

work, because it is part of the duty of a teacher to guard his pupils against false musical expression of this kind, and neither sense nor rhyme being deemed a matter of moment, the error might have been avoided by substituting another word for the fourth syllable, thus—

"Good dame, when *snow* shall come"

As the sea is a favourite subject in these songs, we quote another specimen of the kind of inspiration kindled in the mind of our poet by such a theme. We take it from page 111, a song called 'The Sea Boy.'

"In night's most wintry rime
He doth the topmast climb;
We soon shall reach the clime
Of the sun, thinks the sea boy."

If the reader should be somewhat dull of comprehension, we will endeavour to explain what we imagine to have been the ideas the poet here intended to express. The sailor boy, from some cause not necessary to be stated, is ordered, *in the night*,* to the topmast. The mast is covered with hoar frost (wintry rime), and the duty is disagreeable; but, instead of going grumbling up, he bethinks himself that the ship is fortunately not steering east, west, or north (which would have altered the case), but to the south, and, therefore, that he will soon get into warmer regions. The reader is to make allowance for the difficulty of conveying all these ideas in the compass of four short lines. He is to understand that the words *clime of the sun* are a poetical phrase, and that *climb* and *clime* are rhymes, which perhaps he never knew before. The next verse begins thus—

"Then, in the polar night,
He sees the arctic bright
Wave like a veil of light
Across the sky. O the sea boy!"

We have read of the arctic and antarctic circles; but what is meant by the "arctic bright" waving like "a veil of light"

* The first verse describes the 'Sea Boy' as keeping watch at the mast-head *through the night*:—

"While on the silent deeps
The weary ship's crew sleeps,
Who on the top-mast keeps
Watch through the night?
The sea boy."

The ship's crew must have an extraordinary captain to allow this: but what a pleasant prospect, by way of encouragement, for boys going to sea!

across the sky, we cannot imagine, unless it be some hidden allusion to the aurora borealis, which, however, we never heard called by the name of the "arctic." The arctic ocean it cannot be, because the ocean never waves "like a veil of light across the sky."

Our modern Dibdin, perfectly unconscious of any deficiency on his part in clearness of ideas or felicity of expression, favours us with not less than six verses of the same quality. We give the fifth verse—

> "And now the ship doth come
> Where the cocoa-nuts bloom,
> And the savage hath his tomb
> In the Morai. The sea boy!
> And Nature's chieftaincy
> In fair isles rules the free,
> Beneath the bread-fruit tree,
> Painted and wild. O the sea boy!" *

The sixth verse not inappropriately begins with—

> "Nowhere but on the seas,
> Or battling with the breeze,
> Are seen such sights as these."

Certainly they are to be seen nowhere on land; and the sailor boy must have served on board the Flying Dutchman, who saw a bread-fruit tree "painted and wild," and cocoa *nuts* (not the trees) blooming in *the Morai*, wherever that may be,† and the savage first quietly entombed, then raised again, and converted into a free man, ruled over by "Nature's chieftaincy," whatever that may mean.

Until the appearance of this work we had always regarded it as important to teach children grammatical composition, or the art of so constructing sentences as to express

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* This phrase 'O the sea boy,' introduced in every verse, reminds us of a tragedy written by Thomson the poet, in which an unfortunate line was the means of damning the piece after the first night. The line was—

> "Oh Sophonisba, Sophonisba, oh!"

This was parodied by some one in the gallery into

> "Oh Jemmy Thomson, Jemmy Thomson, oh!"

† Captain Cook tells us that the pyramidical tombs common in Otaheite are called *morais*, and that the greatest ambition of every native is to have at his death a magnificent *morai* erected to his memory. From the definite article, however, affixed to the word above, it would seem as if by *the Morai* some particular country is alluded to. We know of no spot on the globe called *the* Morai; but if our author has found it, we hope national gratitude will accord him at his death "a magnificent morai" for the discovery.

the idea they wished to convey in simple and appropriate language, avoiding all superfluous terms and unmeaning phrases. In the best schools of the continent there are daily exercises in composition and the critical analysis of sentences. But what are we to say to an elementary work emanating from Government, expressly designed to raise the standard of taste among the working classes, in which such lines as we have quoted above are given as adapted to the object?

We know the task of adapting words to music is somewhat difficult, but the difficulty is not one which a Committee of Privy Council could not have overcome.* Professor Taylor, and twenty others whom we might name, have succeeded. Moore at least has shown that the talent exists in the highest conceivable degree, requiring only a proper direction. A hundred of the cleverest pens in England might have been put in motion by the slightest hint from the premier that their assistance would be welcome; but if otherwise—if the whole race of poets be indeed extinct, rather than sacrifice common sense to music, why not have written new music to such songs as we have? Wilhem himself has no rank among composers; he has not produced a single air that will bear a comparison for originality and beauty with many written by Bishop, Cooke, Balfe, or Barnett; and Wilhem's method could have been taught without taking any one of his melodies, the best of which are but feeble.

To some extent, indeed, this course has been followed. Several unexceptionable songs from the 'Original Poems' and other works have been selected, and adapted to music "written expressly for the work." But here we have to complain that, when the words are adapted to the object, the music is not suitable to the words. For example, we may show the use made of the beautiful song from 'Original Poems,'—beautiful from its truth and simplicity, as the very transcript of the

* We trust our remarks may have the effect of causing the *libretto* of the second part of the work, which has not yet appeared, to be carefully revised before being published (like the first) "by authority." We are told (alluding, we presume, to the second part—page 11) that to the same hands has been entrusted the task of adapting the best of "our old English melodies which deserve to be restored to the popular use;" and—

"In order that the restoration of this national music may be facilitated, words have been adapted to it, intended to associate it with the customs of the people, and with healthy, moral, and religious sentiments, which may be *intelligible and congenial to the minds of the children who sing them.*" ! ! !

mind of a little child looking up to the sky and wondering at the stars—

> "Twinkle, twinkle, little star,
> How I wonder what you are,
> Up above the world so high,
> Like a diamond in the sky."

In infant schools these words are generally sung to an air equally simple and very pleasing—'Ah vous dirai-je.' In the work before us they are arranged to the following disjointed looking melody:—

In the prefatory minute to which we have before alluded, it is regretted that "airs have frequently been selected for infant schools, altogether unsuitable for very young children." From this remark we are to infer, as well as from the choice of the words, which, although truthful from the lips of a child, are only silly as the language of an adult,—that the above air is one deemed by the Committee really suitable for infant schools. We must dissent from this opinion; very young children could not be taught such an air as the above, and the attempt to make them learn it would only set them crying. We have no objection to the music as an exercise upon octaves for a senior class; but for a senior class we should not select the poetry of infancy.

This example will give some idea of the character of the work as "*a synthetical method of instruction*," which it professes to be; that is to say, a method strictly progressive, commencing not with difficulties, but with the first elements, proceeding step by step, and so arranged (as the preface assures us), that "every lesson is adapted to the capacity of children."—P. 5.

Turning to the first lesson to see how this promise had been fulfilled, we were certainly not impressed with a very high opinion of the logical consistency to be expected from the work by the first two sentences which we read.

"1. Sounds which are so confused and harsh that the ear cannot follow them, nor the voice imitate them, are *noise*.

"Sounds which the ear can follow, or the voice can imitate, are *music*."

It is curious that parents (who are certainly often very ignorant persons) always take it for granted that their children understand the meaning of what is said to them, when told some twenty times a day at least, "Don't make such a noise." No doubt the reason children continue to make a noise, notwithstanding this paternal injunction, is, that they have never had the benefit of a scientific definition of what the term "noise" means; here, however, is one of which parents may avail themselves in future. Noise is that "which the voice cannot imitate," and "which the ear cannot follow" distinctly. An illustration is given. The teacher says,—

"Give me an instance of noise.—A. The blows of a hammer."

So that it appears the blows of a hammer cannot be heard distinctly; they are too confused to be followed by the ear!* Here, too, is a definition of music, from which we learn, that when children are screaming, shouting, and crying, they are not making a noise, provided too many are not doing the same thing at once, so as to bewilder the ear in following the sounds, but practising vocal music: two persons holding a conversation together are not merely talking, but engaging in a vocal duet; provided only they do not address each other in languages not mutually understood, but in such a manner that whatever is said or spoken by the one, the sound of his words can be followed or imitated by the ear or voice of the other.†

* Our readers may not, perhaps, have noticed that Rossini has taken the blows of a hammer, or the rat-a-tat-a-tat of a footman's knock, as the leading subject of his overture to 'Il Barbière.'

† This is not a blunder made by M. Wilhem, but one into which the author has fallen through a desire to improve upon the original text: an essential part of M. Wilhem's definition has been omitted, and this, perhaps, is one of the reasons which has made him displeased with the liberties taken with his method by the Committee of Privy Council, without consulting him on the subject. When we visited him in Paris, he had just received from some anonymous agent a packet containing the tabular lessons recently published. This was the first intimation he had obtained that his plans had

This is certainly a singular mistake to make at the outset, but it is not one, perhaps, practically of much importance, as children are all perfectly aware that talking and singing are not quite the same thing, though made to appear so in the definition. But let us proceed with our lesson.

The next paragraph explains the difference between instrumental and vocal music. The third paragraph defines the meaning of the term *musical passage,* of which three bars are given in illustration, nothing of which can of course be understood by children, because they have not yet been taught the name or meaning of any one of the characters to which the teacher points. Assuming, however, that this has been made quite clear, the pupils are next informed that every musical passage is in some scale; that a scale is a series of eight sounds, one of which is an *octave* to the first (a term not explained), and that there are two kinds of scales—diatonic scales and chromatic scales, and two forms or modes—the major mode and the minor mode. The lesson concludes with questions and answers upon the foregoing. The last of which are as follows:—

"How many sorts of scales are there?—Two.

"What are they called?—Diatonic scales and chromatic scales.

"Which are the more important of the two?—Diatonic scales.

"In how many ways or modes can a diatonic scale be written?—Two.

"What are they called?—The major mode and the minor mode.

"Which are we going to study?—The major mode."

In the original work of Wilhem nothing is said about a "musical passage," and he judiciously omits in his first lesson all mention of chromatic scales, or major and minor modes. Definitions, and incorrect ones, we have seen are given where none are required, but of these hard words, so alarming to children, no explanation is offered, because in the very first stage of their instruction none would be possible. The children are required to remember them nevertheless; the repetition of hard technical terms not understood is supposed to be instruction, and little else is attempted in the first lesson. The account a child would give of it out of school would probably be this: "There is some difference between noise and music; and music is something about diatonic scales and chromatic scales, and major modes and minor modes; but what they are I don't know."

There ought to be no compromise between the friends of

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been adopted by the English Government, and he appeared far from content with the alterations his method had undergone, in adapting it to English use.

education and a method, with such a beginning. No part of the work of instruction is so important as the first step. No subsequent art of the teacher can efface the discouraging impression produced on the mind of a child who is made to believe, through the fault of its teacher, that it is commencing a task dull and dry, and above its powers of comprehension. From Edgeworth to Pestalozzi, every writer on education of the slightest reputation, during the last thirty years, has laboured to show the necessity of avoiding, in the first elementary lessons, all technical or scientific terms, and of confining that stage of instruction to the simplest ideas, expressed in the simplest words. The lesson we have given has all the faults of the old system of elaborate teaching, in which nothing was taught. It is a lesson in the true spirit of the 'Eton Latin Grammar,' a book only to be understood after the language has been acquired.

In the second lesson we have an attempt to explain, by a diagram, the intervals of the diatonic scale. The teacher sings through the diatonic scale, and tells the pupils to observe that the intervals between the 3rd and 4th, and 7th and 8th, are nearer together than the other intervals. It is expected that children, without having had any previous exercises of the kind, never having had their attention directed to the difference between one sound and another in singing, knowing as yet nothing even of the comparatively wide intervals of 3rds and 5ths, the ear having received no cultivation whatever, will at once be enabled to appreciate the nicest distinctions of sounds, so that, after listening for the first time attentively to the notes of the scale, the children will recognise the semitones between the 3rd and 4th, and 7th and 8th.

Five minutes' experience in any school-room might have satisfied the author of the work, that young children can understand nothing at all of the matter; indeed it would be physically impossible to be otherwise, for the education of the ear is like that of the eye, great and broad differences must be appreciated before minute ones. There must be some familiarity with objects before the eye can at once discover the precise difference between one object and another, and it is the same with the difference between sounds, the ear must first of all be accustomed to them. The explanation, therefore, attempted is one which properly belongs not to the first, but to a much later stage of instruction. In teaching singing, the first thing to be done is to exercise the voice and ear; and the next to describe how sounds may be written on paper. Time enough to show how semitones are written, when the mind has formed a true conception of the meaning of the term.

When we were visiting, by the invitation of M. Wilhem, a large Lancasterian school in Paris, during the singing lesson, we found a monitor endeavouring to beat this difference between the tones and semitones of the diatonic scale into the heads of a class or draft of children, between the ages of seven and nine. We saw, at a glance, from the stultified looks of the children, that they did not comprehend a word the monitor said, and we drew the attention of M. Wilhem to the fact. M. Wilhem admitted it was so, but said "they will understand the lesson by-and-by, when they have gone through other lessons which follow." We could have replied, why not, then, put the other lessons first? It was a confession that the method, beginning as it does with the unintelligible, is anything but a *synthetical* method, or one proceeding by simple gradations from the known to the unknown.

Not till all these difficulties have been presented is a word said relative to the meaning of the term *notes*, and of the five lines on which music is written. This is reserved for the third lesson. The fourth lesson treats of the "compass" of different voices; and here again we have an instance of the way in which words of the easiest meaning may become perplexed by definitions couched in technical or scientific language. The compass of a voice, we should have said, includes all the sounds it can produce, from the lowest to the highest; but this definition would not have been sufficiently learned, we are therefore told—

"The compass or extent of a voice depends upon the number of *diatonic* sounds it can produce."

But why diatonic, and not also chromatic sounds, thus leaving it to be inferred that the less are not included in the greater? Why mention either of these technical terms, when the word "sounds" alone would have been sufficient, necessarily including those that are diatonic, as well as those which are chromatic?

How little title the work has to the character of "a synthetical method," will be further seen by turning to page 28, where a lesson will be found on the meaning of the Italian terms, *largo, adagio, andante, allegro, presto*, &c.

The explanation of these terms, in most other methods, is placed about the end of the course, when the pupils, having learnt something of singing, require, in finishing their instruction, to learn to sing with expression; here it is given before the children have sung their first song, embracing the simplest interval, that of the second, and before even they have been taught the difference in time between a crotchet and a quaver.

The following questions occur at page 30, while the time table is not given till page 35.

"What does *andante grazioso* mean?—*A.* Moving along gracefully.

"What does *allegro moderato* mean?—Lively, but not too fast."

Even at page 35 the time table is not introduced until the memory has been burthened with the additional Italian terms of *mezzo forte* and *rallentando.* The complete inversion in the work of everything approaching to a natural order of instruction will be seen from the questions put, page 36.

"What is the meaning of the letters 'mf?'—*A. Mezzo forte,* that is, 'rather loud.'

"What does the word *rallentando* mean?—'Slackening,' that the passage over which it is placed is to be slower than the passages before it.

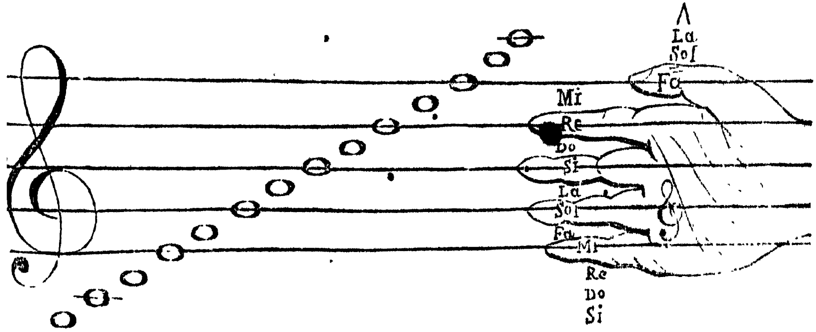
"Describe a pause.—A curved line over a dot.

"How is it used?—It is placed over or under a note, to show that it can be held as long as the singer pleases.

"How many quavers can be sung in the time of one semibreve? —Eight.

"How many minims can be sung in the time of one semibreve? —Two."

The most striking peculiarity of Wilhem's system is the revival of the old method of teaching the notation of music upon the fingers—the five fingers being substituted for the five lines of the staff, after the following manner.



The teacher, instead of pointing to notes marked upon a black board on which five lines have been painted, holds his hand up, as in Pyramus and Thisbe, and pointing to an opening between his fingers (the chink in his imaginary wall), tells

his pupils that each chink or opening represents a space, and the fingers themselves the lines of the staff. The pupils afterwards, instead of singing from real notes, sing from the imaginary notes placed on or between the fingers to which the teacher points, the pupils doing the same with their own hands.

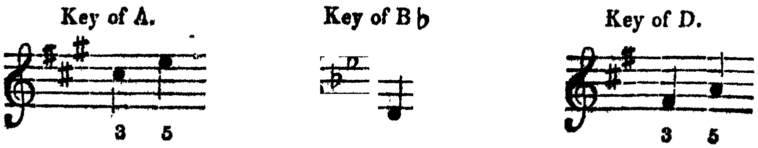
There is perhaps no great harm in this, and it may sometimes be an amusement to children, who like to be playing with their fingers; but yet, as it is not every child who is quick in comprehending how one thing can stand for another, we fear it will prove, in many cases, only another addition to the difficulties with which musical notation is already encumbered.

The advantage proposed to be obtained by the method is not stated in the work, but M. Wilhem told us that he relied upon it as a system of *mnemonics* applied to the recollection of intervals: the associations of touch with sounds assisting the memory in remembering sounds. And in our subsequent examination of a class of his pupils, he made us observe, that before some of his pupils could remember the sounds belonging to the written intervals, they had to touch the place of those intervals on their fingers, to recal the sounds by association.

We have a great distaste for all mechanical appliances when the memory can be better assisted, as in this case, by an intellectual analysis. Go-carts have gone out of fashion since it was discovered that they were so great a help to a child that they prevented it learning to walk; but the attempt to teach music by a mnemonic method shows that M. Wilhem does not understand where the chief difficulty to the pupil lies. That difficulty mainly consists in the intervals of the scale perpetually changing their places in the staff, so that without great practice they cannot be recognized in a moment. For example;— in half an hour a child may be taught to remember, without any mnemonic methods, the sounds belonging to the 3rd and 5th of the scale, when written in the key of C

3 5

but the 3rds and 5ths of other keys are found in all parts of the staff, as, for example, in the



Now as the scale may be written in not less than 24 different keys, major and minor, the knowledge of the sounds belonging to the 3rd and 5th is but of little comparative use until, by the continued study of music in different keys, the pupil can recognize, without hesitation, the 3rd or the 5th of the scale, in whatever key it may be written. The digital, or finger method, is of no assistance to the pupil in overcoming this difficulty, but rather an embarrassment than otherwise, because it is not adapted to a change of keys. The thumb is always *fa*, or the 4th of the scale, while the corresponding top line on the staff may represent that or any other interval. In the key of G, the top line represents the 7th of the scale, and as the sound belonging to the 7th is very different to that of the 4th, to remember the sound of the 4th by the "rule of thumb," when we want to sing the 7th, is to embarrass ourselves with a false association.

Many persons have supposed, and amongst them, we believe, the Committee of Council, that this method of teaching by the fingers is something new, originating with M. Wilhem; it is, however, as old as the eleventh century, when it was invented by Guido Aretino, a monk of Arezzo, from whom it has since gone by the name of the Guidonian hand.* Guido Aretino, or, as the name is sometimes written, Guy Aretin, was also the person who first borrowed and applied from the Hymn of St John the syllables still used, with but little change or addition, in most of the solfeggio exercises now written.† Solfeggio and the digital method were both introduced together, and that the latter speedily sunk into disuse, and was not heard of for 800 years, is some presumption against its supposed merit. It is, however, no novelty, even in England. Forty years ago, Stevens, the author of 'Bragela,' taught his pupils upon that method, and Mr T. Cooke, long before the publication of the present English adaptation of Wilhem, adopted it in his classes till he found it an unprofitable occupation of their time.

We pass over the many typographical errors contained in the work; errors, however, which ought not to have appeared in a volume intended for a national school-book, and would not, had the work been first revised by competent judges. But a mistake has been pointed out by a contemporary in the 46th chapter (page 138), which cannot be attributed to the careless-

* See Busby's 'Dictionary of Music.'

† Ut queant laxis,
Re-sonare fibris,
Mi-ra gestorum,
Fa-muli tuorum,
Sol-vi polluti,
La-bii reatum,
Sancte Joannes.

ness of the printer. An air is given as a type of the *major* 6th, in which nearly all the 6ths are minor. The air (page 138), in fact, contains but four major 6ths, and not less than twelve minor 6ths; it cannot, therefore, be a type of one or the other; and in the air given as a type of the minor 6th, there is but one 6th of either kind. We copy what is called "a type of the major 6th," as a specimen of the scientific accuracy of the work, and to give another instance of the kind of songs which are deemed suitable for children.*

THE FLYING COURSE:—type of the major 6th.

* A major 6th contains four tones and one semitone; a minor 6th, three tones and two semitones. We have marked them in copying the music for the benefit of the uninitiated.

This is a song intended for the play-ground; but the nature of children must be changed before they will sing such an air of their own accord out of school hours, and their taste for melody must be entirely perverted before they could derive any pleasure from such an unnatural progression as that arranged to the words "clear the bar with a bound."

Considerable ingenuity has been displayed by M. Wilhem in the arrangement of his solfeggio exercises, so that the different classes of a school may be learning at one time different singing lessons in the same room, without that degree of discord and confusion which would otherwise be inevitable.

An exercise upon 3rds forms a second to an exercise upon 6ths, so that the class learning 3rds, and another class learning 6ths, sing in harmony together; that is to say, when they have learnt to sing their parts correctly, for until then nothing is gained. Of all musical torments, none perhaps exceed that of listening to the false notes of pupils learning solfeggio exercises; and when a number of exercises are being sung in this manner together, out of tune and time, by perhaps 400 children, the effect is perfectly excruciating.

The instruction, however, of the Exeter Hall classes is not conducted upon the monitorial system, or that of different classes learning different exercises in the same room and at the same time, but upon the simultaneous method, and this is not open to the same objection.

With the view now of rendering our remarks of some practical benefit to the teacher, we shall throw our concluding observations into the form of suggestions of the steps which should really be pursued in conveying elementary instruction in music.

In our visits to continental schools we have accumulated, among other school books, a great number upon singing; but we have not one in our collection so overlaid with the technical pedantries of the science, so abounding in difficulties insuperable to children, so little of the character of a work adapted for the self-instruction of an adult, as this English adaptation of Wilhem's method. Indeed, without a master to explain it, the book is perfectly useless; no person wholly unacquainted with the elements of music could master a page of its contents.

Those who would form an idea of a synthetical method, as contra-distinguished from that of Wilhem, would do well (if acquainted with the German language) to procure Nägeli's work for teaching singing on the principles of Pestalozzi—a

work much esteemed in Germany, and from which many useful ideas may be obtained.*

Here in England, and also in America, various works have appeared on the same subject, of which we cannot now stop to discuss the merits; but we may observe, that a far superior course of elementary exercises to those of Wilhem have lately appeared, published by M. Mainzer, under the title of 'Singing for the Million.'† We have seen in the classes established by that gentleman,‡ from three to five hundred persons, chiefly of the working classes, engaged in singing these exercises in unison, and we were much struck with their extreme simplicity, the one essential qualification, without which comparatively no progress can be made in popular instruction.§ The first object in teaching a class to read music is to give a general idea of the subject. Theory should be kept in the back ground till a foundation has been laid for future scientific attainments, and this object is well attained by M. Mainzer's preparatory course; so well indeed, that we believe as much real knowledge of sight singing (allowing for the difference in the amount of practice) may be acquired by his first sixteen lessons as by studying the whole of the fifty chapters in the work under review, which, confessedly, breaks off in the middle of the subject.

In teaching singing, however, it would not be easy to find any set of exercises that are equally adapted for all ages. The

* Auszug aus der Gesangbildungslehre nach Pestalozzischen Grundsätzen von Peiffer und Nägeli Zurich.

† Published by Simpkin and Marshall.

‡ Here it is but right to say that too much praise cannot be given to this gentleman, a composer and musical critic of some reputation, for his disinterested and benevolent exertions. For all that he has hitherto done for the masses of working men, whom he has taught to sing, he has accepted no payment. His classes have been, as far as he himself is concerned, entirely gratuitous; not that he is a rich man, and can well afford to do so from his own pecuniary resources, but because he is an enthusiast in the cause, and will not allow himself to be stopped by personal considerations. Every member of his classes pays sixpence per month; but this is scarcely more than sufficient to cover the expenses of rooms and lights, and the music of his exercises is sold to his classes at the cheap rate of twopence per sheet; each sheet containing sixteen pages of music. We should rejoice, for the sake of the cause, to see M. Mainzer realizing a fortune at this rate of payment.

§ We should except, however, for reasons to be hereafter stated, a few exercises in the key of G and F, if sung to the solfeggio syllables upon any other method than that laid down by Rousseau; a method, however, which ought not to be applied till the pupil is thoroughly familiar with the intervals in the key of C.

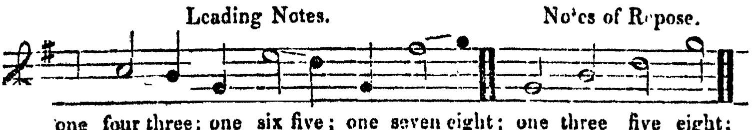
teacher must vary his lessons according to the capacities of his pupils, and for very young children solfeggio exercises should be used sparingly, if at all. We entirely dissent from the doctrine now maintained, that children should not be allowed to sing till they are able to sing from written music. It might as well be said that children should not be allowed to speak till taught to read. Much as we value the art of reading music, it is but the means to an end. It is not music itself, but a means of extending our knowledge of music. There can be no reasonable objection to infant school songs being taught without the written notes, provided the songs themselves are suitable and are taught correctly; indeed, on the contrary, such teaching is an excellent preliminary exercise for the voice and ear. God forbid that half the happiness and cheerfulness of infancy should be sacrificed to the supposed necessity of first making children acquainted with the construction of diatonic and chromatic scales.

In completing the musical education of a pupil in sight singing, it is necessary not only to educate the eye in a knowledge of the forms by which sounds are expressed, but to exercise the understanding; and a thorough mastery of the subject is not to be attained by singing mechanically through any set of solfeggio exercises, however complicated and difficult. We attach comparatively little importance to exercises on 4ths, or 7ths, or any other intervals; they may be learnt by ear as well as nursery songs, *and are so learnt in large classes;* the first 4th or 7th sung helping the pupil to sing all the rest of the series; but the difficulty is in remembering, when 4ths, 3rds, 6ths, and 7ths, are grouped promiscuously together, what is the precise sound belonging to each; and to learn this without the incessant practice of professional singers, which makes it an affair not of mind but of habit, an appeal must be made to the understanding, and the pupil must be taught to mark the quality of the sounds characteristic of the different intervals.

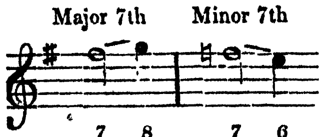
This is the object proposed by M. E. Jue de Berneval, professor of sight singing at the Royal Academy; and although his treatise upon what he terms a monogammic system, is not adapted for a popular elementary work, it contains some excellent hints for teaching sight singing; and his system, which may be termed an intellectual method, differs entirely from that of Wilhem, which is purely mechanical from beginning to end.

M. Jue draws the attention of his pupils to the fact, that each interval of the diatonic scale has a sound so peculiar to itself, that when its character is once understood, they can never be at

a loss to distinguish it from any other. For example, the 7th may be remembered by noting its tendency to *ascend* to the 8th. The ear cannot rest or repose on the 7th, it is a note of passage, leading to the octave of the key. The 4th and the 6th are in like manner notes of passage, but having a tendency to *descend* —the 4th leading to the 3rd, and the 6th to the 5th; while the 1st, 3rd, 5th, and 8th are all notes of repose—notes upon which the ear may rest; employed, therefore, as the concluding chord of every composition, and remembered with ease as the most natural progression from the key note to its octave. For example:



The 7th of the above major scale may, in like manner, be distinguished from the minor 7th; the one having a tendency to ascend; the other, like the 6th, a tendency to descend, and of a peculiar *plaintive* character.



The way to impress these characteristic distinctions upon the mind is, after having given the above explanation, to sing or play to the pupil various intervals, and direct him to write them down, finding out for himself what the intervals are, by listening attentively. We would strongly recommend the frequent repetition of such an exercise, as one of the most profitable in which the pupil can be engaged. The teacher, however, must be careful, in singing, not always to use the same words or syllables, so as to give any other clue to the interval than the actual sound belonging to it. As an instance of the facility with which the power may be acquired, we may mention that a little boy, under six years of age (taught by M. Jue), once named to us correctly the intervals of every chord we struck upon the pianoforte, the boy standing with his back to the instrument.

Another exercise of equal importance, and, indeed, one that is quite essential to the acquirement of sight singing, without the incessant practice which creates a kind of instinct for read-

ing music, is to analyse the different parts of a composition, and especially the most difficult passages, in the same manner that children, when learning grammar, are exercised in parsing a sentence.

For example, the teacher will take a passage out of Handel's 'Coronation Anthem,' like the following, and write it upon the black board.

The teacher then, pointing to the notes upon the board, will address the class as follows :—

"What key are we in?—*A*. The key of D.—How do you know that?—*A*. Because the key of D has two sharps in the signature.*—Sing the intervals belonging to the chord of D. (The pupils sing 1-3-5-8, or Do, mi, sol, do, the teacher having given the key note.)—*Teacher*. Which of those you have sung do you find in the first bar? —*A*. The two first notes are the 5th and the 8th.—*Teacher*. Sing the 5th and 8th to the words 'and all.' (The pupils sing them.)—*Teacher*. What intervals do you find in the third and fourth bars, above the words 'and said?'—*A*. The intervals of the 7th and 8th. —*Teacher*. What is the character of the sound belonging to the 7th?—*A*. A tendency to ascend.—*Teacher*. Sing 'the 7th.'"

If the pupils cannot remember it they should be made to repeat the exercise we have already given on leading notes, after which they could not fail to sing the two words "and said" correctly.

Another passage in the same anthem would give the teacher an opportunity of saying something about modulation.

"*Teacher*. How many sharps did you say there were in the key of D?—*Answer*. Two.—What are they?—*A*. F sharp and C sharp. —*Teacher*. If I take C sharp away, what key would the signature then represent?—*A*. The key of G.—*Teacher*. In what key then is the last note of the second bar, where the natural occurs?—*A*. The key of G.—What interval is it in the key of G?—*A*. The fourth.—The teacher may here explain that C natural is both the 4th of G

* The teacher will take a future opportunity of explaining that the key of B minor has also two sharps.

and the minor 7th of D, and the characteristic difference between the sounds of the two 7ths might be again pointed out."

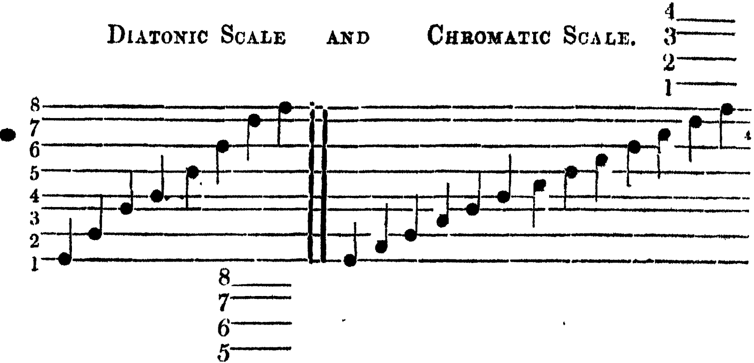
In this way the class may be made to analyse the whole of a composition, taking sometimes the more easy passages, but not in regular order, and at other times the more difficult; the pupils finding out for themselves, by the directions given, the sounds required, until they are perfect in every part. And observe the advantage of this method of intellectual analysis; every step is felt to be a step gained, because the pupils, while acquiring a knowledge of the principles of music, they are mastering a composition worth singing, to which they will return again and again with pleasure, instead of wearily drudging through interminable solfeggio exercises, or an air constructed in defiance of all the rules of melody, for the sake of embodying certain difficulties, and rather calculated to destroy the taste for music than to increase the pupil's love for the art.

Another profitable exercise for a class in reading music in different keys, would be to rule upon slates the staff* now in use, and another staff, constructed on the principles of the diatonic scale, and employ the pupils in translating music from the present staff, which represents the intervals of the scale but imperfectly, to the diatonic staff, which shows them as in a picture. By a diatonic staff we mean a staff consisting of eight lines, a line for every note, and five spaces for the semitones (and the semitones only) arranged as on the following page:

* There is a schism among musicians, whether this should be written *staff* or *stave*, pronounced by some *staaf*. Authorities are mostly in favour of "stave," but custom may be pleaded for "staff," and *staves* in the plural. We prefer *staff* as marking more emphatically than *stave*, the distinction between singular and plural, and as agreeing with the construction of the English language, as staff, staves; leaf, leaves; loaf, loaves, &c.

DIATONIC STAFF,

Showing the intervals as they might be written.



The following will illustrate our meaning of translating music from the present staff into the diatonic staff.

KEY OF TREBLE D.

In a similar manner the teacher might write a passage upon the diatonic staff, and desire the pupil to translate it into music as now written, showing it on the present staff, in the key of A, or any other key he might name.*

M. Jue de Berneval, in order to enable his pupils at once to recognise the intervals, in whatever key they may be written, employs in his earlier lessons what he calls *"a monogammic alphabet,"* giving different forms to the notes, each interval having a separate form to distinguish it from the rest.

These characters have a puzzling look, but the principle on which they are applied is perfectly simple, and would soon be mastered by the pupil. M. Jue, however, only proposes to use them in his introductory exercises, and as these are all sufficiently easy to be sung without any such aid, we think his monogammic alphabet might be dispensed with altogether. The methods of intellectual analysis we have described, with his own excellent plan of teaching his pupils to analyse the intervals by ear, we are of opinion, better answer the purpose.

The remarks we have made upon intervals will enable the reader to understand an objection which we may here introduce against the attempt made in the work published by the Committee of Council to supersede the letters of the alphabet, A, B, C, D, &c., given as names to the fixed sounds, by substituting in every case the solfeggio syllables, Do, Re, Mi, &c.

All musicians throughout Europe are agreed upon the meaning of the letters A, B, C, D, &c., so that, if told that an overture had been composed in the key of G, every musician would understand what was meant; but to many (in England especially) it would not be clear what key was intended if it were said that the overture was composed in the key of Sol, because Sol and G are not universally received as convertible terms.

In Germany the solfeggio syllables, although beginning to be generally used in vocal exercises as preferable, for distinctness of enunciation, to the letters A, B, C, &c., are not invariably employed as substitutes for the letters, in naming the notes. In every German opera we have seen, when reference is made to a key note, it is expressed by a letter, not by one of the solfeggio syllables. In the last German school we happened to visit we found only the letters used during the singing lesson. In many schools in Germany we know the rule is different; but even in France and Italy, where the solfeggio syllables are the most common, it is still usual to write "Corni in C," not "Corni in Do;" and Rousseau, in his 'Dictionary of Music,' has given strong, and to us satisfactory, reasons for not employing the letters and syllables in precisely the same sense.

In England the solfeggio syllables have always been used in a variety of senses, many teachers having followed no rule but caprice. At first Guido's six syllables were sung thus—Ut, re, mi, fa, sol—Re, mi, fa, sol, la; then 'ut' and 're' were omitted, and four only were retained—Sol, la, mi, fa (corresponding with the Greek tetrachord, *te*, *ta*, *thê*, *to*). One writer says, "Above Mi, twice Fa, sol, la; under Mi, twice La, sol, fa." Another gives these syllables—"Do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, *tee*, do." The French claim the merit of adding to Guido's six syllables

the seventh, 'Si,' and the syllables now generally sung are—Do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si, do; but these have been used by different teachers in quite opposite senses, and continue to be so used up to the present moment.

No conductor, therefore, at an English oratorio would employ these terms, because it would be quite certain, if he were to say, "Sing Mi flat," or "Fa sharp," his meaning would not be understood by perhaps the majority of those he addressed, all of whom would know what he meant if he said, "Sing E flat," or "Sing F sharp."* The Committee of Council, however, entirely ignorant of the whole matter, and without any inquiry, insist that the rule of modern French and Italian vocal professors shall be adopted in England; that the treble or G clef shall be called the Sol clef; the bass clef, the Fa clef; and that A, B, C, D, E, F, G, shall henceforth be banished the musical vocabulary. The alphabet will be too much for them notwithstanding; but as there is quite a superstition in the musical world respecting the solfeggio syllables, to which some mysterious power is attributed, most professors (Edward Taylor and a few others excepted), imagining that singing cannot be taught without these mystical terms, we shall devote a few words to the object they are supposed to serve.

* "In one particular the volume is strangely deficient. The pupil will begin and finish it without knowing the names of his notes. They are designated, not A, B, C, according to the universal practice in England (only once adverted to), but Do, Re, Mi, and so on. The advantages of the latter nomenclature are very questionable, since the syllables employed convey no idea of sequence, like the letters of the alphabet, and are besides likely to create confusion. According to one system of what is termed 'solfaing,' the Mi shifts with the key, and the other syllables of course; while, according to the other, which Mr Hullah adopts, the syllables represent always the same notes. We are accustomed to call the notes by the letters of the alphabet, which at once suggest to the mind of the learner the order in which they follow—a system of nomenclature obvious, easy, and incapable of mistake. But turn one of Mr Hullah's pupils into any English orchestra, and he will be ignorant of the very language which is spoken and written by every performer in it. He will, literally and not by a figure of speech, be ignorant of the difference between A and B. Mr Hullah's book, therefore, in this important respect, is not, as its title imports, 'adapted to English use.' All attempts—and they are as old as the time of Matthew Locke—to alter our musical notation, have come to nothing; and if the 'Committee of Council' had known anything of music, they would have discountenanced the present attempt. Another master has carried his notions of change yet further, and taught his pupils to sing—and to sing with great facility and correctness—from a musical notation of his own; but, educated in profound ignorance of crotchets and quavers, they are unfortunately incompetent to read any compositions in which these or the other musical characters universally employed are adopted."—*Spectator*, July 10, 1841.

That object is of a threefold character;—relating to Intonation, Articulation, and Sight-singing.

It is in the first of these senses chiefly that they are employed by M. Mainzer; and every one must admit that Do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, are better for singing than B, C, D, E, G, which have all the same close sound, and although distinct to the eye, are not equally so to the ear. For the improvement, however, of intonation, the best syllable is *la*, because an open sound, which cannot be sung with the teeth shut, as in the case of C, D, &c., or 'Mi,' and 'Si.' For this reason we observe the syllable 'La' is the only one used by M. Mainzer in his introductory *two-part* exercises.

To improve the articulation of a pupil, too much neglected, and generally sacrificed to intonation,—to teach a pupil to enunciate his words in singing, so that they shall be understood by his audience, a better exercise than the solfeggio syllables would be one upon the vowels, and they might be so arranged as to include the three principal sounds of A, thus—

Ah, a, e, i, o, u, and, Ah.

In teaching the art of sight-singing—an art rarely taught by Italian professors, whose fashionable pupils only sing to the harp or pianoforte—there is but one mode of using the solfeggio syllables in which they can be of the slightest use; that is, by adhering to the rule laid down by Rousseau, and followed by many of the best of our English choral teachers, of identifying them, not with the fixed sounds expressed by the letters, but with the intervals of the diatonic scale: 'Do,' in every key representing the key note; 'Re,' the second of the scale; 'Mi,' the third; 'Fa,' the fourth; 'Sol,' the fifth, &c.* Modern French and Italian professors and the present Government Manual, in departing from this rule, not only render the solfeggio syllables of no benefit to the pupil as far as sight singing is concerned, but a positive hinderance to his progress. To show this we must explain ourselves further.

One of the most popular English works on the 'Art of Singing at Sight,' is that of W. Forde;† it is now lying before us. He calls the key note Do, as Rousseau would have done, in all

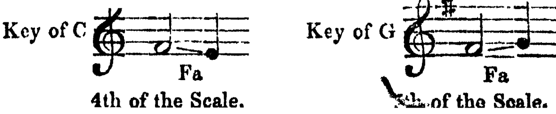
* Webbe's 'Solfeggio Exercises' are upon this principle, and we believe most of our best chorus singers have been taught upon the same plan. It is followed by Mr Fairbanks, the excellent teacher of a class of adults, meeting in the city, consisting of eighty pupils. The defects of the method usually followed by Italian professors are not felt by those who learn every air at the pianoforte.

† Published by Cocks and Co. Price 2s.

the following instances :—(the second line will show how the same notes would be called by Wilhem and others :)—

We have already shown that the art of reading music at sight depends upon the ability to recognise at a glance the intervals of the scale in whatever key they may be written; that is to say, to distinguish at once not which is A or B, but which is the key note—which is the 3rd, 5th, 7th, &c. It will therefore at once be seen that Forde, by adopting Rousseau's rule for using the solfeggio syllables as names for the intervals, converts them into a most profitable exercise;—an exercise which compels the pupil to study the intervals in every bar he sings, and to give up guessing. A teacher upon this method, listening to his pupil, knows at once, by the syllable the pupil chooses, whether he recognises the interval of the scale to which the note belongs, or is taking no trouble about it. If in the key of D the pupil sing 'Re' for D, instead of Do, the teacher would at once perceive that his pupil did not understand the key in which he was singing.

Observe, now, the confusion and perplexity created by the opposite method of Wilhem. By incessantly singing the solfeggio syllables to the finger exercise, in which the intervals of the scale correspond with their natural order in the key of C, the pupil learns to associate (rightly enough) certain sounds with those syllables, but no sooner has this been done than the pupil is told, when in another key, to use the same syllables in singing *other* sounds; so that the association of ideas established in the first instance becomes a source of the greatest embarrassment in the second. For example :—We have already pointed out the different properties of the 4th and the 7th, the one tending downwards, the other upwards; yet, although F may sometimes be the 4th, and at other times the 7th, according to the key, and although F in the key of C differs half a tone from F in the key of G, it is always, we are told, to be called Fa.



We think it must be obvious from the preceding, that the solfeggio syllables thus employed tend to mislead the pupil rather than to assist him in learning the art of sight-singing. It is using words, as a lawyer would say, in the sense of a *suggestio falsi*.

M. Jue de Berneval partially overcomes the difficulty, by giving new names to all the notes when raised or depressed a semitone. Thus he calls F natural, Fa, and F sharp, Fay; B flat, Bo; &c.; but this appears to us to lead to unnecessary complexity. Solfeggio syllables only require to be used to a limited extent, but in employing them we would adhere to the rule of Rousseau. No other is so simple or so strictly in accordance with science. It involves some difficulty in singing exercises not written in the key of C, but not an unnecessary one; it is the very difficulty which must be grappled with after the pupil has passed through his introductory lessons, if he would learn to read music as readily in one key as another. We may add that, by departing from it, we leave ourselves without any names for the intervals beyond those given by the figures—1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; and the words *six* and *seven* are far from being well adapted for musical expression.*

We now take our leave of a manual to which the patronage of the French Government has given a reputation the method would never have obtained from its own intrinsic merit, and never would have acquired, notwithstanding its high patronage, had the subject been generally understood by literary critics. All the protection, however, of all the Governments in the world, will never make this book a popular elementary work. Here and there it may be tolerated by classes of senior pupils, but for children, for whom it is professedly designed, it is

* 'Ut' ou 'Re' ne sont point ou ne doivent point être telle ou telle touche du clavier; mais telle ou telle corde du ton. Quant aux touches fixes, c'est par des lettres de l'alphabet qu'elles s'expriment. La touche que vous appellez 'Ut,' je l'appelle C; celle que vous appellez 'Re,' je l'appelle D. Ce ne sont pas des signes que j'invente; ce sont des signes tout établis, par lesquels je détermine très-nettement la fondamentale d'un ton. Mais ce ton une fois déterminé, dites-moi, de grâce à votre tour, comment vous nommez la tonique que je nomme 'Ut' et la seconde, note que je nomme Re, et la mediante que je nomme Mi? Car ces noms relatifs au ton et au mode sont essentiels pour la determination des idées et pour la justesse des intonations. Qu'on y réfléchisse bien et l'on trouvera que ce que les musiciens Français appellent solfier au naturel est tout à fait hors de nature. Cette méthode est inconnue chez toute autre nation et surement ne fera jamais fortune dans aucune: chacun doit sentie, au contraire, que rien n'est plus naturel que de solfier par transposition, lorsque le mode est transposé.—*Dictionnaire de Musique, par J. J. Rousseau*, vol. ii, p. 223.

especially unfit, and if forced upon them by the kind of teachers usually employed for teaching reading and writing to children, it will make them hate music, by connecting it with the most disagreeable associations of their lives.

When in a French school we have stood by and observed the listless expression on the faces of the junior classes engaged in their singing lesson,—when we have seen one child after another disgraced by being sent to the bottom of a class (a punishment now exploded with us) for mistaking the use of terms to them the most unintelligible, a sight at which Pestalozzi would have wept, we could cheerfully have assisted in flogging the master for his profound ignorance of the measure of a child's understanding, and for rendering a lesson, which might be made the most pleasant, one of the most painful exercises of a school.

Not by such methods will the love of song be nationalized in France. For England, in the present state of education, they are yet more unsuited, because in England there is no general organization system, nor adequate provision for the support of elementary schools, corresponding with that so liberally made by the French Government. To expect the ill-paid and overworked masters of our British and National schools to qualify themselves for teaching singing upon this system, or 'cheerfully to undertake and persevere in the task of carrying their pupils through a long series of some of the most painfully elaborate solfeggio exercises ever written,' and in doing this to attend to their other duties, is about as reasonable as it would be to expect them to teach the Hebrew or Chaldee languages on their present miserable stipends.

Some elementary notions of music might be communicated, and little more can be done in the humbler class of schools till they are better organized; but for simply awakening a taste for singing, and laying a foundation for attainments to be made in after life, the present work is the least fitted of any of the manuals we have seen now in use, the elementary part being precisely that in which Wilhem's method is the most deficient; and the principal merit of the work consisting in the exercises being so arranged as to embrace all the difficulties to be encountered in the art, without, however, effectually explaining how they are to be overcome.

The introduction of this manual into infant schools, where its failure is inevitable, or indeed, into the common elementary schools for older children, will, we fear, simply lead to an impression that music is one of the most impracticable of the sciences to the working class, and utterly unfit to be connected

with the kind of instruction suitable for children who remain at school but a very short period, through the poverty of their parents.

We know not whether our readers will share with us in this opinion, but by all it must be seen that the publication of the method by Government without revision, in its present English form, and "with all its imperfections on its head," was a precipitate and an ill-advised measure.

We again submit that the Committee of Privy Council should confine itself, for the present, to the task of preparing the legislative measures required for the education of the people. Let them enable local authorities to establish primary schools in every parish, and further, either establish themselves, or assist others to establish normal schools for the instruction of teachers. When such institutions have been formed, the most talented professors in every branch of science should be engaged, without any restriction upon the methods to be employed. In teaching music we should rejoice to see Mr Hullah appointed to one such institution; M. Mainzer to another; M. Jue de Berneval, or Mr Cook, to a third. This would be the way, not merely to test the superiority of any existing method, but to carry the best to a degree of perfection it never could obtain in the absence of all generous rivalry.

The Directors of such institutions and the Inspectors of public schools, meeting from time to time to compare notes as in Holland, would be enabled to report the success of the various methods, and to discuss their comparative merits. Of such materials a Board might be formed really qualified to prepare and revise elementary works worthy to supersede all others; and then, and not till then, should the sanction of Government be obtained, and her Majesty's Stationery Office be put in requisition, to give them universal circulation.

Our remarks have extended too far to allow us to conclude, as we had intended, with a sketch of the different modes in which a Government might promote a taste for music among a people, independent of school instruction, which is by no means the only mode, nor necessarily the most efficient. We believe Germany, Italy, France, and England, owe more to the services of the Roman Catholic Church for the love of music they have awakened, than to all the efforts of all the systematic teachers of solfeggio and counterpoint that have existed from the time of the middle ages to the present. The instances, however, are but few in which the English Church has imitated the example of its predecessor, and caused its own musical services to be worthily and efficiently performed. The Bishop of Derry,

when Dean of St Patrick's, introduced a reform, which his brethren of the Bench have as yet been slow to imitate, but imagine the change that would be produced in the taste, as well as in the church-going habits of the people, if, at an expense easily defrayed out of the immense revenues of the Church, every parish church in England were provided with as efficient a choir as St Patrick's in Dublin.

But there is another instrument in the power of Government for promoting a love of music, which would be attended with no expense. We allude to the military bands. Every regiment is provided with a military band, practising daily some of the finest compositions, but generally in a barrack yard out of sight and hearing. Why should not these bands, wherever quartered, be required to play for an hour before sunset, in some open place accessible to the people. The music would be a gratification to a large class of persons deprived of almost every other, and how many would it draw, on a fine summer's evening, out of the beer shop and public house! The band of the Guards now plays, at eleven o'clock, in the court yard of St James's palace, a time and place at which none but idlers can be present. Why not occasionally send the same band, at a more suitable hour, to Kennington common or Bethnal green? What would it cost? Absolutely nothing. How much it would tend to popularize a Government manifesting such a desire to promote the innocent enjoyments of the people, we need not stop to discuss. H.

ART. II.—*The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, A.M., Principal of the University of Glasgow*, 1637—1662. Edited from the Author's Manuscripts, by David Laing, Esq. In 3 vols. (vols. 1 and 2). Robert Ogle, Edinburgh, 1841.

EARLY in the seventeenth century of our era, a certain Mr Robert Baillie, a man of solid wholesome character, lived in moderate comfort as parish minister of Kilwinning, in the west of Scotland. He had comfortably wedded, produced children, gathered Dutch and other fit divinity-books; saw his duties lying tolerably manageable, his possessions, prospects not to be despised; in short, seemed planted as for life, with fair hopes of a prosperous, composed existence, in that remote corner of the British dominions. A peaceable, "solid-thinking, solid-feeding," yet withal clear-sighted, diligent, and conscientious man, alas! his lot turned out to have fallen in times such as

he himself, had he been consulted on it, would by no means have selected; times of controversy, of oppression, which became explosion and distraction; instead of peaceable preaching, mere raging, battling, soldiering; universal shedding of gall, of ink, and blood: very troublous times! Composed existence at Kilwinning, with rural duties, domestic pledges, Dutch bodies of divinity, was no longer possible for a man.

Till the advent of Laud's Service-book into the High Church of Edinburgh (Sunday the 23rd of July, 1637), and that ever-memorable flight of Jenny Geddes's stool at the head of the Dean officiating there, with "Out, thou foul thief! wilt thou say mass at my lug?"—till that unexpected cardinal-movement, we say, and the universal, unappeasable riot, which ensued thereupon over all these Kingdoms,—Baillie, intent on a quiet life at Kilwinning, was always clear for some mild middle course, which might lead to this and other blessings. He even looked with suspicion on the Covenant when it was started; and was not at all one of the first to sign it. Sign it, however, he did, by and by, the heat of others heating him ever higher to the due welding pitch; he signed it, and became a vehement, noteworthy champion of it, in such fashion as he could. Baillie, especially if heated to the welding pitch, was by no means without faculty. There lay motion in him; nay, curiously, with all his broad-based heaviness, a kind of alacrity, internal swiftness, and flustering impetuosity,—a natural vehemence, assiduous swift eagerness, both of heart and intellect: very considerable motion; all embedded, too, in that most wholesome, broad-based love of rest! The eupeptic, right-thinking nature of the man; his sanguineous temper, with its vivacity and sociality; an ever-busy ingenuity, rather small perhaps, but prompt, hopeful, useful; always with a good dash, too, of Scotch shrewdness, Scotch *canniness;* and then a loquacity, free, fervid, yet judicious, *canny;* in a word, natural vehemence, wholesomely covered over and tempered (as Sancho has it) in "three inches of old Christian *fat,*"—all these fitted Baillie to be a leader in General Assemblies and conclaves, a man deputable to the London Parliament and elsewhither. He became a prominent, and so far as the Scotch Kirk went, pre-eminent man; present in the thick of all negotiations, Westminster Assemblies, Scotch Commissions, during the whole Civil War. It can be said, too, that his natural faculty never, in any pitch of heat or confusion, proved false to him; that here, amid revolt and its dismal fluctuations, the worthy man lived agitated indeed, but not unprosperous. Clearly enough, in that terrible jostle, where so many stumbling fell, and straightway had their lives and fortunes trodden out, Baillie did, accord-

ing to the Scotch proverb, contrive to "carry his dish level" in a wonderful manner, spilling no drop; and indeed was found at last, even after Cromwell and all sectaries had been there, seated with prosperous composure, not in the kirk of Kilwinning, but in the Principalship of Glasgow University; which latter he had maintained successfully through all changes of weather, and only needed to renounce at the coming in of Charles II, when, at any rate, he was too old for holding it much longer. So invincible, in all elements of fortune, is a good natural endowment; so serviceable to a man is that same quality of motion, if imbedded in wholesome love of rest,—hasty vehemence dissolved in a bland menstruum of oil!

Baillie, however we may smile at him from this distance, was not entirely a common character: yet it must be owned that, for anything he of himself did, or spoke, or suffered, the worthy man must have been forgotten many a year ago; the name of him dead, non-extant; or turning up (as the doom of such is) like the melancholy mummy of a name, under the eye of here and there an excavator in those dreary mines,—bewildered, interminable rubbish-heaps of the Cromwellian Histories; the dreariest, perhaps, that anywhere exist, still visited by human curiosity, in this world. But his copious loquacity, by good luck for him and for us, prompted Baillie to use the pen as well as tongue. A certain invaluable "Reverend Mr Spang," a cousin of his, was Scotch minister at Campvere, in Holland, with a boundless appetite to hear what was stirring in those days; to whom Baillie, with boundless liberality, gives satisfaction. He writes to Spang, on all great occasions, sheet upon sheet; he writes to his wife, to the moderator of his presbytery, to earls and commoners, to this man and to that; nothing loath to write when there is matter. Many public papers (since printed in Rushworth's and other Collections) he has been at the pains to transcribe for his esteemed correspondents; but what to us is infinitely more interesting, he had taken the further trouble to make copies of his own Letters. By some lucky impulse, one hardly guesses how,—for as to composition, nothing can be worse written than these Letters are, mere hasty babblements, like what the extempore speech of the man would be,—he took this trouble; and ungrateful posterity reaps the fruit. These Letters, bound together as a manuscript book, in the hands of Baillie's heirs, grew ever more notable as they grew older; copies, at various times, were made of parts of them; some three copies of the whole, or almost the whole, whereof one, tolerably complete, now lies in the British Museum.* Another

* As in this Museum transcript, otherwise of good authority, the name of the principal correspondent is not "Spang," but "Strang," and we learn

usefuller copy came into the hands of Woodrow, the zealous, diligent historian of the Scotch Church, whose numerous manuscripts, purchased partly by the General Assembly, partly by the Advocates' Library, have now been accessible to all inquirers, for a century or more. Baillie, in this new position, grew ever notabler; was to be seen quoted in all books on the history of that period; had to be read and searched through, as a chief authority, by all original students of the same. Half a century of this growing notability issued at last in a printed edition of Baillie; two moderate octavo volumes, published, apparently by subscription, at Edinburgh, in 1775. Thus, at length, had the copious outpourings, first emitted into the ear of Spang and others, become free to the curiosity of all; purchasable by every one that had a few shillings, legible by every one that had a little patience. As the interest in those great transactions never died out in Scotland, Baillie's 'Letters and Journals,' one of the best remaining illustrations of them, became common in Scottish libraries.

Unfortunately, this same printed edition was one of the worst. A tradition, we are told, was once current among Edinburgh booksellers that it had been undertaken on the counsel of Robertson and Hume; but, as Mr Laing now remarks, it is not a credible tradition. Robertson and Hume would, there is little doubt, feel the desirableness of having Baillie edited, and may, on occasion, have been heard saying so; but such an edition as this of 1775 is not one they could have had any hand in. In fact, Baillie may be said to have been printed on that occasion, but not in any true sense edited at all. The quasi-editor, who keeps himself entirely hidden in the back-ground, is guessed to have been one "Mr Robert Aiken, schoolmaster of Anderton,"—honour to his poor shadow of a name! He went over Baillie's manuscripts in such fashion as he could; "omitted many letters on private affairs;" copied those on public matters, better or worse; and prefixing some brief, vague 'Memoir of Baillie,' gathered out of the general wind, sent his work through the press, very much as it liked to go. Thanks to him, poor man,

elsewhere that Baillie wrote the miserablest hand, a question arises, Whether *Strang* be not, once for all, the real name, and *Spang*, from the first, a mere false reading, which has now become inveterate? *Strang*, equivalent to *Strong*, is still a common name in those parts of Scotland. *Spang* (which is a Scottish verb, signifying *leap violently, leap distractedly*,—as an imprisoned, terrified kangaroo might leap) we never heard of as a Christian person's surname before! "The Reverend Mr *Leap-distractedly*," labouring in that dense element of Campvere, in Holland? We will hope not, if there be a ray of hope! The Bannatyne Club, now in a manner responsible, is adequate to decide.

for doing so much; not blame that, in his meagre garret, he did not do more! But it is to be admitted, few books were ever sent forth in a more helpless condition. The very printer's errors are numerous. Note or comment there is none whatever, and here and there some such was palpably indispensable; for Baillie, in the hurry of his written babblement, is wont to designate persons and things, often enough, in ways which Spang and the world would indeed understand at the time, but which now only critics and close investigators can make out. The narrative, watery, indistinct, flowing out in vague diffusion, at the first and best, fades now too frequently into the enigmatic, and stagnates in total obscuration if some little note be not added. Whom does the letter-writer, in his free and easy speed, intend to designate by such phrases as "his Lordship," "the Lord Marquis," his Grace, precious Mr David, the Reverend Mr H. of N.? An editor ought to tell; and has not tried there to do it. Far from doing it, he has even mistaken some of the initials themselves, and so left the natural dimness changed into Egyptian dark. Read in this poor Anderton edition, Baillie, in many passages, produces the effect, not of a painting, even of the hugest sign-post painting, but of a monstrous, foamy smear, resemblance of no created thing whatever. Additional outlays of patience become requisite, and will not always suffice. It is an enigma you might long guess over, did not perhaps indolence and healthy instincts premonish you that, when you had it, the secret would be worth little.

To all which unhappy qualities we are to add, that this same edition of 1775 had, in late times, become in the highest degree difficult to get hold of! In English libraries it never much abounded, nor in the English book-markets; its chief seat was always its native one. But of late, as would seem, what copies there were, the growing interest of whatsoever related to the heroes of the Civil War had altogether absorbed. Most interesting to hear what an eye-witness, even a stupid eye-witness, if honest, will say of such matters! The reader that would procure himself a Baillie to pore over, was lucky. The price in old-book shops here in London had risen, if by rare chance any copy turned up, to the exorbitancy of two guineas!

And now, under these circumstances, the Bannatyne Club, a private reunion of men who devote themselves expressly to the rescue and re-printing of scarce books and manuscripts, with or without much value, very wisely determined to re-edit Baillie; first, for their own private behoof; and secondly, as is their wise wont in some cases, and as in every case is easy for them (the types being already all set, and the printer's "compo-

sition" accomplished, as it were, gratis), for the behoof of the public that will buy. Very wisely, too, they appointed for this task their Honorary Secretary, the Keeper of the Edinburgh Signet Library, Mr David Laing, a gentleman well known for his skill in that province of things. Two massive octavos, in round legible type, are accordingly here; a third and last is to follow in a few months; and so Baillie's 'Letters and Journals,' finally in right reading condition, becomes open, on easy terms, to whoever has concern in it. In right reading condition; for notes and all due marginal guidances, such as we desiderated above, are furnished; the text is rectified by collation of three several MSS., among others, Baillie's own, of the "evil handwriting" of which an appalling fac-simile gives evidence; the various Letters relating to private affairs are not excluded in this edition, but wisely introduced and given in full, as deserving their paper and ink perhaps better than the average. On the other hand, public papers, if easily accessible elsewhere, are withheld, and a reference given to the Rushworth, Hardwicke, Thurloe, or other such Collection, where they already stand; if not easily accessible, they are printed here in appendixes; and indeed not they only, but many more not copied by Baillie, some of them curious enough, which the editor's resources and long acquaintance with the literature of Scotch history have enabled him to offer. This is the historical description, origin, and genesis of these two massive octavos named 'Baillie's Letters and Journals,' published by the Bannatyne Club, which now lie before us; thus are they, and thence did they come into the world.

It remains now only to be added, critically as well as historically, that Mr Laing, according to all appearance, has exhibited his usual industry, sagacity, correctness in this case, and done his work well. The notes are brief, illuminative, ever in the right place; and, what we will praise withal, not over plenteous, not more of them than needed. Nothing is easier than for an antiquarian editor to seize too eagerly any chance or pretext for pouring out his long-bottled antiquarian lore, and drowning his text, instead of refreshing and illustrating it; a really criminal proceeding! This, we say, the present editor has virtuously forborne. A good index, a tolerable biography, are to be looked for, according to promise, in the third volume. Baillie will then stand on his shelves, accessible, in good reading condition: a fact which, since it is actually a fact, may with propriety enough be published in this journal, and in any and all other journals or methods, as widely as the world and its wants and ways will allow.

We have no thought here of going much into criticism of Baillie or his book; still less of entering at all on that enormous Business he and it derive their interest from,—that enormous whirlpool on which, the fountains of the great deep suddenly breaking up, the pacific, broad-based minister sees himself launched forth from Kilwinning kirk, and set sailing, and epistolizing! The book has become curious to us, and the man curious; much more so on a riper acquaintance than they were at first. Nevertheless our praise of him, hearty enough in its kind, must on all sides be limited. To the general, especially to the uninformed or careless reader, it will not be safe to promise much ready entertainment from this book. Entertainment does lie in it, both amusement and instruction do; but rather for the student than the careless reader. Poor Baillie is no epic singer or speaker,—the more is the pity! His book is like the hasty, breathless, confused *talk* of a man, looking face to face on that great whirl of things. A wiser man—would have talked *more* wisely! But, on the whole, this man too has a living heart, a seeing pair of eyes; above all, he is clearly a veracious man; tells Spang and you the truest he has got to tell in such a bustling hurry as his. Veracious in word; and we might say, what is a much rarer case, veracious in thought too; for he harbours no malignity, perverse hatred, purposes no wrong against any man or thing; and indeed, at worst, is of so transparent a nature, all readers can discern at all times where his bias lies, and make due allowance for that.

Truly, it is pity the good man had not been a little wiser, had not shown a little more of the epic gift in writing: we might then have had, as in some clear mirror, or swift contemporaneous *Daguerrotype* delineator, a legible living picture of that great time, as it looked and was! But, alas, no soul of a man is altogether such a mirror; the highest soul is only approximately, and still at a great distance, such. Besides, we are always to remember, poor Baillie wrote not for us at all; but for Spang and the Presbytery of Irvine, with no eye to us! What of picture there is, amid such vaporous, mazy indistinctness, or indeed quite turbulent, weltering dislocation and confusion, must be taken as a godsend. The man gazes as he can, reports as he can. His words flowing out bubble-bubble, full of zealous broad-based vehemence, can rarely be said to make a picture; though on rare occasions he does pause, and with distinctness, nay with a singular felicity, give some stroke of one. But rarely in his loquacious haste has he taken time to detect the real articulation and structure of the matter he is talking of,—where it begins, ends, what the real character and purport, the real aspect of it is: how shall he in that case, by any possibility, make a portrait of it? He talks with

breathless loquacity, with adipose vehemence, about it and about it. Nay, such lineaments of it as he has discovered and mastered, or begun to discover (for the man is by no means without an eye, could he have taken time to look), he, scrawling without limit to Spang, uses not the smallest diligence to bring out on the surface, or separate from the as yet chaotic, undiscovered; he leaves them weltering at such depth as they happen to lie at. A picture does struggle in him; but in what state of development the reader can guess. As the image of a real object may do, shadowed in some huge, frothy, ever-agitated vortex or deluge,—ever-agitated cauldron, boiling, bubbling, with fat vehemence!

Yet this too was a thing worth having: what talk, what babblement, the minister of rural Kilwinning, brought suddenly in sight of that great World-transaction, will audibly emit from him. Here it is, fresh and fresh,—after two centuries of preservation: how that same enormous whirlpool, of a British nation all torn from its moorings, and set in conflict and self-conflict, represents itself, from moment to moment, in the eyes of this shrewd-simple, zealous, yet broad-bottomed, rest-loving man. On the whole, is there not, to the eager student of History, something at once most attractive and yet most provoking in all Memoirs by a Contemporary? Contemporaneous words by an eye-witness are like no other. For every man who sees with eyes *is*, approximately or else afar off,—either approximately and in some faint degree decipherable, or too far off, altogether *un*decipherable, and as if vacant and blank,—the miraculous Daguerrotype-mirror, above mentioned, of whatever thing transacts itself before him. No shadow of it but left some trace in him, decipherable or undecipherable. The poor *soul* had, lying in it, a far stranger alchemy than that of the electric-plates: a living memory, namely, an intelligence, better or worse. Words by an eye-witness! You have there the words which a son of Adam, looking on the phenomenon itself, saw fittest for depicturing it. Strange to consider: *it*, the very phenomenon itself, does stand depictured there, though under such inextricable obscurations, short-comings, perversions,—fatally eclipsed from us forever: for we cannot read it; the traces are so faint, confused, as good as non-extant to our organs: the light was so unfavourable,—the *electric-plate* was so extremely *bad*. Alas, you read a hundred autograph holograph letters, signed "Charles Rex," with the intensest desire to understand Charles Rex, to know what Charles Rex was, what he had in his eye at that moment; and to no purpose. The summary of the whole hundred autographs is vacuity, inanity; like the moaning of winds through desert places, through damp empty churches:

what the writer did actually mean, the thing he then thought of, the thing he then was, remain forever hid from you. No answer; only the ever-moaning, gaunt, unsyllabled *woo-woo* of wind in empty churches! Most provoking, a provocation as of Tantalus; for there is not a word written there but stands like a kind of window through which a man *might* see, or feels as if he might see, a glimpse of the whole matter. Not a jolt in those crabbed angular sentences, nay not a twirl in that cramp penmanship, but is significant of all you seek. Had a man but intellect *enough*,—which, alas, no man ever had, and no angel ever had, —how would the blank become a picture all legible! The doleful, unsyllabled *woo-woo* of church-winds had become intelligible, cheering articulation; that tragic, fatal-looking, peak-bearded individual, "your constant assured friend, Charles Rex," were no longer an enigma and chimera to you! With intellect *enough*,— alas, yes it were all easy then; the very signing of his name were then physiognomical *enough* of him!

Or, descending from such extreme heights and rarefactions,— where, in truth, human nature cannot long breathe with satisfaction,—may we not here deduce once more the humble practical inference, How extremely incumbent it is on every reader to read faithfully with whatever of intellect he has; on every writer, in like manner, to exert himself, and write his wisest? Truly the man who says, still more who writes, a wise word on any object he has seen with his eyes, or otherwise come to know and be master of, the same is a benefactor to all men! He that writes unwise words, again,—especially if on any great, ever-memorable object, which in this manner catches him up, so to speak, and keeps him memorable along with it,—is he not the indisputablest *male*factor? Yes; though unfortunately there is no bailiff to collar him for it, and give him forty stripes save one; yet, if he could do better, and has not done it,—yes! Shall stealing the money of a man be a crime; and stealing the time and brains of innumerable men, generation after generation of men, be none? For your tenebrific criminal has fixed himself on some great object, and cannot perhaps be forgotten for centuries; one knows not when he will be entirely forgotten! He, for his share, has not brought light into the world according to his opportunity, but darkness; he is a son of Nox, has treacherously deserted to the side of Chaos, Nox, and Erebus; strengthening, perpetuating, so far as lay in him, the reign of prolixity, vacuity, vague confusion, or in one word, of stupidity and *mis*knowledge on this earth! A judicious Reviewer,—in a time when the "abolition of capital punishments" makes such progress in both hemispheres,—would not willingly propose a new penalty of

death; but in any reasonable practical suggestion, as of a bailiff and forty stripes save one, to be doubled in case of relapse, and to go on doubling in rigid geometric progression till amendment ensued, he will cheerfully concur.

But to return. The above considerations do not, it is clear, apply with any stringency to poor Baillie; whose intellect, at best, was never an epic one; whose opportunities, good as they look, were much marred by circumstances; above all, whose epistolary performance was moderately satisfactory to Spang! We are to repeat that he has an intellect, and a most lively, busy one of its kind; that he is veracious, what so few are. If the cursory reader do not completely profit by him, the student of history will prosper better. But in this, as in all cases, the student of history must have patience. Everywhere the student of history has to pass his probation, his apprenticeship; must first, with painful perseverance, *read* himself *into* the century he studies,—which naturally differs much from our century; wherein, at first entrance, he will find all manner of things, the ideas, the personages, and their interests and aims, foreign and unintelligible to him. He as yet knows nobody, can yet care for nobody, completely understand nobody. He must read himself into it, we say; make himself at home, and acquainted in that repulsive foreign century. Acquaintance once made, all goes smoother and smoother; even the hollow-sounding "constant assured friend Charles Rex" improves somewhat; how much more this headlong, warm-hearted, blundering, babbling, "sagacious jolterhead" of a Baillie! For there is a real worth in him, spite of its strange guise;—something of the Boswell; rays of clear genial insight, sunny illumination, which alternate curiously with such babblement, oily vehemence, confused hallucination, and sheer floundering platitude! An incongruous, heterogeneous man; so many inconsistencies, all united in a certain prime-element of most turbid, but genuine and fertile *radical warmth.*

Poor Baillie! The daily tattle of men, as the air carried it two hundred years ago, becomes audible again in those pages: an old dead time, seen alive again, as through a glass darkly. Those hasty chaotic records of his, written down off hand from day to day, are worth reading. They produce on us something like the effect of a contemporaneous daily newspaper; more so than any other record of that time; much more than any of the *Mercuries,* 'Britannic,' 'Aulic,' 'Rustic,' which then passed as newspapers, but which were in fact little other than dull-hot objurgatory pamphlets,—grown cold enough now. Baillie is the true newspaper; he is to be used and studied like one. Taken up in this way, his steamy indistinctness abates, as our eye

gets used to the steamy scene he lives in; many a little trait discloses itself, where at first mere vacant confusion was discernible. Once familiar to the time, we find the old contemporaneous newspaper, which seemed mere waste paper, a rather interesting document. Nay, as we said, the Kilwinning minister himself by degrees gets interesting; for there is a strange homely worth in him, loveable and ludicrous; a strange mass of shrewd simplicities, naiveties, blundering ingenuities, and of right wholesome vitalities withal. Many-tinted traceries of Scotch humours, such as a Galt, a Scott, or a Smollett might have rejoiced over, lie in this man, unobliterated by the Covenant and all distance of time. How interesting to descry, faintly developed, yet there and recognisable through the depths of two dead centuries, and such dense garnitures and dialects all grown obsolete, the indubitablest traits of Scotch human-nature, redolent of the "West country," of the kindly "Salt market," even as this day still sees it and lovingly laughs over it! Rubicund broad lineaments of a Nicol Jarvie, sly touches, too, of an Andrew Fairservice; nay sputterings, on occasion, of the tindery tragic fire of an adust Lieutenant Leshmahago,—fat as this man is, and of a pacific profession! We could laugh much over him, and love him much, this good Baillie; but have not time at present. We will point out his existence; advise all persons who have a call that way to read that same "contemporaneous newspaper" of his with attention and thanks. We give it small praise when we say, there is perhaps no book of that period which will, in the end, better reward the trouble of reading. Alas, to those unfortunate persons who have sat, for long periods, obstinately incurring the danger of locked-jaw, or suspension at least of all the thinking faculties, in stubborn perusal of Whitelocke, Heylin, Prynne, Burton, Lilburn, Laud, and Company,—all flat, boundless, dead and dismal, as an Irish bog,—such praise will not seem too promissory!

But it is time to let Baillie speak a little for himself; readers, both cursory and studious, will then judge a little for themselves. We have fished up, from much circumambient indistinctness and embroiled babblement, a lucid passage or two. Take first that clear vision, made clear to our eyes also, of the Scotch encamped in warlike array under Field-Marshal Alexander Lesley, that "old little crooked soldier," on the slopes of Dunse Law, in the sunny days of 1639. Readers are to fancy that the flight of Jenny Geddes's stool, which we named a cardinal movement (as wrongs long compressed do but require some slight fugling-signal), has set all Scotland into uproar and violent gesticulation:

the *first* slight stroke of a universal battle and wrestle, with all weapons, on the part of all persons, for the space of twenty years or so,—one of the *later* strokes of which severed a king's head off! That there were flockings of men to Edinburgh, and four "Tables" (not for dining at) set up. That there have been National Covenants, General Assemblies, royal commissioners; royal proclamations not a few, with protests of equal number; much ineffectual proclaiming, and protesting, and vociferating; then, gradually, private "drillings in Fife" and other shires; then public calling forth of the "twelfth penny," of the "fourth fencible man;" Dutch arms from Holland, Scotch officers from Germany,—not to speak of commissariat-stores, thrifty "webs of harding" (*canvas*) drawn "from the good wives of Edinburgh" by eloquent pulpit-appeals "of Mr Harry Rollock:"—and so, finally, this is what we discern on the pleasant conical Hill of Dunse, in the summer weather of 1639. For, as Baillie says, "they might see now that before we would be roasted with a slow fire, by the hands of churchmen who keeped themselves far aback from the same, we were resolved to make a bolt through the reek, and try to get a grip of some of those who had first kindled the fire, and still laid fuel to it,—and try if we could cast *them* in the midst of it, to taste if that heat was pleasant when it came near their own skins!" Proper enough;—and lo, accordingly:

"This our march did much affray the English camp: Dunse Law was in sight, within six or seven miles; for they lay in pavilions some two miles above Berwick, on the other side of Tweed, in a fair plain along the river. The king himself, beholding us through a prospect (*spy-glass*), did conjecture us to be sixteen or eighteen thousand men; but at one time we were above twenty thousand."

"It would have done you good to have casten your eyes athort our brave and rich Hill, as oft I did, with great contentment and joy. For I (quoth the wren) was there among the rest; being chosen preacher by the gentlemen of our shire, who came late with my Lord of Eglinton. I furnished to half a dozen of good fellows muskets and pikes, and to my boy a broadsword. I carried, myself, as the fashion was, a sword and a couple of Dutch pistols at my saddle; but, I promise, for the offence of no man except a robber in the way; for it was our part to pray and preach for the encouragement of our countrymen, which I did, to my power, most cheerfully. Our Hill was garnished on the top, towards the south and east, with our mounted cannon; well near to the number of forty, great and small. Our regiments lay on the sides of the Hill, almost round about: the place was not a mile in circle; a pretty round, rising in a declivity, without steepness, to the height of a bow-shot; on the top, somewhat plain; about a quarter of a mile in length, and as much in breadth;

as I remember, capable of tents for forty thousand men. The crowners* lay in kennous (*canvas*) lodges, high and wide; their captains about them in lesser ones; the sojours about, all in huts of timber covered with divot (*turf*) or straw. Our crowners, for the most part, were noblemen: Rothes, Lindsay, Sinclair had among them two full regiments at least, from Fife; Balcarras a horse-troop; Loudon," &c. &c. "Our captains were mostly barons, or gentlemen of good note; our lieutenants, almost all, sojours who had served over sea in good charges. Every company had flying at the captain's tent door a brave new colour, with the Scottish arms, and this ditton, *For Christ's Crown and Covenant*, in golden letters."

"The councils of war were keeped daily in the Castle of Dunse; the ecclesiastic meetings in Rothes's large tent. Lesley the general, and Baillie his lieutenant, came nightly on their horses for the setting of the watch. Our sojours were all lusty and full of courage; the most of them stout young ploughmen; great cheerfulness in the face of all. The only difficulty was to get them dollars or two the man, for their voyage from home and the time they entered on pay: for among our yeomen money at any time, not to say then, used to be very scarce." "We were much obliged to the town of Edinburgh for monies: Harry Rollock, by his sermons, moved them to shake out their purses; the garners of Non-covenanters, especially of James Maxwell and my Lord Winton, gave us plenty of wheat. One of our ordinances was to seize on the rents of Non-covenanters,"—ane helpful ordinance, so far as it went.

"Our sojours grew in experience of arms, in courage, in favour, daily: every one encouraged the other; the sight of the nobles and their beloved pastors daily raised their hearts. The good sermons and prayers, morning and even, under the roof of Heaven, to which their drums did call them for bells; the remonstrances, very frequent, of the goodness of their cause, of their conduct (*guidance*) hitherto by a hand clearly divine; also Lesley his skill and fortune,—made them all so resolute for battle as could be wished. We were feared (*afraid*) that emulation among our nobles might have done harm when they should be met in the fields; but such was the wisdom and authority of that old little crooked souldier, that all, with ane incredible submission, from the beginning to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him, as if he had been Great Solyman. He keeped daily, in the Castle of Dunse, ane honourable table: for the nobles and strangers, with himself; for the gentlemen waiters, thereafter at a long side-table. I had the honour, by accident, one day to be his chaplain at table, on his left hand. The fare was as became a general in time of war: not so curious by far as Arundel's, in the English camp, to our nobles; but ye know that the English sumptuosity,

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* *Crowner*, *coroner*, and (to distinguish this officer from him who holds the inquests), *coronal*, which last is still intrinsically our pronunciation of the word now spelt *colonel*.

both in war and peace, is despised by all their neighbours,"—*bursten poke-puddings* of Englishers, whose daily care is to dine, not wisely but too well!

"But had ye lent your ear in the morning, or especially at even, and heard in the tents the sound of some singing psalms, some praying, and some reading scripture, ye would have been refreshed. True, there was swearing, and cursing, and brawling, in some quarters: but we hoped, if our camp had been a little settled, to have gotten some way for these misorders; for all, of any fashion, did regret, and all did promise to contribute their best endeavours for helping all abuses. For myself, I never found my mind in better temper than it was all the time frae I came from home, till my head was again homeward; for I was as a man who had taken my leave from the world, and was resolved to die in that service without return. I found the favour of God shining upon me; and a sweet, meek, yet strong and vehement spirit leading me, all along. But, alas! I was no sooner on my way westward, after the conclusion of peace, than my old security returned."*

This is the Scotch encampment on the Hill of Dunse; King Charles looking at it through a spy-glass, not without interest, from the plain above Berwick on the other side of the river. Could he have discovered the Reverend Robert Baillie riding thither from Kilwinning, girt with sword and Dutch pistols, followed by the five or six rough characters whom he had laid out hard cash to furnish with muskets and pikes, and to what a dreadful pitch the mind of the pacific broad-based man had now got itself screwed, resolute "to die on that service without return,"—truly, this also might have been illuminative for his Majesty! Heavy Baillie was an emblem of heavy Scotland, in the rear of which lay heavy England. But "our sweet Prince" discerned only the surfaces of things. The mean peddling details hid from him, as they still do from so many, the essential great meaning of the matter; and he thought, and still again thought, that the rising up of a million men, to assert that they were verily men with souls, and not automatons with wires, was some loud-sounding pettiness, some intrigue,—to be dealt with by intriguing. Herein he fundamentally mistook; mis-saw,—and so mis-*went*, poor Prince, in all manner of ways: to the front of Whitehall ultimately!

But let us now, also through a kind of dim spy-glass, cast a far-off look into the domesticities of Baillie; let us glance,

* We have used the freedom to modernise Baillie's spelling a little; about which, "as he could never fix," says Mr Laing, "on any constant way of spelling his own name," there need not be much delicacy; we also endeavour to improve his punctuation, &c., here and there; but will nowhere in the least alter his sense.

namely, through certain of these paper-missives, into that ancient manse of Kilwinning; all vanished now, to the last stone of it, long since; swallowed in the depths of edacious Time. The reader shall also see a journey to Town done on ponies, along the course of what is now the Great North-eastern Railway, working with so much more velocity by steam!

The "Treaty of Berwick," fruit of that Dunse-Law expedition of the Scotch people, has soon issued again in proclamations, in "papers burnt by the hangman;" and then in a new Scotch armament, lodged, this time, not on Dunse Hill, with uncertain monies from Mr Harry Rollock, but, by a bold movement through the Tyne at Newburn, safely in the town of Newcastle, with eight hundred pounds a-day from the northern counties: whereupon follows a new "Treaty of Rippon,"—fit also to be burnt by the hangman by and by. Baillie rejoices somewhat in the milk and honey of these northern counties, comparatively a fat, productive land. The heroic man, girt again with Dutch pistols, innocuous except to thieves, had made his will before departing on these formidable expeditions: "It will be my earnest desire," thus wills he, "that my wife be content with the annual-rent of seven thousand merk (*Scots*) from what is first and readiest, and that she quit judicially what further she could crave by her very subdolous contract"—subdolous contract, I say, though not of her making; which she shoud *quit*. "What then remains, let it be employed for her children's education and profit. I would give to Robert five thousand merk, if he quit his heirship; the rest to be equally divided betwixt Harrie and Lillie. Three hundred merk to be distribute presently among the poor of the parish of Kilwinning, at sight of the session." All this we omit, and leave behind us in a state of comfortable fixity;—being bound now on a new mission: to the new Parliament (which will one day become a Long Parliament) just sitting down at present. Read these select fractions of letters "to Mrs Baillie at Kilwinning," dated November, 1840, on the road to London:

"My Heart,—I wrote to thee from Edinburgh; also, from Kelso, to Mr Claud, suspecting thy absence from home. I wrote to thee likewise here, in Newcastle, on Saturday last. Since, I thank God, I have been very weel, as thy heart could wish, and all my company.

"Yesternight the committee sent for me, and told me of their desire I should go to London with the commissioners. I made sundry difficulties; which partly they answered, and partly took to their consideration till this day. But now, at our presbytery after sermon, both our noblemen and ministers in one voice thought meet that not only Mr Alexander Henderson, but also Mr Robert Blair, Mr George Gillespie, and I, should all three, for divers ends,

go to London; Mr Robert Blair to satisfy the minds of many in England who love the way of New England (*Independency*) better than that of Presbyteries in our Church; I for the convincing of that prevalent faction (*Arminian Episcopals*) against which I have written; Mr Gillespie for the crying down of the English ceremonies, on which he has written; and all four of us to preach, by turns, to our commissioners in their house; which is the custom of divers noblemen at court, and was our practice all the time of the conference at Rippon. We mind to Durham, God willing, to-morrow; and other twelve miles on Saturday, to Darntoun (*Darlington*), there to stay all Sunday, where we hope to hear, before we cross the Tees on Monday, how things are like to frame in the English Parliament. Loudon is fashed with a defluxion; he will stay here till Monday, and come on as health serves, journey or post.

"They speak here of the prentices pulling down the High-Commission house at London; of General King's landing, with six or seven thousand Danes, in the mouth of the Thames, near London. We wish it were so; but we take it, and many things more you will hear, for clatters.

"My Heart, draw near to God; neglect not thy prayers morning and evening with thy servants, as God will help thee; read and pray, beside that, in private. Put Rob to the school; teach him and Harrie both some little beginnings of God's fear; have a care of my little Lillie. I pray thee write to me how thou and they are. Thy awne, R. Baillie. (Newcastle, 5 November, 1640.)"

"My Heart,—Thou sees I slip no occasion. I wrote to thee yesternight from Newcastle; this night I am in Durham, very weel, rejoicing in God's good providence.

"After I closed my letters, my boy Jamie was earnest to go with me; so, notwithstanding of my former resolution to send him home, I was content to take him. I spake to the General, and put in his name, as my man, in the safe-conduct. But, when I was to loup on (*to mount horse*), he failed me, and would go no farther! I could not strive then; I gave him his leave, and a dollar to carry him home. His folly did me great wrong; for if I should have gone back to bespeak ane other, I would have lossed my company: so without troubling myself, I went forward with my company, manless. But, behold the gracious providence of my God: as I enter in Durham, one of my old scholars, a preacher in Colonel Ramsay's regiment of horse, meets with me before I light; will have me to his chamber; gives me his chamber, stable, servant, a cup of sack, and all courtesy; gets me a religious youth, a trooper, ready with a good horse, to go with me to London. Major-General Baillie makes me, and all the Commissioners that were there, sup with him, and gives the youth his leave to go with me. Mr Archibald Johnston assures me for his charges, as well as my own. So my man James's foolish unthankfulness is turned about for my ten times better provision: I

take this for a presage and ane erles (*earnest*) of God's goodness towards me all this voyage.

"We hope that Loudon's defluxion shall not hinder him to take journey on Tuesday. The morrow we intend but one other post to Darlington, and there stay till the Great Seal (*our safe-conduct*) come to us. The Lord be with thee and my babies, and all my flock and friends.—Thy awne, R. Baillie (Durham, 6 November, Friday.)"

"My Heart,—I know thou does now long to hear from me. I wrote to thee on Saturday was eight days [*dated* Friday], from Durham. That day we went to Darlington, where Mr Alexander Henderson and Mr Robert Blair did preach to us on Sunday. At supper on Sunday, the post, with the Great Seal of England for our safe-conduct, came to us; with the Earl of Bristol's letter to Loudon, entreating us to make haste.

"On Monday we came, before we lighted, to Boroughbridge, twenty-five miles. On Tuesday we rode three short posts by Ferrybridge to Doncaster.* There I was content to buy a bobbin waistcoat. On Wednesday we came another good journey to Newark-on-Trent, where we caused Dr Moyslie sup with us. On Thursday we came to Stamford; on Friday to Huntingdon; on Saturday to Ware; here we rested the Sabbath, and heard the minister, after we were warned of the end of the service, preach two good sermons,"—the *service* once well over, one gets notice, finds the sermons very fair!

On Monday morning we came that twenty miles to London before sun-rising;† all well, horse and man, as we could wish; divers merchants and their servants with us on little naigs; the way extremely foul and deep. Our journeys being so long and continued, and sundry of us unaccustomed with travel, we took it for God's singular goodness that all of us were so preserved: none in the company held better out than I and my man, and our little noble naigs. From Kilwinning to London I did not so much as stumble: this is the fruit of your prayers. I was also all the way full of courage, and comforted with the sense of God's presence with my spirit. We were at great expenses on the road. Their inns are all like palaces; no wonder they extorse their guests: for three meals, coarse enough, we would pay, together with our horses, sixteen or seventeen pound sterling. Some three dish of creevishes (*écrivisses*), like little partans (*miniature lobsters*), two-and-forty shillings sterling."—Save us!—"We lodge here in the Common Garden (*Covent Garden*); our house-mails (*rent*) every week above eleven pound sterling.

* "Ferribrig, Toxford, and Duncaster," Baillie writes here; confusing the matter in his memory; putting Tuxford north of Doncaster, instead of south and subsequent.

† Sunrise on the 16th of *November*.

The city is desirous we should lodge with them; so to-morrow I think we must flit.

"All things here go as our heart could wish. The Lieutenant of Ireland (*Strafford*) came but on Monday to town, late; on Tuesday, rested; on Wednesday, came to Parliament; but, ere night, he was caged. Intolerable pride and oppression cry to heaven for vengeance."

"Tuesday here was a fast; Mr Blair and I preached to our Commissioners at home, for we had no clothes for outgoing. Many ministers used greater freedom than ever here was heard of. Episcopacy itself beginning to be cried down, and a Covenant cried up, and the Liturgy to be scorned. The town of London and a world of men mind to present a petition, which I have seen, for the abolition of bishops, deans, and all their appurtenances. It is thought good to delay till the Parliament have pulled down Canterbury (*Laud*) and some prime bishops, which they mind to do so soon as the King has a little digested the bitterness of his Lieutenant's censure. Huge things are here in working; the mighty hand of God be about this great work! We hope this shall be the joyful harvest of the tears that, these many years, have been sown in these Kingdoms. All here are weary of bishops.—R. Baillie (London, 18 November, 1640.)"

Weary of bishops, indeed; and "creevishes" at such a price; and the Lord Lieutenant Strafford caged, and Canterbury to be pulled down, and everywhere a mighty drama going on: and thou, meanwhile, my Heart, put Rob to the school, give Harry and him some beginnings of wisdom, mind thy prayers, quit subdolous contracts, "have a care of my little Lillie!" Poor little Lilas Baillie; tottering about there, with her foolish glad tattlement, with her laughing eyes, in drugget or other homespun frock, and antiquarian bib and tucker, far off in that old manse of Kilwinning! But she grew to be tall enough, this little Lillie, and a mother, and a grandmother; and one of her grandsons was Henry Home Lord Kaimes;* whose memorial, and Lillie's, is still in this earth!

Greatly the most impressive of all the scenes Baillie witnessed in that mighty drama going on everywhere, was the trial of Strafford. A truly impressive, momentous scene; on which Rushworth has gathered a huge volume, and then and since many men have written much; wherein, nevertheless, several features would have been lost, had not the minister of Kilwinning, with his rustic open heart and seeing eyes, been there. It is the best scene of all he has painted, or hastily sign-painted, plastered, and daubed. With careful industry, fishing as before

* Woodhouselee's 'Life of Kaimes.'

from wide wastes of dim embroilment, let us snatch here and there a luminous fragment, and adjust them as is best possible; and therewith close our contemporaneous newspaper. Baillie's report, of immense length and haste, is to the Presbytery of Irvine, and dated May, 1641. We give two earlier fractions first, from letters to Mrs Baillie. Strafford, on that fasting Tuesday, when the pulpits were so loud against bishops, was reposing from fatigues of travel. On the morrow he repaired to his place in Parliament, nothing doubting; "but ere night he was caged:"

Wednesday, 17 *November*, 1640.—"The Lower House closed their doors; the Speaker keeped the keys till his accusation was concluded. Thereafter Mr Pym went up, with a number at his back, to the Higher House; and in a short pretty speech, did, in name of the Lower. House, and in name of the Commons of all England, accuse Thomas Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, of high treason, and required his person to be arrested till probation might be heard. And so Pym and his train withdrew; and thereupon the Lords began to consult on that strange and unexpected motion.

"The word goes in haste to the Lord Lieutenant where he was with the King. With speed he comes to the House; he calls loudly at the door; James Maxwell, Keeper of the Black-rod, opens. His lordship, with a proud glooming countenance, makes towards his place at the board-head; but at once many bid him void the House. So he is forced, in confusion, to go to the door till called again."—Called again, "he stands, but is commanded to kneel on his knees; after hearing their resolution, he offers to speak, but is commanded to be gone without a word.

"In the outer room, James Maxwell required him, as prisoner, to deliver his sword; when he had gotten it, he cries with a loud voice for his man 'to carry my Lord Lieutenant's sword.' This done, he makes through a number of people towards his coach; all gazing, no man capping to him, before whom, that morning, the greatest of England would have stood uncovered; all crying, 'What is the matter?' He said, 'A small matter, I warrant you!' They replied, 'Yes, indeed, high treason is a small matter!'"

Saturday, *January* 30, 1641.—"The Lieutenant this day was sent for. He came from the tower by water, with a guard of musqueteers; the world wondering, and at his going out and coming in, shouting and cursing him to his face.

"Coming into the Higher House, his long charge, in many sheets of paper, was read to him. For a while he sat on his knees before the bar; then after they caused him sit down at the bar, for it was eight o'clock before all was read. He craved a month to answer."

May 4, 1641.—"Reverend and dear brethren." * * "The

world now seeth that the delay is alone upon their side. Their constand attendance on Strafford is pretended to be the cause, and truly it is a great part of the reason why our business and all else has been so long suspended. Among many more, I have been ane assiduous assistant; and therefore I will give you some account of what I have heard and seen in that most notable process.

"Westminster Hall is a room as long, as broad, if not more, than the outer house of the High Church of Glasgow, supposing the pillars were all removed. In the midst of it was erected a stage, like to that prepared for our Assembly at Glasgow, but much larger; taking up the breadth of the whole house from wall to wall, and of the length more than a third part.

"At the north end was set a throne for the King, a chair for the Prince; before it lay a large woolsack, covered with green, for my Lord Steward, the Earl of Arundel;* and then lower, two other woolsacks for my Lord Keeper and the Judges, with the rest of the Chancery, all in their red robes. Beneath this, a little table for four or five clerks of the Parliament in their black gowns. Round about these, some forms covered with green frieze, whereon the Earls and Lords did sit in their red robes, of that same fashion, lined with the same white ermine-skins, as you see the robes of our Lords when they ride in Parliament at Edinburgh. The Lords on their right sleeves have two bars of white skins; the Viscounts two and ane half; the Earls three; the Marquess of Winchester three and ane half. England hath no more Marquesses; and he but one late upstart creature of Queen Elizabeth's.

"In front of these forms where the Lords sit, is a bar covered with green. At the one end of it standeth the committee of eight or ten gentlemen appointed by the House of Commons to pursue (*prosecute*); at the midst there is a little desk, where the prisoner Strafford sits or stands as he pleaseth, together with his keeper, Sir William Balfour, the Lieutenant of the Tower. At the back of this is another desk for Strafford's four secretaries, who carry his papers, and assist him in writing and reading. At their side is a void for witnesses to stand. Behind them is a long desk, close to the wall of the room,† for Strafford's counsel at law, some five or six able lawyers, who were not permitted to dispute in matter of fact, but questions of right, if any should be incident. This is the order of the House below on the floor; the same that is used daily in the House of Lords.

"Upon the two sides of the House, east and west, there arose a stage of eleven ranks of forms, the highest touching almost to the roof. Every one of these forms went from the one end of the room to the other, and contained about forty men. The two highest were divided from the rest by a rail; and a rail cutted off from the rest, at every end, some seats. The gentlemen of the Lower House

* This is he of the *Arundel Marbles*: he went abroad next year.

† Temporary *wooden* wall; from east to west, as Baillie counts the azimuths.

did sit within the rail; other persons without. All the doors were keeped very straitly with guards: we always behoved to be there a little after five in the morning. My Lord Willoughby Earl of Lindsey, Lord Chamberlain of England, ordered the House with great difficulty. James Maxwell, Black-rod, was great usher; a number of other servant gentlemen and knights attended. We, by favour, got place within the rail, among the Commons. The House was full daily before seven. Against eight the Earl of Strafford came in his barge from the Tower, accompanied by the Lieutenant and a guard of musqueteers and halberdiers. The Lords in their robes were set about eight; the King was usually there half an hour before them.

"The King came not into his throne, for that would have marred the action; for it is the order of England, that when the King appears, he speaks what he will, and no other speaks in his presence. But at the back of the throne there were two rooms on the two sides; in the one did Duke de Vanden, Duke deVallet, and other French nobles sit; in the other the King, the Queen, Princess Mary, the Prince Elector, and some court ladies. The tirlies (*lattices*), that made them to be secret, the King brake down with his own hands; so they sat in the eye of all; but little more regarded than if they had been absent: for the Lords sat all covered; those of the Lower House, and all others except the French noblemen, sat uncovered when the Lords came, and not else. A number of ladies were in boxes above the rails, for which they paid much money. It was daily the most glorious assembly the isle could afford, yet the gravity not such as I expected. Oft great clamour without about the doors: in the intervals, while Strafford was making ready for answers, the Lords got always to their feet, walked and clattered (*chatted*); the Lower House men, too, loud clattering. In such sessions, ten hours long, there was much public eating, not only of confections, but of flesh and bread; bottles of beer and wine going thick from mouth to mouth, without cups; and all this in the King's eye: yea, many but turned their back, and"—(Good Heavens!)—"through the forms they sat on. There was no outgoing to return; and oft the sitting was till two, three, or four o'clock."

Strangely in this manner, no "dignity of History" in the smallest obstructing us, do we look, through these rough and ready Scotch words, through these fresh Kilwinning eyes, upon the very body of the old time, its form and pressure, its beer and wine bottles, its loud clattering and crowding. There it is, visually present: one feels as if, by an effort, one could hear it, handle it, speak with it. How different from the dreary vacuity of most "philosophies teaching by experience" is the living picture of the fact; such as even a Boswell or a Baillie can give, if they will but honestly look! In spite of haste, we must continue a little further; catch a few more visualities:

"The *first session* was on Monday, March 22 (1641). All being set, as I have said, the Prince on a little chair at the side of the throne, the Chamberlain and Black-rod went and fetched in my Lord Strafford. He was always in the same suit of black, as if in dool. At the entry he gave a low courtesy; proceeding a little, he gave a second; when he came to his desk, a third; then at the bar, the fore-face of his desk, he kneeled; rising quickly, he saluted both sides of the House, and sat down. Some few of the Lords lifted their hats to him. This was his daily carriage.

"My Lord Steward, in a sentence or two, showed that the House of Commons had accused the Earl of Strafford of high treason; that he was there to answer; that they might manage their evidence as they thought meet. They thereupon desired one of their clerks to read their impeachment. I sent you the printed copy long ago. The first nine articles, being but generalities, were passed; the twenty-eight of the farther impeachment were all read. The clerk's voice was small; and after the midst, being broken, was not heard by many.

"My Lord of Strafford was, in his answer, very large, accurate, and eloquent. A preamble, wherein," &c.: this he spoke; and then a long paper, of particular answers to the twenty-eight charges, was read. "The reading of it took up large three hours. His friends were so wary that they made three clerks read by turns, that every one might hear. . . . After all, Strafford craved leave to speak; but the day being so far spent, to two or three o'clock, he was refused; and the Lord Steward adjourned the House till the morrow at eight. . .

"The second session, on Tuesday 23rd. The King and Queen and all being set as the day before, Mr Pym had a long and eloquent oration, only against the preamble of Strafford's answer, wherein he laboured to—" . . . . "The first witness, Sir Pierce Crosby, who—" . . . .

"When Pym had ended, the Earl required time, if it were but to the morrow, to answer so heavy charges, many whereof were new. After debate pro and contra, one of the Lords spake of adjourning their House; and pressed their privilege, that at the motion of any one Lord the House behoved to be adjourned. So the Lords did all retire to their own House above, and debated among themselves the question for a large half-hour. During their absence, though in the eye of the King, all fell to clattering, walking, eating, toying, but Strafford, in the midst of all the noise, was serious with his secretaries, conferring their notes, and writing. The Lords returned; the Steward pronounced their decision: that the matters spoken being all of fact, and this only in answer to his own preamble, he should make an answer without any delay. So, without sign of repining, the Earl answered something to all had been said; instanced—" . . . .

"Wednesday, 24th.—Mr Maynard handled the first of the

twenty-eight articles," with witnesses, &c. In his reply, the Earl first required permission to withdraw and collect himself: this was refused. "He made ane excellent answer." "It were tedious to repeat all their quick passages.

"The third article, 'That he would make the King's little finger heavier than the loins of the law,' this was proven by sundry. Among others, Sir David Foulis, whom he had crushed, came to depose. He excepted against this witness, as one who had a quarrel with him. Maynard produced against him his own decree, subscribed by his own hand, that whereas Sir David had brought before *him* the same exception against a witness, he had decreed that a witness for the King and Commonwealth must be received, notwithstanding any private quarrels. When he saw his own hand, he said no more, but in a jesting way, 'You are wiser, my Lord Steward, than to be ruled by any of *my* actions as patterns!'"

Or quitting all order of "sessions," let us mark here and there, in "this notable process," a characteristic feature, as we can gather it. Mark, in general, the noble lone lion at bay; mark the fierce, winged and taloned, toothed and rampant enemies, that in flocks, from above and from beneath, are dashing at him!

"My Lord of Strafford required, farther, to answer to things objected the former day; but was refused. He required permission to retire, and advise about the present objections; but all that he obtained was a little time's advisement in the place he was in. So hereafter, it was Strafford's constant custom, after the end of his adversary's speech, to petition for time of recollection; and obtaining it, to sit down with his back to the Lords, and most diligently read his notes, and write answers, he and his secretaries, for ane half hour, in the midst of a great noise and confusion, which continued ever till he rose again to speak."—

"For this he produced Sir William Pennyman as witness; a member of the Lower House, who, both here and many times else deposed point-blank all he required. Mr Maynard desired him to be posed (for no man there did speak to any other, but all speech was directed to my Lord Steward), 'When, and at what time, he was brought to the remembrance of those words of my Lord Strafford's?' All of us thought it a very needless motion. Sir William answered, 'Ever since the first speaking of them, they were in his memory; but he called them most to remembrance since my Lord Strafford was charged with them.' Maynard presently catched him, 'That he behoved, then, to be answerable to the House for neglect of duty; not being only silent, but voting with the rest to this article, wherein Strafford was charged with words whereof he knew he was free!' There arose, with the word, so great an hissing in the House, that the gentleman was confounded, and fell a-weeping.

"Strafford protested, he would rather commit himself to the

mercy of God alone, giving over to use any witness in his defence at all, than that men, for witnessing the truth, should incur danger and disgrace on his account."—

"So long as Maynard was principal speaker, Mr Glyn lay at the wait, and usually observed some one thing or other; and uttered it so pertinently that, six or seven times in the end, he got great applause by the whole House."—

"I did marvel much, at first, of their memories, that could answer and reply to so many large alledgeances, without the missing of any one point; but I marked that both the Lieutenant when they spake, and the Lawyers when he spake, did write their notes; and in their speeches did look on those papers. Yea, the most of the Lords and Lower House did write much daily, and none more than the King."—

"My Lord Montmorris was called to depose, in spite of Strafford's exception." * * * "In his answers Strafford alledged, concerning Lord Montmorris, the confession of his fault under his own hand;" "that no evil was done to him, and nothing intended but the amendment of his very loose tongue:—if the gentlemen of the Commons House intended no more but the correction of *his* foolish tongue, he would heartily give them thanks!"—

" * * Concerning the Lord Deputy's scutching of a gentleman with a rod." * *

"The other part of the article was his executing one Thomas Dennitt, who after a long want of pay, craving it from his captain, was bidden be gone to the gallows. He went his way, but was brought back, and said to have stolen ane quarter of beef: for this he is sentenced to die, and albeit some noblemen had moved the Deputy's lady to be earnest for his life, yet without mercy he was execute."—

"Glyn showed that daily there came to their hands so much new matter of Strafford's injustice, that if they had their articles to frame again, they would give in as many new as old. Strafford stormed at that, and proclaimed them ane open defiance. Glyn took him at his word; and offered instantly to name three-and-twenty cases of injustice, wherein his own gain was clear. He began quickly his catalogue with Parker's paper petition. Strafford, finding himself in ane ill taking, did soon repent of his passionate defiance, and required he might answer to no more than he was charged with in his paper." (Seventh session, 29th March.)

"Strafford said, 'That tho' his bodily infirmity was great, and the charge of treason lay heavy on his mind; yet that his accusation came from the honourable House of Commons, this did most of all pierce through his soul.' Maynard alleged 'That he (Strafford), by the flow of his eloquence, spent time to gain affection;'—as, indeed, with the more simple sort, especially the ladies, he daily gained much. He replied quickly, 'That rhetoric was proper to these gen-

tlemen, and learning also; that betwixt the two he was like to have a hard bargain.' Bristol was busy in the meantime, going up and down, and whispering in my Lord Steward's ear; whereupon others, not content cried, 'To your places, to your places, my lords!'—"

"Maynard applied it vehemently, that he had subverted law, and brought in ane arbitrary power on the subjects' goods for his own gain."

"Mr Glyn showed, 'The Earl of Strafford was now *better* than his word: he had not only made Acts of State equal to Acts of Parliament, but also his own acts above both.'"

"He (Strafford) answered, 'That his intention in this matter was certainly good;' 'that when he found the people's untowardness, he gave over the design.' Maynard answered, 'That intentions cleared not illegal actions; that his giving over before *tens* of thousands were starved, maketh him not innocent of the killing of thousands,'"—sarcastic Learned-sergeant!

"The Earl of Clare and others debated with Vane (the elder Vane) sharply, What '*this* kingdom' did mean; England, or only perhaps Ireland? Maynard quickly silenced him: 'Do you ask, my lord, if this kingdom be this kingdom or not?'"

My learned friends! most swift, sharp are you; of temper most accipitral,—hawkish, aquiline, not to say vulturish; and will have this noble lamed lion made a dead one, and carrion useful for you!—Hear also Mr Stroud, the honourable member, standing "at the end of the bar covered with green cloth," one of the "eight or ten gentlemen appointed to prosecute," how shrill he is:

"The Deputy said, 'If this was a treason, being informed as he was, it behoved him to be a traitor over again, if he had the like occasion.' * * * Mr Stroud took notice of Strafford's profession to do this over again. He said, 'He well believed him; but they knew what the kingdom suffered when Gaveston came to react himself!'"

This honourable member is one of the Five whom Charles himself, some months afterwards, with a most irregular *non*-constabulary force in his train, sallied down to the House to seek and seize,—remembering this, perhaps, and other services of his! But to proceed:

"My Lord Strafford regretted to the Lords the great straits of his estate. He said 'he had nothing there but as he borrowed.' Yet daily he gave to the guard that conveyed him ten pound, by which he conciliated much favour; for these fellows were daily changed, and wherever they lived they talked of his liberality. He said, 'his family were, in Ireland, two hundred and sixty persons, and the House of Commons there had seized all his goods. Would not

their lordships take course to loose that arrest from so much of his goods as might sustain his wife and children in some tolerable way?'" (Thirteenth session, 3rd April.)

"Garraway, mayor the last year, deposed, 'That to the best of his remembrance, he (Strafford) said, no good would be gotten till some of the aldermen were hanged.' While Strafford took vantage at the words, *to the best of my remembrance*, Garraway turned shortly to him, and told out punctually, 'My lord, you did say it?' Strafford thereupon, 'He should answer with as great truth, albeit not with so great confidence, as that gentleman, to the best of his remembrance he did *not* speak so. But if he did, he trusted their goodness would easily pardon such a rash and foolish word.'"

"Thursday, 8th April; session *fourteenth*.—The twenty-eighth article they passed. All being set, and the Deputy brought to the bar on his knees, he was desired to say for himself what he would, that so the House of Commons may sum up all before the sentence." He craved time till to-morrow. The Commons objected. "Yet the lords, after some debate, did grant it."—

"The matter was" (*sixteenth* session), "Young Sir Harry Vane had fallen by accident among his father's papers"—Ah yes, a well known accident! And now the question is, Will the Lords allow us to produce it? "The Lords adjourn one hour large: at their return their decree was against the expectation of all;"—an ambiguous decree, tending obliquely towards refusal, or else new unknown periods of delay!

"At once the Commons began to grumble. Glyn posed him, On *what* articles he would examine witnesses, then? They did not believe that he wanted to examine witnesses, but put him to name the articles. He named one,—another,—a third,—a fourth; and not being like to make ane end, the Commons on both sides of the House rose in a fury, with a shout of 'Withdraw! Withdraw! Withdraw!'—get all to their feet, on with their hats, cocked their beavers in the King's face. We all did fear it would grow to a present tumult. They went all away in confusion. Strafford slipped off to his barge and to the Tower, glad to be gone lest he should be torn in pieces; the King went home in silence; the Lords to their house."

Session sixteenth vanishes thus, in a flash of fire! Yes; and the "harsh untunable voice" of Mr O. Cromwell, member for Cambridge, was in that shout of "Withdraw!" and Mr Cromwell dashed-on his rusty beaver withal, and strode out so,—in those wide nostrils of his a kind of snort. And one Mr Milton sat in his house, by St Bride's Church, teaching grammar, writing Areopagitics; and had dined that day, not perhaps without criticism of the cookery. And it was all a living coloured time, not a gray vacant one; and had length, breadth, and thickness, even as our own has!—But now, also, is not that a *miraculous* spy-

glass, that perceptive faculty, soul, intelligence, or whatsoever we call it, of the Reverend Mr Robert Baillie of Kilwinning? We still *see* by it,—things stranger than most preternaturalisms, and mere commonplace "apparitions," could be. "Our fathers, where are they?" Why, *there;* there are our far-off fathers, face to face; alive,—and yet not alive; ah no, they are visible but *un*attainable, sunk in the never-returning Past! Thrice endeavouring, we cannot *embrace* them; *ter manus effugit imago.* The Centuries are transparent, then;—yes, more or less; but they are impermeable, impenetrable, no adamant so hard. It is strange. *To be, To have been:* of all verbs the wonderfullest is that same. The "*Time*-element," the "crystal prison!" Of a truth, to us Sons of Time, it is the miracle of miracles.—These thoughts are thrown out for the benefit of the curious.

One thing, meanwhile, is growing plain enough to everybody: those fiery Commons, with their "Withdraw! Withdraw!" will have the life of that poor prisoner. If not by free verdict of their lordships, then by bill of attainder of their own; by fair means, or by less fair, Strafford has to die. "Intolerable pride and oppression cry to Heaven for vengeance." Yes, and Heaven has heard; and the earth now repeats it, in Westminster Hall here,—nay, worse still, out in Palace yard, with "horrible cries and imprecations!" This noble baited lion shall not escape, but perish,—be food for learned sergeants and the region kites! We will give but one other glimpse of him: his last appearance in Westminster Hall, that final speech of his there; "which," says Baillie, "you have in print." We have indeed: printed in 'Whitelocke,' and very copiously elsewhere and since;—probably the best of all speeches, everything considered, that has yet been printed in the English tongue. All readers remember that passage,—that pause, with tears in the "proud glooming countenance," at thought of "those pledges a saint in Heaven left me." But what a glare of new fatal meaning does the last circumstance, or shadow of a circumstance, which Baillie mentions, throw over it:

"He made a speech large two hours and ane half. * * To all he repeated nought new, but the best of his former answers. And in the end, after some lashness and fagging, he made such ane pathetic oration, for ane half hour, as ever comedian did upon a stage. The matter and expression were exceeding brave; doubtless, if he had grace or civil goodness, he is a most eloquent man. One passage made it most spoken of: his breaking off in weeping and silence when he spoke of his first Wife. Some took it for a true defect of his memory; others, and the most part, for a notable part of his rhetoric: some that true grief and remorse at that remembrance had stopped his mouth. For they say that his first Lady,

the Earl of Clare's sister, being with child, and finding one of his whore's letters, brought it to him, and chiding him therefore, he strook her on the breast, whereof shortly she died."

Such is the drama of life, seen in Baillie of Kilwinning; a thing of multifarious tragic and epic meanings, then as now. A many-voiced tragedy and epos, yet with broad-based comic and grotesque accompaniment; done by actors *not* in buskins;—ever replete with elements of guilt and remorse, of pity, instruction, and fear! It is now two hundred years and odd months since these Commons members, shouting, "Withdraw! Withdraw!" took away the life of Thomas Wentworth Earl of Strafford; and introduced, driven by necessity *they* knew little whither, horrid rebellions, as the phrase went, and suicidal wars into the bowels of this country. On our horizon too, there loom now inevitabilities no less stern; one knows not sometimes whether not very near at hand! They had the *Divine Right of Kings* to settle, those unfortunate ancestors of ours: Shall Charles Stuart and William Laud alone have a soul and conscience in this nation, under extant circumstances; or shall others too have it? That had come now to require settlement, that same "divine right;" and they our brave ancestors, like true stalwart hearts, did on hest of necessity manage to settle it,—by cutting off its head, if no otherwise.

Alas, we, their children, have got perhaps a still harder thing to settle: the *Divine Right of Squires.* Did a God make this land of Britain, and give it to us all, that we might live there by honest labour; or did the Squires make it, and,—shut to the voice of any God, open only to a Devil's voice in this matter,—decide on giving it to themselves alone? This is now the sad question and "divine right" we, in this unfortunate century, have got to settle! For there is no end of settlements; there will never be an end; the best settlement is but a temporary, partial one. Truly, all manner of rights, and adjustments of work and wages, here below, do verge gradually into error, into unbearable error, as the Time-flood bears us onward; and many a *right*, which used to be a duty done, and *divine* enough, turns out, in a new latitude of the Time-voyage, to have grown now altogether undivine! Turns out,—when the fatal hour and necessity for overhauling it arrives,—to have been, for some considerable while past, an inanity, a conventionality, a hollow simulacrum of use-and-wont; which, if it will still assert itself as a "divine right," having now no divine duty to do, becomes a diabolic wrong; and, by soft means or by sharp, has to be sent travelling out of this world! Alas, "intolerabilities" do now again in this new century "cry to Heaven;"—or worse, do not cry, but in

low wide-spread moan, lie as perishing, as if in Heaven there was no ear for them, and in earth no ear." "Elevenpence halfpenny a-week" in this world; and in the next world *zero!* And "sliding scales," and endless wrigglings and wrestlings over mere "corn-laws:" a governing class, hired (it appears) at the rate of some fifty millions a-year, which not only makes no attempt at governing, but will not, by any consideration, passionate entreaty, or even menace as *yet*, be persuaded to eat its victuals, shoot its partridges, and not strangle out the general life by *mis*-governing! It cannot and it will not come to good.

We here quit Baillie; we let his drop-scene fall; and finish, though not yet in mid-course of his Great-Rebellion Drama. To prevent disappointment, we ought to say, that this of Strafford is considerably the best passage of his Book;—and indeed, generally, once more, that the careless reader will not find much profit in him; that except by reading with unusual *intensity*, even the historical student may find less than he expects. As a true, rather opulent, but very confused quarry, out of which some edifice might in part be built, we leave him to those who have interest in such matters. C.

Art. III.—1. *Martinuzzi.* A Tragedy. By George Stephens. London, 1841.

2. *The Stage, Before and Behind the Curtain.* By Alfred Bunn. London, 1840.

3. *Past and Present State of Dramatic Literature.* London, 1838.

4. *Stage Effect, or the Principles which command Dramatic Success in the Theatre.* By Edward Mayhew. London, 1840.

AMIDST the confused debates of energetic politicians, and the mooting of various questions of serious import, rendered sometimes rather ludicrous by the questioners, there has within the last few years arisen a small voice, spreading wider and wider every day, which to the speakers is also, of infinite importance—we allude to the regeneration of the drama.

Every one must have heard the doleful complaints of "the decline of the drama," and of the ruinous speculations of theatricals. Newspaper critics find an inexhaustible source of pathos, and elderly gentlemen an undisguised source of triumph, in this

"decline," so different from the days of Kemble and Siddons! On the other hand, there are enthusiastic hopes of regeneration —"were only *our* plays acted!" Managers are abused in the most unmeasured terms; no meanness, no imbecility, no dishonesty, that obloquy and wounded vanity can invent, but has been cast on the heads of the poor, harassed, *ruined* managers, because they do not produce "unactable dramas."

This is a bad state of things. It surely is time to set the public right on the matter, and we will endeavour, for the sake of justice, to do so. For, it is to be observed, "the unacted" have it all their own way in this quarrel. They are either connected with the press, or have their wrongs advocated by the press. They are literary men, and can vilify in preface, treatise, or critique, as they please. Who is to answer them? Not the managers—they are not literary—they are mostly too busy to attend to anything of the kind. Not the public, for they have only one statement of the matter—the author's! Surely then, at the peril of braving all the unacted wrath, it is not unbecoming in us to say a word for these poor managers? *not* that we intend a defence,—for we are aware of the arrogance, insincerity, delays, and manifold infirmities to be justly charged on some of them, and have ourselves suffered many of the grievances of which the unacted complain,—but a statement of the matter as it really lies between the two parties, whereby the public may judge.

The error of authors is in persisting to attempt what they are unfitted to perform—the error of managers, in not honestly telling them so. This leads to anxiety, mortified vanity, and hatred, on the one hand—to insincerity, indecision, and discomfort, on the other. The drama being the most universal of literatures, every wight itching with that feverish *cacoëthes scribendi* which Juvenal deprecates, writes a tragedy or comedy. The consequence is, an influx of portly manuscripts every season quite incredible. Every one of those manuscripts is seen by the manager with horror; he knows, by long experience, that ninety-nine in the hundred will be altogether impracticable, and in every scroll he sees an *enemy!**

* "As respects authors, the difficulty is not so frightful in dealing with those of acknowledged reputation, as with those who are candidates for the glory of seeing their works on the stage, and themselves in print. Of some hundreds of pieces sent promiscuously by unknown writers to the manager, there was but *one* that was deemed fit for representation; and amongst those submitted by men of note, many were found fraught with danger and dismissed accordingly. As one instance I may mention a tragedy, of nearly 600 pages, written by an author totally unknown and likely ever to remain so, which was sent to me by a particular friend of mine, and strongly recommended by three others. The first was a moonlight scene, and in the opening soliloquy thereof the hero, gazing on the unclouded glory of Diana,

Act them he cannot, if sane; to refuse them is to mortify the vanity of the *irritabile genus*—to make of each an enemy for life. No one doubts this, and yet we wonder at the insincerity of managers! Now let us put it to the candour of the reader:—Does he not know many who write tragedies or poems which they submit to him, and, however detestable he may think them, does he not always prefer uttering a few common-place compliments to mortifying the authors by the truth? and are these compliments ever looked upon as other than excusable insincerities? What, then, is the amount of this crime so lavishly bestowed on managers? They have to do with a conceited, irritable set of men, and employ exactly the same means which we all employ, however great our virtuous indignation at insincerity!

It never seems to have occurred to authors that managers never *asked* them for the liberal offers of their plays! One author, indeed, sent in his play with a letter very much like a command that it should be acted; but usually the manuscripts are sent there as geese to market—for purchase if they look tempting, for silent refusal if not. Really a manager is bound by no law of the land to produce a play that will not bring money into his treasury. The theatre is supported by authors' productions, 'tis true, but the manager would doubtless very much prefer making the application to the authors themselves, to their making their unasked applications to him. The author himself, wanting a goose, sends to his poulterer, and is accommodated; but what would he say did the poulterer (anxious to dispose of his geese) send them in flocks, cackling and hissing round his house, claiming his "immediate attention"—insisting on his leaving books and "articles" to shift for themselves, and to decide on them, that they might go elsewhere to be killed and eaten, in case of his refusal? The enraged author would forget all about "liberal offers," and send for a "police officer!"

Insincerity, then, we do not look upon as so great a fault in these circumstances. The manager is obliged to say to them, "Really you are excellent geese, the whiteness and luxuriance of your feathers are unexceptionable, and I look upon your web feet as equal to that of any goose in Shakspeare; but I'm afraid, under the present existing circumstances, you are not quite *plump* enough—appetites are *so* large, and butcher's meat *so* cheap, that I think I must, with sorrow and remorse, decline." Whereupon the geese cackle and hiss—declare they *are* plump!—declare that Mr Buggins has asserted the "uneaten geese to possess a *higher*

accused her, despite her beauty and alleged chastity, of intriguing (with whom can the reader imagine?) with the *man in the moon!*"—*Bunn's Stage Before and Behind the Curtain*, vol. i, p. 78.

order of plumpness than the eaten."* Which fact is shrieked all over the market place.

It is alleged that managers endeavour to get rid of the pain of refusal by asking the author to write again. This, when true, is infamous. We will denounce its infamy as warmly as any one; but it is not always as thus stated. Managers perceiving evidences of dramatic power in a play, would naturally wish the author to "try again." If the play have only such faults as can be amended, he is then requested to "alter it;" if it have fundamental errors, but, nevertheless, evinces dramatic capability, then it is hoped that another attempt may be more successful. Can an instance be quoted of a *dull* man having been asked to write again? But the truth is, there is no getting most authors to "alter." They are so taken up with the conviction of their own merits, and undeniable superiority in literary matters to managers, that they refuse to accept the experience of the latter as of any weight. Managers are not judges of literature or works of art; but they know what they want, and are not bound to accept what they do not want. If a man refuses a diamond, estimating it as glass, you may impugn his judgment, but not his character.† We have heard of an author who would admit of no alteration (few indeed will, they think every line golden), repelling every objection which the manager brought forward as to expense, trouble, improbability of success, &c., with "Sir, I don't know how that may be, but I have six tragedies, and all I say is, act them—only act them, sir!"

With regard to the delay in getting a definite "yes or no," nay, the extreme difficulty of getting an answer at all, we must admit that this is a sore evil, and one which might be remedied by a little more courage and honesty on the part of managers. A man may be starving, and yet clinging to the hope that his play will be finally accepted. He is led on from week to week, from month to month, until the season closes, and his hopes are then defeated! As Spenser so finely says—

> "Full little knowest thou that hast not tried,
> What hell it is, in suing, long to bide;
> To lose good days that might be better spent;

* "It is asserted, on the authority of Serjeant Talfourd, that the unacted drama possesses a higher order of *mind* than the acted."—*Monthly Chronicle.*

† We will not praise the judgment of managers, unfortunately the acted drama presents but too many evidences against it. But if managers are not good judges, whose opinion is to be taken?—not that of the author's surely?—not that of an actor (who will only consider his part)?—not that of a critic—for where is one to be found? Bad, then, as the judgment of managers may be, it must be abided by.

To waste long nights in pensive discontent;
To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow;
To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow;
To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares;
To eat thy heart through comfortless despairs;
To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to ronne,
To spend, to give, to want, to be undonne."

It is indeed a saddening contemplation, and one which the more earnestly calls for a reformation, owing to the extent of misery it produces. But, we repeat, this is not to be effected by abusing managers, but by insisting on the necessity of authors writing *actable* plays, on which point we shall dwell presently.

We beg attention to this fact:—Managers would be delighted to get good plays. It is obvious they would, inasmuch as they open the theatre on a commercial speculation, and therefore would be delighted with what brought money to the house. This fact is always overlooked; first, because it is seldom that good plays *are* produced (producers being scarce); and, secondly, because men of great talent, sometimes genius, cannot get their plays acted; and the authors and public leap to the conclusion that the managers have an instinctive horror of fine plays, and prefer ruining themselves with bad.* It is not so. Managers would give large sums (and do give them) for good plays; and it is well that all men should know it. Revivals, to which they must resort in case they do not get new plays, always fall flat, and never have "a run," unless under peculiar circumstances. Collier quotes a letter from John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carlton, 1614, wherein he says, "Indeed our poets' brains and inventions are grown very dry, in so much that of five new plays there is not one that pleases, and therefore they are driven to furbish up their old, which stand them in best stead, and bring them most money."† Is not this our case?

We are referred to the published and unpublished dramas of very many writers as a proof that there are abundance of good plays if the managers would act them. This is worthy attention. Serjeant Talfourd has bestowed unqualified approbation on this unacted drama.‡ Others have been equally enthusiastic. How

* Mr Stephens, in his closing address, deplores there being no "correlative law to check the *penchant* of those establishments for gorgeous revivals, five act farces, and meretricious spectacles." The answer is, "Because they cannot get anything better!"

† 'Hist. of Dram. Poet,' p. 391.

‡ We would beg to observe, that when Serjeant Talfourd said, "the unacted drama evinced more *mind* than the acted," he uttered a truth, but not one relative to the present question, which is not one of *mind* but of *drama*, not of *writing* but of *acting*.

then lies the matter? Why, that the very evidence they bring forward is suicidal! We have read and reviewed some considerable number of published dramas, but in no case do we think a manager would have been justified in bringing out one of them. Mr Horne is a man of the most unquestionable genius—has poetry and passion in a high degree; but are his plays actable? We think not.

"That there is something 'rotten in the state,'" says Mr Tomlins, in his eloquent and timely work on the drama, "would be alone sufficiently proved by the fact, that the author of 'Cosmo de Medici' and the 'Death of Marlowe,' is not one of the foremost writers for the stage as he is for the study." We agree with this entirely, but not for the reason implied. The rottenness is in the state of authorship, not of managership. Mr Horne has hitherto written only for the study; his plays are not actable. His best friends would agree in this. When he has produced a play constructed with reference to the necessities of the stage, which shall be admitted as rightly constructed (and he is capable of doing it—of fulfilling every demand if he chooses), then we shall be at liberty to accuse the other side, but not till then. No man practically acquainted with the stage would wonder, therefore, at the "vile state of the theatre which, so far from coveting, shuns such productions." How can you expect a manager to spend sums of money on a romantic scheme of "elevating the drama?" His business is not a romantic one, but a commercial one. He must satisfy the *public* as well as himself or friends. But still further to narrow this question, we will quote from Mr Tomlins a list of dramas which he takes as illustrations. In his eloquent and forcible lecture on the 'Relative Value of the Acted and Unacted Drama,' he has throughout assumed that the unacted are immeasurably grand—the fit companions to Shakspeare and the old dramatists." On this assumption rests the whole of his, together with all the unacted arguments; we will give this list, therefore, and let the reader judge. "If I am called upon to name some of these dramas, I name the 'Cenci,' 'Alarcos,' 'Bride's Tragedy,' 'Cosmo de Medici,' 'Gertrude and Beatrice,' 'Roman Brother,' 'Gregory VII,' 'Lords of Ellingham,' 'Ethelstan.'"

The including the 'Cenci' among these is unfair; the horrible nature of the subject alone unfits it for the stage; but of the *rest* (with all their high merits of poetry and passion, which none will deny them) we could not desire better illustrations of our argument. They are *unactable;* and when a critic, competent to judge beyond the poetry, and not be dazzled by it, shall have pronounced them *actable* (except, indeed, it be the deceptive but

friendly praise of a *letter*), then we will allow the argument to have force: but it is not so.

Mr George Stephens has endeavoured to convince the public of his claim, not alone by publishing, but by the more decisive (in his case fatal) method of hiring the English Opera-house—engaging actors at considerable salaries, and bringing out with every advantage his tragedy of 'Martinuzzi.' What has been the result?—Failure! In spite of the barefaced puffery with which it was preceded—in spite of the pathetic appeal to the sympathies of a "British public"—in spite of some fine acting, beautiful dresses, and abundant *claqueurs*—the tragedy failed. The audience were convulsed with laughter on the first night; and on every successive night throughout the month there was wearisomeness, yawning *claqueurs*, or a conviction on all sides that "managers were right." Nevertheless, there was undeniable evidence that Mr Stephens had a real dramatic power, perception of character, great talent for impressive, powerful writing, although rioting in the most outrageous metaphors. We should say that if he would first diligently learn his art, we might yet expect fine and successful dramas from him. No one could have failed to perceive that, although Mr Stephens was not an ordinary poet, and that even in 'Martinuzzi' there were scenes of great power and dramatic effect, yet that no manager could have produced it with hopes of success. We do not merely allude to the extravagance of the writing, though we could earnestly counsel him, *uterque projicit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba*, but also to its crudeness; its want of clearness in story and motives; its employment of old and worn out stage-tricks of "letters," "confidential villains who betray," "cups poisoned before the victim's face," &c., and its want of art. That Mr Stephens should have lent himself to the disgraceful puffery which preceded and succeeded his tragedy, is only an instance of the fatal effects of vanity uncorrected by judgment. Booksellers, we are aware, unscrupulously alter critiques in their advertisements, but that Mr Stephens should countenance this, we own surprises us. To descend to particulars. In the announcement of 'Martinuzzi' various authorities were quoted in high and extravagant praise of the play. One of these was from the 'Monthly Chronicle,' which we remembered to have read, and which was an admirable but indisputable attack on the play in question—its reviewer having, indeed, wittily characterised it as belonging, not to the unacted, but unactable drama! Yet, by means of dexterous omissions—by applying the praise given to parts as if it had been bestowed on the whole—the result was most laudatory in Mr Stephens' bill! This having been done with the only critique we had seen, are we not at liberty to pre-

sume that it had been so with all? Is this worthy of a champion of reform—an assertor of justice—an annihilator of abuses? We mean well to Mr Stephens—as well, perhaps, as those who have so uncompromisingly lauded him. We see errors which, as they are such as can be amended, if conscientiously attempted, we are the more urged to take notice of. These errors are mostly those he has in common with all the unacted dramatists, and are consequent on his position as a literary man studying his art in the closet. Will he accept our honest cheer and exhortation to continue, after the bitter truths we have been forced to utter?

"I fear very much," said Sheridan, "that people go to the theatre *to be amused*."* There is much in this saying. It is well to lecture eloquently on the great moral instruction of the drama, but it would be better to lecture on the peculiar *means* of that moral instruction. The present reviewer, for one, will yield to none in estimation of the vital and lasting effects of the drama, which is truly a laical pulpit, but he honestly thinks "people go to the theatre to be amused." Here, then, the dramatist's office is plain—he should teach mankind through their amusements; sugar their pills, and they will swallow greedily, not for the sake of the pill, but the sugar; the pill works nevertheless. But if there be no amusement, no sugar—why, the pill is resolutely refused.† One great portion of mankind in these days of ours is beset with one idea—education! Teach, teach, teach! is the cry; not what nor how! The generation is one of cramming—not of digesting. "Reading maketh a full man," said Bacon; which we interpret, "Being full of reading." All the while they forget that man's life is a "problem, not a theorem;" a thing to be acted, not to be schemed. They forget that teaching is a profound and mysterious art, and is not attained by horn books or sermons. We are sorry to see this didactic mania influencing the drama; we are sorry to see men forgetting that people are to be taught, in the drama, by actions from which they must draw their own reflections and conclusions, not by the reflections of the author;—by impressions, not by aphoristic or rhetorical wisdom. Whatever earnest doctrine, therefore, the dramatist has to teach, let his first care be that it shall be so presented as to amuse while it teaches; that there be nothing pedantic about it wherefrom the audience may suspect his didactic design, for they do not like to be schooled; let them swallow their pill *as* sugar, and never doubt the effect!

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* "Non satis est pulchra esse poemata; dulcia sunto."—*Hor.*

† "Eloquentia magister, nisi, tanquam piscator, eam imposuerit hamis escam, quam scierit appetituros esse pisciculos sine spe prædæ moratur in scopulo."—*Petronius.*

Poor Mr Alfred Bunn got terribly abused during his management for converting Drury lane into an amphitheatre for beasts and spectacles. It was undoubtedly a melancholy spectacle for those who loved the drama, and had visions of its "high and palmy days"—more especially melancholy to those who had written plays which they would have fain seen acted. But was Bunn to blame? He took the theatre with no heroic and exalted idea of "elevating the drama," but with the simple and intelligible one of making money. He tried the "legitimate," and failed;* he tried the "illegitimate," and failed also. We think his failure punishment enough. He tried to amuse the public—had little faith in the unacted drama—had great faith in Van Amburgh and opera dancers. He paid for this; he was entitled to this. The public were not obliged to go; yet the public did go. It was a speculation on his part to amuse the public; and those who talk so loftily about the age of Elizabeth and Shakspeare—to whom this degradation of the stage is so heart-rending a spectacle—have forgotten that precisely the same complaints were made in those days—complaints of Frenchmen for whom "native talent" was neglected. Read Mr Collier's 'Annals of the Stage,' and you will see all this matter, as of the present day. "In the play of 'Narcissus,' a fox was let loose and pursued by real dogs!" The old tactics—endeavours to amuse. And the ponderous gravity of Johnson (a man none will accuse of predilection for trifles) is an authority. He says—

> "The stage but echoes back the public voice;
> The drama's laws the drama's patrons give,
> And we who live to please must please to live."

Nor is the abuse of managers a new thing. Even Shakspeare, little short of a God, as he is to us, was but a manager, obliged to refuse pieces, and be told that he "thinks himself the only *Shakescene* in the country." There, also, one might have heard complaints of the depravity of the audience, the ignorance of managers—"plays his 'Macbeths' and 'Othellos' when our tragedies are unacted!" A hard case! We will not defend Alfred Bunn or his management—we will not defend any manager that we have yet heard of; but we will state what we think to be a just advocacy of their conduct, and if we have not dwelt

* A constant argument is held forth of the incompetence of managers to judge of what the public require, by their repeated failures. They fail, it is true, but we refer to the figures in Mr Bunn's book, or to those of any manager's book, to prove that the "legitimate drama," *i.e.* Shakspeare, *never drew money, except in the case of a new actor, or of some accidental and contingent cause.* The size of the theatres and the salaries of actors are the causes of failure.

enough on their faults, it is because *this* has been so much done by others, and *only* this.

We have said that authors persist in attempting what they cannot perform, viz., write plays; that managers would be delighted to get good plays; and that people go to the theatre to be amused. These three facts are the things needful for dramatists to attend to. If they wish to write "without reference to the stage," the field is open; but if they wish to succeed on the stage they must learn their art.

It is always overlooked that the drama is not alone poetry, but an applied form of poetry. This is admitted as an axiom, but disregarded as a practical guide. The drama is as much an art of itself, distinct from poetry, as painting is, the *fundus* of which is also poetry. A play is not alone language, passion, character, incident, not even story, but a peculiar combination and construction of these elements. An art of long and arduous study!

Plays written by actors or managers are almost always successful. Does not this fact indicate something? Such plays are mostly worthless as compositions; not always English; contain no new idea; no original glimpse of character—because their writers are not authors. Yet they succeed. The audiences are pleased, the house fills, the piece has its run, and is then never heard of again; that is, it succeeds and fails. It succeeds in that which commands success—its stage conditions; it fails from its own weakness and want of truth. The audiences are pleased with the bustle, action, non-flagging progression of the story. This suffices them for one night, but as it contains little more than this, it will not bear a second seeing, and so falls of itself. But it has realised the first demand of a play—its *stage-condition!* Had the actor been a poet, he would have satisfied both the demands of the stage and of the audience, and his play would have become a perpetual heir-loom.* A drama must fulfil the conditions demanded by the stage for one season's success; if it aspire to more it must touch some chord of human nature, it must contain portions of the universal Life and aspects of universal Truth; it must "hold the mirror up to nature," and all men will claim it as their own. These are the two requisites, and

* A better illustration is not at hand than the comedy of 'London Assurance,' which was not inaptly termed 'Theatrical Assurance.' It is the production of an actor, Mr Bourcicault having formerly played low Irishmen at provincial and minor theatres;—more than the production of an actor it is not. As a comedy, it is sorry stuff indeed, and he seems to think as much in his preface. Nevertheless, though most of the unacted would have blushed to have written it, it is another evidence of the demand for its real merits—theatricality.

they are inseparable. We cannot too often repeat that it is on the primary stage-conditions (on the *dramaticalness of the drama*) that all great poetry and passion must rest. No enduring palace is built with gorgeous marble alone; if the hand of the architect be not there, it will be no palace, but a heap of stones; and we may add, if the architect knows only beauty and proportion, but knows nothing of turning his materials to use, convenience, and comforts—if he be not also a builder, the palace, for all its beauty, will be uninhabitable. So with the drama. Poetry and passion, character and story, must be *built*. They must be applied to an express purpose. We must object also to this building—this art of stage-construction being looked upon as the mechanical part. It is only ignorance or conceit that will look upon it thus.

It is a most difficult and laborious art; they know it that have tried. Men who decry it either console their own weakness with a contempt for the mechanical, as they call it, or blindly insist on its being superfluous. Let any man endeavour to construct a story of action which shall develope a passion—let him select characters to illustrate his passion, and let him put them into positive and appropriate action, such as does in truth develope the passion, and he will find the enormous difficulty of avoiding the temptation to let them *talk* this; to let them *reason on their feelings* rather than *feel;* to let them *determine* to act or *describe their actions* rather than positively *act;* and the difficulty of making them only do such things as are consistent with their characters and the problem of the piece; of preserving the spiritual force and integrity of his characters through all "circumstances," not allowing himself to be seduced by the temptation of letting circumstances in the play form and guide his characters, but to keep up their individualities through all these circumstances, whatever they may be, and to bring all deeds about naturally but not tediously; and of letting every act (*actus*) contain some deed, and every scene some positive advancement of the plot. These are the demands of this "mechanical part," and let those who think them easy, try!* The "unacted" talk a great deal about "construction," but we have seen no evidences of it in their own works, nor in their theatrical writings have they given any definite description of what they mean. "Many of you authors," said Mr Mathews to the writer, "produce excellent scenes, but it is so seldom I can get anything like a whole." Truly enough! Authors do not understand the art of the stage.

* We do not say that all successful plays strictly adhere to this *programme*—it is an ideal portrait, and the nearer the approach to it the more unequivocal the success.

Alas! no; how should we? What means have we to learn our art except through repeated failures? How differently Shakspeare and his fellow-dramatists were situated in this respect, we know. They were all actors, managers, or else intimately connected with the theatre! They were poets; but the most important fact in their dramatic career was, that they were actors —that they learnt their art at the theatre. We are not so fortunate; the existence of the literary man is in these days of a different constitution, and our only means of learning the art is by diligent study, and drawing experience from failure. Mr Tomlins speaks of the "writers of high ability who have stooped themselves to the conventional demands of a corrupted stage;" and says, "Mr Knowles has done wonders, shackled as he has been by the state of the theatres."* This is splenetic and unwise. Shakspeare, Jonson, Massinger, Ford, Beaumont and Fletcher, "stooped to the conventional demands," and were "shackled" as tightly as Mr Knowles. Genius makes light of such obstacles; nay, rightly considered, it is genius which alone can bend external circumstances to its will, turning them to profit; and one knows not for what genius was given, if not for this. Was Shakspeare not shackled? Read the 'History of the Stage,' and then compare. But see even out of the fact of not having women, but boys, to play the women's parts, how he contrives to let us have a 'Viola,' an 'Imogen,' a 'Portia!'— Shackles! After a man has broken the bonds of ignorance; faced Doubt and Disbelief; pierced through the mask of the man into his inner heart, and read there his secret motives, his tremendous passions, his all-surpassing beauty and grovelling weakness; after he has read the mysteries of nature, and freed himself from the shackles of prejudice, what can a few despicable hinderances of the stage affect him? The man whose soul has struggled with one great Idea, and conquered it, will not find much obstruction in material hinderances of the kind.

It is true that managers have a contempt for "the words" of a play, and lay the greatest stress on its construction, on situations, and the "parts" for actors, as it is very natural they should; and, if need were, we could deplore this depravity of taste at as great length and pathos as the most apostolic among dramatists could desire. But we contend, that it is the province of the dramatist, as the immeasurably superior being, to include all that the manager thinks, together with a whole world which the manager can never think; that he should accept of the practical experience, and comply with the practical demands of the mana-

* 'Brief View of the English Drama,' p. 106.

ger; and, *above* all *that*, place his great faculties, and put forth his cherished thoughts. It does not follow because the manager can see no more than what his faculties admit of, that no more should be there. Satisfy his first demand (which will be also the demand of the audience), and while satisfying that, also satisfy yourself by adding to it all you cherish of doctrine, wit, passion, or poetry. It is no objection to a play that it be well written, but it is a vital objection to it if it have nothing but the writing!

There are numbers of men, endowed with very high faculties, who would write for the stage if they saw a chance of success. As a first and most imperative injunction we would say,—"Learn the art." When once that is mastered, you may consider the game in your hands, and it will then depend upon your powers, upon your poetry, passion, and insight; but before this nothing can be done. Managers would welcome you, would facilitate your studies by their experience, and it is your own fault if you do not succeed. We must observe, that plays are sometimes written which would succeed, but that, owing to there being no actors to personate the leading parts, they are rejected. This is a hard case, but what avails declaiming at it? It is one of the "shackles" which Genius moves lightly under. If the author wish to have his play performed, he must accommodate himself to such necessities. A man who has written one such a play can easily write another which should not have that fault.

Be a perfect master of the art of stage-construction, and it is in the power of every man who has a moderate inventive faculty to write for the stage, and to succeed.* Let it not be objected to us that we are degrading the drama,—that we wish to make of the dramatist a mere play-wright; no, we would only enforce that he must become a play-wright ere he can be a dramatist. Most men, indeed, stick there, and will continue to stick there for ever: it must always be so; for to be a dramatist in the great sense of the word is given but to very few. About a dozen includes nearly all the world has known of that species; all the others are but dramatists in a subordinate degree. Euripides, Massinger, Ford, Deckar, Calderon, Lope de Vega, were more or less great as poets and play-wrights, but their dramatic power was only exhibited by fits and starts, in passages, not in complete delineations. We do not, then, look to see, under the most favourable circumstances of regeneration, a band of dramatists, but a band

* This "art of stage-construction" is here meant in the widest sense. Story, progression, situation, avoidance of long dialogues where not passionate, *interest in the characters*, &c., are all included in it. It is the ignorant who would limit construction to the mechanist and scene-shifter!

of more or less talented play-wrights; we would not pluck from out the heart of man the ambition—the "fondly dreamed" hope and aspiration, to be a dramatist;—let him hope, let him strive; there is nothing so baleful as not to have some great ideal, as a star to guide the wandering soul; all will be dark as starless night to him if he have it not. But when he wishes to succeed on the stage, then let him descend from his lofty and self-erected pedestal, and confront reality; let him humble his proud heart, and learn even of the play-wright,—or his idealisms, hopes, and aspirations will stand him in little stead. Managers know nothing of such things: they know this one fact, that people come to the theatre to be *amused;* if you are too proud to "stoop to amuse them," what business have you there? It is time that all the vague and grandisonant talk about the drama should cease, and that men should know that what Carlyle calls "realized ideals," are not to be met with on this earth; that men should know definitely what they intend with regard to the drama, and what is required at their hands by the drama, and by managers; when that is known they can write for the stage or not, but at any rate will save themselves the anxieties and mortifications which they now suffer. They need not *suspendere naso* at the thoughts of "stooping to amuse the public"—greater men than they have done it; nor is it logical to confound this "amusement" with pandering to vulgar tastes—tickling "the ears of the groundlings;" they need not "degrade" their pieces by "clap-traps," "horrors," or "tawdry sentiment;"—there is no need of this; on the contrary, such things will go against them. By the legitimate employment of their art, they will "amuse" more, and more lastingly than any "spectacle" which that "enterprising manager," Mr Bunn, set the force of his genius to produce. But then, dialogue without action, or a story without clearness and progression—which an audience always pronounces "heavy"—are not legitimate employments of their art—they are violations of the first principles of their art, and rank below even "situations," and *coups de théâtre*, so much despised. We may place a word here on those much-decried *coups de théâtre*. They are dramatic; they are culminations of actions which strikingly arrest the attention and excite an audience; they are only undramatic when used ignorantly,—when, as in melodrames and unactable tragedies, they are dragged headlong in purely for their own sake, being really no culminations at all. Surely Shakspeare's authority is sufficient in such a matter. What is the appearance of 'Hermione' (in 'Winter's Tale') as a statue, but a *coup de théâtre?* Or the appearance of 'Banquo's' ghost at the banquet? We need adduce no more instances, plentiful as they are. No; to amuse is not

degrading, but it is very *difficult*, and the difficulty is easier shirked by scorn than overcome by perseverance.

In the little treatise by Mr Mayhew on "Stage effect" (which though brief, crude, and imperfect, nevertheless contains excellent and judicious advice, which it would be well to study), there is a passage very much to our purpose:

"Action," says he, "is distinct from plot, inasmuch as a play may have continued action without any plot, or be defective in the action and yet perfect in the plot. The author, desirous of success, must never disregard action, which is more essential on the stage than even dialogue; for there are many kinds of theatrical amusements without dialogue, but no species of dramatic representation, from tragedy to monologue, without action. Of late years a fear has arisen among those who write for the higher or legitimate drama, of corrupting their pieces by the violence of their action, or rendering them melodramatic. This fear springs from want of consideration, and was unknown to the elder dramatists. A melodrama is defective in action, possessing too little rather than too much; for it is brought only to a certain point called a situation, and then is interrupted. In Shakspeare's plays the action is always continued; various arts are used to assist it. In the quieter parts, where the action is naturally slow, numbers are generally introduced to give what the actors graphically term 'bustle' to the scene; customs are often illustrated; nor were masks, songs, and dances considered by him illegitimate helps to supply the deficiency. The reverence for continued action is the secret of the success which commonly attends pieces written by gentlemen of the theatre, and authors who have imbibed 'actorial' sympathies, from intimacy with the green-room. The words (as the literary portion of the drama is termed in the theatre) are by these authors held of secondary importance; and, to a certain point, their principle is a true one, though literally acted on the higher qualities of the drama perish in the womb. Till the plot is fully conceived and planned into acts and scenes—and these have been made complete by the addition of action—every deed elaborated, every movement understood; till this is clear in the mind's eye, 'the words' should, if possible, not be thought of—as out of the action the words should spring."

We will suggest one thing to the reflection of poets. Pleased with poetry in others when reading it in the closet, highly pleased with their own poetry when penning it, they are but too apt to imagine that an audience will sit patiently and listen, delighted to hear it when delivered from the stage.* Without arguing the

* And let the dramatist, of all things, beware of allowing his pleasure in an emotion, or a description, *to lead him away and indulge in it.* Concision and decision are the first elements of dramatic dialogue. With a firm, bold and rapid hand he should hit off a description or emotion, not with a lax,

point, we would observe, that not even Shakspeare's unapproachable writing, supported as it is by the unbounded, almost religious, veneration paid to his name, can effect this. Some of his plays are unactable—many "heavy." His poetry, his humour, his knowledge of character, and his dramatic spirit avail nothing—the audience are "tired" in spite of themselves, and pronounce them "heavy." We need not refer to Beaumont and Fletcher, Jonson, Massinger, Ford, Webster, Marlowe, Deckar, Middleton, Shirley, &c., of whose pieces (even when not prevented by the subjects), so many are exquisitely *written* but will not *amuse*—no, we rely on Shakspeare's name, against which even the most mad vanity dares not oppose itself.

In connexion also with the plays of Shakspeare, we could rectify one very widely spread error with respect to "alterations of the text." Every one must have witnessed the devout horror of critics at the sacrilege committed by managers in "daring to alter the text of Shakspeare;"—no infamy, they fancy, can be greater; and when Mr Macready announced plays "from the text of Shakspeare," his friends were in ecstacies, and proclaimed that the true regenerator of the drama had appeared; on the other hand other critics, not so blinded by friendship, finding that in his representations there were still numberless omissions, &c., furiously denounced the whole as a humbug! "No word that the divine Shakspeare ever wrote should be omitted—let us have all or none." Eloquent cries these, and easily uttered from the armchair; but could these denunciators have sat out a performance of the entire play? Honestly, we think, the humbug lies on the side of the critics!

Humbug or ignorance—there lies the cause! Either humbug, for the sake of declamation, confounding our desire to preserve every word as a brick in his literary monument, with our desire of being amused at a theatre, or else ignorance, pedantic ignorance of the nature of the stage;—utter forgetfulness of Sheridan's maxim! There is no play of Shakspeare's that is not studied with avidity; but even those students would yawn at the representation of some of them, and as for performing any one verbatim, it would be "wasteful and extravagant excess." We state these as known facts, not as opinions. We may criticise the taste in which an alteration is made; it of course might be better made, or we may reasonably object to the interpolation of other men's scenes (though it was done with great success by Sheridan Knowles, in Beaumont and Fletcher's 'Maid's Tragedy,' and

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vacillating, and metaphorical exhausting of the subject. He should touch on many things, but exhaust none. And the fortitude to *restrain* poetry is the most difficult of all dramatic requisitions.

acted for two seasons as the 'Bridal'—no one exclaiming about sacrilege!)—but to say that, "an' they had the tediousness of a king," they should be "bestowed upon our worships," to the manifest deficit in the manager's purse, is, we repeat, pedantic ignorance. We will support our position by two magnificent pillars of German philosophy and poetry—and the Germans are notorious, as venerating and illustrating Shakspeare, more than all Europe, and performing him oftener; and they are, moreover, notorious as a patient, stolid public, who will sit out five-act operas, and who will accept of a greater proportion of dialogue to action than any other people of Europe—from Germany then, we select the two greatest names, Hegel and Göthe, as authorities.

Hegel in his 'Vorlesungen über die Æsthetik' (b. i, p. 356), says:

"In Shakspeare's historical plays there is much which must be foreign to us, and which cannot interest us. Reading them we are satisfied—at the theatre not. Critics and connoisseurs, indeed, declare that they require such historical gems at the representation, and abuse the degraded taste of the public which can be *ennuyé* at them. But art and its enjoyment are not for the learned and *cognoscenti* alone, but for the public; and the critics need not be so lofty, for they themselves belong to that public, and are confounded with it, and neither for them can really historical accuracy or trifles have any earnest interest. It is with this feeling that the English now only give such scenes from Shakspeare's plays as are in themselves admirable, and by themselves intelligible, because they have not the pedantry of our Æsthetikers, who would bring before the public eye all the no longer intelligible externalities or trivialities in which they can take no interest. One may say, indeed, that the truly excellent is excellent for all times; but we must remember, that a work of art has its temporal and mortal elements, and these, when they become no longer vivifying, must be altered."

This, which is here only applied to historical accuracy, yet contains the æsthetical reasons for every other alteration:

"Göthe, in preparing 'Romeo and Juliet' for the Weimar stage, concentrated it, and cleared away from it all those parts which had become obsolete, which, although precious in themselves, yet, as they belonged to a much earlier period than the present, and to a foreign nation, interfere with the exquisite completeness of the rest."*

If, then, the managers find that the play lags, or is unintelligible in any parts, he is not only justified in altering them, but the contrary were unjustifiable. Shakspeare's name, Shakspeare's plays, are not affected by any alteration; if the critic cannot endure the mutilation, his resource is obvious—stay away; if the

* 'Mittheilungen über Göthe.' Von Riemer, b. ii, p. 655.

public object, they will do the same; and the manager will see his error, and reform; his purpose being to amuse, not to put forth opinions.

Connected by parentage to the above error, is another not less common, relative to the old dramatists, who are perpetually invoked as models, and held up in the face of poets as works which must ever annihilate their attempts. We said this error was of the same parentage as the former one—humbug and ignorance—mostly the latter; for, of all subjects on which an equal quantity has been talked and written, this of the old dramatists is, perhaps, the least understood.

At the outset, holding up these, or any men, as models, unless specifying the limitations, is a gross error. The drama which must "show the very age and body of the time, its form and pressure," can never be an imitative one:

"Le drame," says M. Nisard, "n'est l'œuvre littéraire la plus indigéne et la plus originale d'un pays que parcequ'il ne peut pas se faire sans le peuple, et parcequ'il faut que le peuple le débatte en plein theâtre. On peut faire sans le peuple une trés belle litterature d'imitation *moins le drame.*"*

True! if dramatists would really influence their age, they must reflect it, sympathise with it, and express its sympathies; quaintness of language, oldness of ethics or feelings, can only please in the closet, and there only as an exercise of ingenuity—the heart remains untouched. We were glad to see that very clever theatrical critic in the 'Times,' take up this very point with reference to Mr Stephens' 'Martinuzzi.' A striking illustration may be found in the plays written during the late war, of the folly of endeavouring to transplant foreign sentiments into the drama. In those plays were incidents and speeches nightly received with vehement cheers, all relating to the "bleeding in the country's cause"—to contempt for *Mons. Soupemaigre*—to the John Bullism of John Bull—in a word, patriotism in all its phases. Whenever these plays are revived they are coldly received, and these "sentiments" meet with no applause, but mostly disgust; they have not even antiquity to back them—they are foreign and not quaint. We would next remark, that could such a literature be transplanted, the old dramatists are questionable models. The first fact that stares us in the face is, that they are unactable—that no one ever attempted to revive them; this fact should suggest something! We do not allude to their coarseness (that might be obviated)—nor to the nature of some of their subjects (the 'Bridal' triumphantly proved that passion, if real, and honestly,

* 'Etudes sur les Poétes Latins de la Décadence,' i, p. 367.

earnestly put forth, will carry any questionable subject); but to the second fact, which, on perusal, strikes every one, viz., their tediousness—their rude want of art. A critic in the 'Monthly Chronicle,'* has written on this subject, and we borrow from him a passage or two which expresses our meaning.

"The critic who would be understood, must distinctly demarcate his opinions according to the three modes of judgment, which works of a past era demand; these are—

"1. Historically; *i. e.* its merit in relation to time, predecessors, necessities of the stage, &c.
"2. Absolutely; *i. e.* its intrinsic merit, unaffected by any such *nimbus*, and merely viewed in relation to the delight and instruction to be obtained from its perusal.
"3. As models for others to study by.

"According to this, the merits of the old dramatists are in a descending scale, 'small by degrees and beautifully less.' Their historical worth is prodigious, for they were a band of real poets, and mirrored every aspect of their age; their absolute worth is less; and their worth, as models, considerably so, for they were not artists in any sense of the word, and this without much fault on their side, for what could even a Phidias make with the flint-knife of a wild Indian? The dramatic art they certainly did not understand; and, in proof of it, may be taken the very few plays that are revived from that period. Scenes of tremendous passion—touches of the deepest pathos—subtlest eagle-eyed glances into the perplexed heart or complex intellect of man, with the most eternal and refreshing poetry, are all to be found in their volumes; but in *construction*, that harmonious-linked unity of incident and dialogue, that *narrowing intensity* demanded by the drama, as differing from the discursive flowing epic—that æsthetic regulation (whether fore-thought and fore-cast, or the result of a secret feeling of its propriety which guides the unconscious artist)—in a word, that mighty problem, dramatic art, cannot be learnt from their works."

And again—

"The dramatist must needs study their works, not alone for their beauties, but for their faults, that he may learn the rocks and shallows against which his predecessors have ventured and split. He will find in them, as before stated, the deepest pathos, the most arrowy wit, the broadest farce, and some effective situations. No passion, no vice has been left intact; no character unsketched, if not drawn. But as they now come to us, with all our experience and critical advancement, and the critical demands of an advanced audience, they lie there as some dramatic chaos wherein are all the elements in their

* *Vide* a series of papers on 'Introduction to the Study of the Old English Dramatists,' which appeared in that journal the latter part of the year 1840.

grandeur and insignificance, from which a world is to be forth-formed. Let him go to them with deepest reverence; let him wander delighted amidst their luxuriant and entangled forest,

'With pipy hemlock and strange overgrowth,'

and see how nature is reflected in the stream of their poetry, now clear and limpid, now turbulent and muddy; but let him not mistake this broken image quivering in the depths of the stream, and moved by every gust, as the true and complete art-image of the world!"

Alone among these men, as among the world's men, stands Shakspeare! In his plays (at least some of them) a diligent study will discover the most surprising dramatic act, and, what is more, an evidently conscious forecast plan of every detail. His opening scenes—his progression of story—his selection and juxtaposition of character in 'Macbeth,' 'Othello,' 'Merchant of Venice,' 'Lear,' 'Romeo and Juliet,' &c., are really matters of as great wonder as anything else in him, except his marvellous penetration into character. A greater proof of his art could not be selected than 'Hamlet;' a play which many agree with actors in asserting, would be damned if first brought out in our days. Folly! The answer is, the great attractiveness of the play even to audiences quite incapable of appreciating its wonderful poetry or its profound psychology; no play is so much acted at the Pavilion, Garrick, Tottenham street, Victoria, and Surrey theatres! This is a very remarkable fact; we deduce from it these three conclusions: 1. In spite of what critics say about 'Hamlet's' character being undramatic, owing to its reflective nature, it has these two irresistible claims to sympathy—passion and truth to nature: his melancholy touches a chord in every breast; "it is *we* who are 'Hamlet,'" as Hazlitt well said. 2. Its dramatic construction (including therein interest of story, &c.) is so fine, that it always keeps attention alive. 3. Its situations—various and striking. Shakspeare, therefore, is not only the greatest poet that ever lived, but the greatest dramatist; and *this* has made him the heir-loom to the stage, for without this his poetry, grand as it is, would never have saved him; a proof of which has before been given in those plays of his never acted. It was this, also, that made him the greatest favourite in his own day, in spite of the prejudice which exists to the contrary (originated by Dryden), that Beaumont and Fletcher were preferred. Mr Collier has shown that Shakspeare was so great a favourite with the public, that in April 1726, the interference of the Master of the Revels was purchased by the King's company, then playing at Blackfriars, at the expense of five pounds, to prevent the players of other theatres from performing Shakspeare's dramas. "This," says Mr Collier, "proves the popularity of his plays at that date,

although at Court, two or three years earlier, the productions of Fletcher seem to have been preferred. This preference may be partly accounted for on the score of greater novelty."*

We have now gone over the various points which we deem it of the utmost importance that authors should know, and to these may be added the weighty authority of Sheridan Knowles, who assured us that the "theatre was in a very different state to what it was some years ago, and that it was now *impossible* for any play whose merit challenged success—whose merit gave a reasonable hope of bringing money to the theatre—to escape being produced!"—an assertion proved by the very slight merits sometimes shown by plays which are produced; for it is not, as the unacted would have the world suppose, that managers have any horror of "high tragic dramas;" or that there is any *favouritism*, but because they are willing to produce anything which promises; moreover, managers are mostly "with their hands against every man and every man's hand against them"—they are in a perpetual turmoil, a ceaseless combat; and they have this one potent and pecuniary reason for accepting the play of an unknown author, viz., *they get it on more reasonable terms!* We will now leave this question of authors and managers, and turn to the other popular question: Decline of the Drama.

That the drama is in a declining state there can be no doubt. Can we solve the problem? No, we cannot; our ambition flies not so high, but we see certain evils (seen also by other eyes, but as every mention of them attracts attention we may set them down) which indubitably influence the drama; and we think we see certain means of remedying them.

First in rank stands the monopoly of the patent theatres—a gross injustice; and as the patent theatres avail themselves so little of their privilege to act the "legitimate drama," one wonders at their opposing its removal. The subject has, however, been so fully and ably argued, that we shall not detain the reader with a recapitulation of the positions maintained by those who demand the abrogation of the patent; we would merely point to the results of such an abrogation. 1. The privilege of acting a higher order of drama by many theatres would encourage authors to write, and by the experience thus gained, would go towards reviving a dramatic literature. 2. It would destroy that curse of the drama, the "*star*" system, by fetching out talent wherever it might be found, and by educating a large class of actors, among which the talented would soon make themselves known. 3. The increased activity, competition, and emulation would be sensibly

* 'Annals of the Stage,' ii, p. 18.

felt on all sides, and would both lower the arrogance and cupidity of actors, who can now make the most exorbitant demands (and do so), with the consciousness that there are none to compete with them. Mr Tomlins, in his 'Lecture on the English Drama,' has this striking passage relating to our subject:—

"Of the vast number of plays produced in this sixty years, some idea may be gained from its being proved by the Manager Henslow's 'Note-Book,' that 110 new plays were produced by four companies (and those small ones) in six years; and in the following six years, 160, either original, or revived with additions. 'A remarkable and unquestionable proof of the prolific talents of our old dramatists,' as Mr Collier observes, 'and a singular substantiation of the principle that free competition will alone produce excellence and quantity. There were also thirty popular writers in the pay of Henslow alone at one time, not including the more generally known names of Shakspeare, Marlowe, Green, Peele, Massinger, Beaumont, Fletcher, and many others. It must also be taken into account, that not only were authors numerous, but they were equally prolific. Shakspeare left thirty-seven known plays; Ben Jonson, eighteen plays, and thirty-seven masques; Beaumont and Fletcher, fifty-three plays; Chapman wrote and assisted in twenty-two; Chettle, in thirty-eight; Munday, in fifteen (known); Middleton, thirty; Massinger, thirty-seven; Ford, twenty; Rowley, twenty; Thomas Heywood, in no less than the extraordinary number of two hundred and twenty; and Shirley (the last of the race) not less than forty. Besides these there were numerous authors whose works have only partially come down to us; hundreds of plays were never printed, and of those which were, a great part have been irrecoverably lost. Even with the imperfect knowledge we can gain of this period, it may be safely stated that in this sixty years more plays (certainly of five-act plays) were produced than in the one hundred and eighty years since the Restoration. All these dramas were acted, and that they had an opportunity of being so is the sole cause of their production. Had the performance of the intellectual drama, as at present, been confined by law to two theatres, it would have been utterly impossible they should have been produced. Literature might have been earlier turned into the stream of novel-writing, or it might have been destroyed altogether, but it could not have displayed itself in the magnificent mode it has, and England would not have had the benefit nor the honour of possessing a series of classics as original as they are excellent, had there not been a ready mart for their works,—had they not had the stimulus of competition, and the chance of success before them, no writers could have devoted themselves as they did to their works. Had there only been a possibility of two successful plays being produced in a season,—had they been compelled to contend with the vagaries of monopolists, the rivalry of beasts, the interests of popular actors,—had incompetent rank overborne them,—had they had to wait seasons for the acceptance, or

even perusal, of their dramas; and to compose, not only to the peculiarities of actors, but to the debased taste of an audience vitiated by scenery and show, they would not, they could not, have left us what they have: they might have given us a different literature, or they might have merged in the mass in their original trades of wool-combers, bricklayers, stewards, lawyers, parsons, or schoolmasters; but they never would have formed that illustrious congregation of poets, the dramatists of England. . . . To contrast the state before and after this monopoly, I will read the titles of the plays, probably performed in 1635, and those actually performed in 1835, at the patent theatres.

"In 1635, omitting *all* of Shakspeare's, we had 'Tamburlaine,' 'Faustus,' 'The Malcontent,' Bussy d'Ambois,' 'A Woman Killed with Kindness,' 'The Revenger's Tragedy,' 'The Duchess of Malfy,' 'Vittoria Corombona,' 'The Lover's Melancholy,' 'The Broken Heart,' 'The Alchemist,' 'Volpone,' 'Philaster,' 'The False One,' 'The Two Noble Kinsmen,' 'A Very Woman,' 'The Virgin Martyr,' 'The Old Law,' 'The Maid's Revenge,' &c., &c. In 1835, *Drury Lane*,—'Gustavus the Third,' 'Lestocq,' 'The Red Mask,' 'Secret Service,' 'My Neighbour's Wife,' 'The Regent,' 'St George and the Dragon,' 'King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table,' 'The Ferry and the Mill,' 'Scan Mag,' &c., 'A Good-Looking Fellow,' 'The Revolt of the Harem. *Covent Garden*,—'Cherry and Fair Star,' 'The Vision of the Sun,' 'The Cataracts of the Ganges,' 'The Somnambulist,' 'Raymond and Agnes,' 'The Bottle Imp,' 'Past and Present, or the Hidden Treasure,' 'Crimes on Crimes, or the Blood-stained Bandit,' 'Timour the Tartar,' 'Robert Macaire,' 'Paul Clifford,' &c."

Whether the abrogation of the patent would do all that its opponents contend for, is not the question, but whether the patent be unjust, and its abrogation beneficial; this we believe has been triumphantly shown. The "elderly gentlemen" deplore over the fallen state of the drama; declare that "it is not what it was when *they* were young—there are no actors now." We would call attention to the fact, that when there were good actors, there were execrable dramas! Let any one look over the 'London Stage,' 'British Theatres,' &c.—we do not ask him to perform the Herculean labour of reading them—but let him only look at those dramas, and ask himself how many of them, if now written and produced, would be tolerated? Nevertheless, the theatres filled in those days; and why? Because chiefly the theatre was a familiar and constant amusement to all classes, which it no longer is. . . .

This we take to be the secret of the "decline of the drama." It would take us too long to enter into its causes, but we may name some of them, as,—1. *Late Dinners* (which might be obviated by a later commencement, and shorter pieces.) 2. *Bad*

Actors (a separate inquiry—partly an accidental cause.) 3. *Tyranny of Actors* (over poet, manager, and brother actor, whereby "good parts" are not to be multiplied, but all kept in due subordination to *their* individual pre-eminence.) And there is a fourth cause, more potent than all, *Cheap Literature*.* The passion of the age, the characteristic of the age, is for a railroad-rapidity of new and cheap reading; and this has affected all amusements, and absorbed them. A single novel, embracing so many separate springs of interest, will keep a whole family within doors of an evening, will thrill them with horror, keep them in breathless suspense, drown them in tears, tickle them with laughter, arrest them with reflections, and startle them with sketches of, and hits at, the "leading men of the day." Sneer not, O play-wright! this family, so delighted, would seek the same delight in thy play, and no "elevated instruction." Multiply that one by the number of novels, and then add thereto the magazines, reviews, travels, biographies, treatises — πολλῶν ονοματων μορφια μαι—and as a set-off, the want of good actors and good plays at the theatre, the lateness of the dinner-hour, and the absence of the piquant sauce of "it is *so* fashionable," which John Bull considers necessary for digestion,—and then estimate the effect of literature on the drama! But not alone on the drama has this shadow fallen; every species of amusement (music excepted) has been influenced. Ranelagh the gay, the brilliant, is no more; Vauxhall, the fairy-land of childhood, the supper and arrack-punch-land of manhood—Vauxhall has been knocked down by the auctioneer's hammer! Where are the skittle-grounds, once so numerous?—where are the cricket-clubs?—where cock-fights?—where prize-fights? Need we name the many ques-

* We might mention another cause,—one which at least has some influence upon ourselves,—the personal annoyances to be endured at the large theatres, for want of proper accommodation for the public, as compared with the comforts of the easy chair, the bright lamp, the cheerful fire, and other cheap luxuries of home. Domestic architecture, and the skill of the upholsterer, have greatly improved during the last hundred years, while the discomforts of theatres have rather increased than otherwise. The boxes are not only too expensive but too far from the stage for the enjoyment of the drama to those who might become habitual playgoers, and to obtain a seat, with a back, in the pit, it is necessary to attend half an hour before the doors are opened, and submit to the rush and crush of a crowd intent upon the same object. For how few plays is it worth while to make this sacrifice, or to submit to the *ennui* often produced by a twenty minutes' pause between the acts! We shall never be nightly frequenters of the large theatres until we can secure a numbered seat with a back (to prevent our own breaking), and without being charged the disproportionate price usually asked for stalls. For an extra sixpence we have often obtained, in some of the pleasant little theatres of Germany, all the accommodation we required.—Ed.

tionable and unquestionable amusements in which our forefathers and foremothers delighted, and which are now passed away in their death-throes? Gone they are, and we will not deplore them; we will only point to the fact of their demise. When people had nothing to do with their time, when the office and the shop were closed, and business shut up in its ledgers for the day, the free spirit of man shook off its cares

"Like dewdrops from a lion's mane,"

and revelled in enjoyment. It does the same now; it will ever thus reassert its immortal passion for enjoyment,—only that, instead of a visit to Vauxhall, the theatre, or the cricket-ground, it copes itself up in the lecture-room, and curiously considers gases, or some illustrious Nobody's opinion on gases; or it debates on "education," or on the "repeal of the corn-laws," or it delights itself with a BOOK!

And it is on this immortal passion for enjoyment which the soul ever will assert, that we found our hopes of a regeneration of the drama. A succession of very successful plays would go far to revive the taste for theatrical amusements, since "everybody" goes to see a favourite piece, because "everybody" is supposed to go. Who has not seen 'The Love Chase,' or 'The Lady of Lyons,' or 'Money,' or 'The Tempest,' and 'Midsummer Night's Dream' (under their present gorgeous forms of revival)? A successful piece becomes the "talk" of the town. If the "town" could thus be made to "talk" of half-a-dozen plays consecutively, it would recover its lost taste for theatrical amusements.

This might be done, were the theatres smaller, consequently the nightly expenses to be covered by an average audience; but what with the exorbitant salaries of the actors, and the other expenses of a large theatre, it must be very well filled to pay; and the difficulty of filling such a theatre is the excuse for any "claptrap" to which a manager may descend, as also for his not accepting a play which could only have a slight run. There are several pieces rejected because, though tolerably good, "tolerable" pieces are of no use to a large house; in a small house they might answer as "novelties," and have a reasonable run; at a large house they are impracticable. If the larger theatres were devoted to opera, ballet, and spectacle, we have no doubt that they might be made to answer; and then if the smaller theatres were licensed to play a higher drama than that of 'Jack Sheppard,' or 'The Mysterious Assassin, and the Blood-stained Worsted Stocking,' we have no doubt that they might also pay, and a stirring activity and interest be again awakened for theatricals. Madame Vestris showed, when at the Olympic, that her exquisite and artistic

taste, her consummate judgment of the pieces performed (a failure being a rarity), together with a well-selected company, could draw overflowing houses every night, and that (in spite of its situation and the smallness of the house) it depends much on the manager to make a theatre fashionable. We say, therefore, let the patent be abolished, and a new phasis of things must soon result.

We have faith in the drama, and believe that the constant agitation of the question which is going on, must eventually lead to something; but, above all things, we reiterate the necessity of literary men learning carefully and fully the dramatic art: without that nothing can be done, as without authors players are but the merest mummers, and would not stand against Punch and Judy had they to speak their own words. We do not wish to say anything derogatory to their profession, but at the same time, when we daily hear of their increasing arrogance, and when, at the same time, we know their excessive ignorance, we own that we are not tempted to be silent. There are a few clever, and a few scholarly men in the profession, but the amazing ignorance of the rest (though to a keen eye visible in their performance) is, fortunately for them, hidden from the public. We may some day open this matter, and examine the pretensions of these men, who talk about "the words" of a play, and who, because they are so well paid, and are tolerated—nay, petted—by the public, simply because better do not come forward, look upon themselves as the types of genius. "Did you ever see an actor's letter?" asked one of our poets of the writer; and on our confessing the rarity, "No," he replied, "you cannot get a letter from more than three or four of them; *if the rest can write, they are ashamed to show their hands.*"

It is to the authors, then, when unobstructed by theatres, that we look for the regeneration; not to the "syncretics"—not to this author, or to that,—but to *all* dramatists who may be willing to undergo the long and toilsome study indispensable to success of more than a fleeting kind. The drama can never die; it has existed in some imperfect shape or other in every nation, and it ever will exist, because it is based upon humanity. Every being giving way to his natural impulses and sympathies, is intensely delighted with its representation; from the thoughtless child to the reflecting man, "honoured with pangs austere," there is an uninterrupted link of sympathy with the drama. How could it be otherwise? Have we not all loved, hoped, been defeated, wronged, trampled on; or been cherished, fondled, struggled, and been successful? Have we not all "stood too much i' the sun," had our day-dreams shattered, our faiths undermined, our friend-

ships sundered? Have we not all, the meanest and squalidest, as well as the highest, *acted* a part in this drama of life, wherein, as Bacon grandly says, "Gods alone are *spectators*?" Have we not all an irresistible desire to *do*—to realize the faintest of our conceptions, and thereby equally impelled to see things *done*? Are we not, as Calderon says, all actors?—

> "En el teatro del mundo,
> Todos son representantes;
> Cual hace un Rey sobrano,
> Cual un principe, un grande,
> A quien obedecen todos."

Is not "this world a stage, and all the men and women merely players?" Wherever there is a heart pulsing with human passions,—wherever there is a vanity pushing judgment from its throne, and rendering its poor tool ridiculous,—wherever there is a tear or a laugh, there, in some shape, will be the drama.

G. H. L.

ART. IV. *Home Education*. By the Author of the 'Natural History of Enthusiasm.' London: Jackson and Walford. 1838.

TOYS differ from most other amusing things in that they must be handled. Ornaments reach the sense of beauty through the eye; toys operate only in the hand.

The passion for handling is not duly appreciated. Let us give a fair interpretation to a few plain facts, and we shall be surprised at its strength. While we walk through a public exhibition of the curious specimens of science and art, and are met at every corner with the announcement in large letters, "You are requested not to touch the articles," or are still more peremptorily forbidden by glass doors and wire gauze, we feel ourselves placed under restraint—we are gratified so far, but are still conscious of the beating of a strong propensity that has been tied up. While the lust of the eye is apparently rioting in abundant gratification, *the lust of the hand* often teases and annoys the spirit so much, that the spectacle becomes tiresome. By discipline, the passion may be silenced in mature age, or at least it may become resigned to restraint, but mark its workings when it is allowed full freedom. In a cabinet of curiosities observe that Chinese lady's slipper—the sight is no doubt something, and if accompanied with any information about Chinese workmanship, or about the cramping of the feet of the women, it may

interest us; yet watch at the same time the promptings of a desire still unsatisfied—you take it up, thrust your hand into it, until the points of your fingers bulge out the toe, you bend it for the purpose of trying its flexibility, feel the smoothness of the inner surface in sympathy with the comfort of the wearer, examine the seams, and go through all the forms by which you would inspect a pair of new shoes. It will be quite obvious that the handling has led you over a much larger range and compass of *thought* than the mere sight. So with a medal or an old coin; how utterly unsatisfying the bare sight of it—how grateful the handling—the turning from side to side between the finger and the thumb, feeling the smoothness of the surface and the sharpness of the edge, weighing it in the hand, and putting it through the whole of half-crown or sovereign exercise. What utter nothingness is there in the mere sight of an ancient sword; the delight comes of unsheathing and sheathing it with our own hands, and going two or three times through the manœuvres of fencing, stabbing, and amputating with it. This is indeed a luxury; the very recollection of it refreshes the spirits. When a companion standing beside us has a curiosity in his hand whose wonders he is relating aloud, the cry is, "let me see it, let me see it," from those looking on all the time at the full stretch of vision; but the cry means, let me handle it; as the children express it, let me see it in my own hand. Any one with a sufficient faith in this propensity of human nature might make a fortune by an exhibition of rare and curious articles, accompanied with full licence to handle everything. The tear and wear and loss of articles would only be the additional outlay of a shrewd speculator, that would repay itself many-fold.

This passion for handling, strong at every period of life, receives no systematic and purposed gratification except in childhood and youth, for which toys are made; and the ignorance of the true origin and nature of the passion has led to the construction of many toys, that either serve not their end at all, or serve it in very small proportion to their cost. "The real charm of a toy," says the author at the head of our article, "is derived from the power it possesses to excite the CONCEPTIVE FACULTY; and hence it is, that the more it leaves to be filled up by the imagination, the ruder it is, so much the keener and more lasting is the pleasure it affords." This is a vague statement of a single phasis of the truth, as we shall soon see. Again, he says, "Let any one familiar with children, analyze a child's tranquil felicity while amusing itself, for an hour or more, with nothing better than a crooked stick or a handful of pebbles. What can be the bare gratification of the sense of touch, or of the muscular power,

or of the sight, which such objects can convey? it must be reckoned as extremely small; nor is it possible to watch the movements and countenance of an infant of fifteen months, or two years, whilst so engaged, and fall into the great error of supposing that its delights are chiefly animal. It is the MIND, it is the rich, grasping, and excursive human mind (such even in infancy), that is at work on the poor materials of its felicity. This crooked stick, or these pebbles, are symbols of many things we adults do not dream of in such a connexion; and they suggest conceptions of things dimly recollected, and now absent, which people the fancy in crowds, and lead it on, till the soul is lost in the chace."—" —— A child of three years old creates for itself, from a stick, a stone, or a straw, a long-continued and tranquil delight; and a boy of ten or twelve, with materials as meagre in proportion to the pleasure drawn from them, though of a rather different sort, such as a score or two of tiles, and a bundle of sticks; or a hammer, a gimlet, and nails, will furnish for himself an intensity of happiness, and to which he will eagerly return day after day, spending hours in an employment which derives ninety-nine parts out of the hundred of its power of fascination from what the mind adds to the tangible material of its pleasures."

" Munificent grand-mammas, and affluent aunts, will, in spite of remonstrance, continue to be good customers at the toyshop; but those who have actually had to do with children are well aware of the fact, that no delight is so brief as that caused by the possession of an elaborate and costly toy; in truth, the pleasure, as to its continuance, seems generally to be in inverse proportion to the sum that has been lavished on the gift. And often, in consideration of the kind donor's feelings, a little artifice has to be used in order to make it appear that the splendid article has not become an object of indifference or disgust, the very next day after its arrival. A crooked stick of its own finding—the handle of a broom—the gardener's cast-off pruning knife, or a tin mug without a bottom, will be hoarded by a child and be mused over, and converted to twenty whimsical purposes, day after day, perhaps for weeks, and certainly until after the toy, which cost what would have fed a poor family as long, has been consigned to the lumber-room."

These remarks stimulate without satisfying our curiosity; they are like dark hints to the effect that there is a region of mind little looked into, where lies much curious and instructive matter. Our current metaphysics are utterly at fault here.

We have said that the handling or toy principle exists in all periods of life—in the man as well as in the child; a lucky thing for us, inasmuch as we cannot see into the mind of the child, except through its analogy to what we find in the man.

These three observations, in justification of what we intend in the present article, will be granted:—first, by understanding the precise operation of the young mind upon toys, we can know what kind of toys suits it best. Secondly, from the analogy between the actings of childhood and those of manhood, we can study and understand the former in the latter. Thirdly, if this principle that we are discussing exists in mature life, it must show itself in a great number of ways, and must in some degree tell upon human happiness.

It is necessary for us first to state the great principles of mind by which toys act, that we may have their light with us in speaking of toys in detail.

Some toys act merely on the intellect, and some combine intellectual action with various emotions. We are thus compelled to give a statement of the manner of working of a pretty large part of the human mind; but as we have not to deal with the higher operations of thought, or with very complicated feelings, our statement may be simple, and easily understood.

The powers which God has given us wherewith to perform all our *intellectual* operations of remembering, conception, recognition, reasoning, imagining, invention, &c. are two:

1st. *The cohesion of contiguous ideas;* that is, when two ideas or images are before the mind at the same time, they grow together, or cohere to one another; so that, at an after period, when one is brought forward, it draws the other into view along with it. Thus, in learning the name of any object, such as a horse, we see it before our eyes, and at the same time hear the word "horse" pronounced, and after sufficient repetition the sight and the sound stick to one another so strongly that the one can always bring up the other; the sound heard at any time brings up the visible image, and the visible image brings up the sound to the organs of voice, and we can re-pronounce it if we please. By this cohesion of things that are in company we can and do construct trains or chains of ideas of any length. Memory depends chiefly on this power. The learning of names, and what is called *rote* or *routine* memory, depends wholly on it.

2nd. The other of the two powers is very different, but equally simple and beautiful. It is that by which any idea or image present in the mind's view draws up the past and forgotten ideas that are *like it*, or the *attraction of similarity*. This principle can be stated in one short sentence, so as to be intelligible to any common mind; but the development of it, that is, the description of all that it does, or of all the operations that it sustains, could not be given in fifty volumes, and probably will not be com-

pleted for five centuries to come. It is its working on toys we have chiefly to do with now. Let us amplify our statement of it by an example.

Suppose we were to see for the first time a man moving on the street a wheelbarrow full of apples. An image or picture is stamped on our minds, of the man, the moving wheelbarrow, and the apples. In a short time other objects drive this one altogether out of view; it comes to be as little noticed by the mind as if it had never been. We come up, however, to another wheelbarrow full of apples at rest, with a woman taking charge of it. Instantaneously there flashes out upon us our past image of the man and the moving vehicle; and both are now side by side in our field of mental vision. That part of the new image that agreed in likeness with the old, namely, the wheelbarrow and the apples, has attracted into our present view what it resembled; and, in bringing up what agreed with it, it brings up all that cohered with this part, namely, the motion and the man; so that we have before us two complete images, different in some respects, but drawn together through the attraction of those particulars which were identical. There is both *adhesion* and attraction shown in this simple act. From having seen a man, a wheelbarrow, and apples at one time, the three things all *adhere* together, and in consequence, when one is brought up, the other two appear with it. When we get a new image agreeing in part with this one, the agreeing portions come together, the old rises up upon the new, and the disagreeing appendage of the old comes up likewise, because of its adherence to the agreeing and attracted portion. So that we have two images, different in some respects, but brought together by the attraction of the parts common to both. Instead of having seen apples only twice, each of us has seen them a thousand times; and all our different visions of them, with their attendant circumstances, come crowding up upon us any time we choose to keep the idea of them before our minds for a little: through the medium of the image of a few apples we can, by the attractive power of similarity, fill our minds at any time with ideas of stalls and markets, fruit shops, trees and gardens, ships, schoolrooms where we sat quartering them with a pocket-knife, dinner tables, theatres where girls sell them to the audience, &c. &c. Scene after scene of past life comes up upon us, some bringing with them their pleasant, some perhaps their painful feelings, which we may experience and enjoy over again if we are in a mood for it.

The bringing up of past thoughts that have clung to present ones by the *adhesive* process, breeds of itself no emotion; but the other power, of causing a *past* image to flash out of its

oblivion upon a *similar present* one, produces every time a sensible throb of delight. The application of a principle to a new case—the comparison of an object to something it never was likened to before, and which turns out a true likeness—the finding of a common peculiarity in two otherwise unlike things (such as diamond and charcoal)—new similes, new epithets or metaphors,—all are originated by the power of like coming to like, and all cause a sparkle of pleasure. Of this pleasure part of the enjoyment of human life is made up; its amount, of course, rising with intellectual power and intellectual culture.

It is not necessary to pursue farther the statement or illustration of this great attractive principle, because we have no high intentions with it at present, and because our subject presents us with the most beautiful series of plain examples of it that can be met with.

Here, then, is a principle by which we can be copiously flooded with the past at all times, merely by the presentation to our minds of proper objects—things resembling some parts of the experience of the past, and by which the past, coming up and coinciding with the present, distils drops of purest pleasure.

The pleasure thus derivable is of two kinds: First—there is the momentary pleasure, already mentioned, of the flash or the coincidence of the two partially like things; and, second—the pleasures which the past ideas have brought up along with them, to be enjoyed over again.

How much is included in this reproduction or recovery of the Past! In the mere item of enjoyment, what may it not amount to? That we may have again the choicest moods, the "beauties" of our bygone existence, restored to us by a small instrumentality. That the past thrilling swell of admiration; the genial glow of warm affection; the burst, and the bound, and the dash of heroism; the lofty expansion of the soul to the infinite in power, in wisdom, and love; the perception of beauty and art; the sympathy with sovereign majesty, and all this world's pomp and circumstance; the strange emotions stirred by antiquity;—that all these and all other feelings of the Past can again and again break forth and possess us, without recurring to the original objects which drew them out, is a mighty fact which must be of vast account in our daily enjoyment. Are we making the most of it? Why, in the life of any living man, should there be a single moment wanting in enjoyment, if positive evil be absent? Does not one's whole Past furnish some green spots, some bright moments of pleasure, which, by a fit process, might be renewed? And might not thus dreariness and dull vacancy be banished from life, as our Creator intended they should be?

Our poetry, fictions, narratives, what are called polite literature, address themselves to this recovery of the Past. Our interest and affections can be drawn out by a stirring narrative or description only in this manner; there are brought into the present view of the mind circumstances similar to circumstances of our past experience, on which there grew some pleasurable feelings; the power of attraction acting, recovers this past experience, with all its excitement. But by practice, this art of putting us in past moods has been so much improved, that an artist can crowd into our present cup of delight twenty past experiences. Our emotions at human loveliness, wisdom, heroism, virtue in trying positions, at nature's beauty, are sometimes all drawn up in company, each by its proper magnet; and there is no limit to our luxuriating in the Past but the soul's capacity. The ideal can surpass the real by taking the choicest realities of different periods and reviving them all at once.

The pleasures of imagination and taste have been known and drawn upon in all ages, and in these latter times they have been greatly multiplied and diffused by human genius acting through the press; and we should not have been at the trouble to change the point of view from which they have been regarded, or to give an old thing under a new name, did we not believe, not only that the recovery of the Past through the attraction of similarity is the exact source of them, but also, that by getting at the real fountain head, we may detect many streams issuing from it which have not been hitherto turned to the production of human happiness. One of these neglected streams the present article is written to point out; we could soon find others. We believe that the only use of getting at the true principle of any set of phenomena, is to see them better, and discover them all.

The ill-defined faculty of memory is that generally referred to as the restorer of the Past. In as far as memory arises from our first principle of intellect, the adhesion of contiguous ideas, its force of restoration is very slight. We may bring up the outlines or dry bones of an occurrence by running back *memoriter* to the time at which it happened, but not often the fulness, and force, and relief with which it stirred the mind; it is the presentation of something like it which re-induces these. We may recollect our visit to some grand scene by retracing our history till we reach the month when it happened, and with which, therefore, it is adhesively connected, but the feelings are not thus evoked again. Let, however, a nearly similar scene be presented to the mind, either by a reality, by a painting, or a good verbal description, and then the old one flashes out before us, complete in its filling up, and its beauty acting on us its former effect. The

strange and striking revival, in all their first freshness, of scenes of life long gone by, takes place through the agency of some image flitting across the mind, very similar to one of those past, and proving the magnet which draws it again upon the stage. Adhesion, or vulgar memory, has lost all power over these scenes.

Dr Chalmers, in his late work on Parochial Economy, tells an anecdote of a gentleman, who, on a boisterous day of wind and rain, paid a glazier to repair all the broken windows of the poor hovels in the Canongate of Edinburgh. This act of benevolence will probably recur to us again with great force when we hear the rain pelting our windows; and with still more certainty will it recur when the similitude is made completer by our seeing it pelting the broken and clouted windows of crazy dwellings. Few people can recollect their stories or experiences except by the force of their similarity to something put in their present view. Hence the common preface to an anecdote—"That's like a thing that occurred to me, or that I have heard of"—"Your speaking of a narrow escape from drowning, puts me in mind of a fright that I got *in the same way*."

We are now to expound Toys as one set of the magnets of the pleasure-yielding Past; and to show that the use of them may be much extended, and human life be the happier for it.

It is an allowed fact, that the Creator has been pleased to annex high pleasurable emotions to the infant's first perceptions of the material world. Image after image, as each new one falls upon the mind, causes perpetual effusions of delight. The viewing of things for the first time must therefore be regarded as the earliest enjoyment of intellect.

Next in order succeeds that class of intellectual enjoyments springing from repetition and identification and the restoration of the Past. When an object, whose first appearance transported the infant mind, occurs again, it causes by its attraction the restoration of the first image in company with something of the first pleasure, and there is also enjoyed the sparkle excited by the identification. First images, too, being necessarily indistinct, their coinciding and being swallowed up in succeeding clearer copies must, in infancy as well as in mature life, be a process full of gratification. It is only after the twentieth time that the sight of the household cat gives out all its pleasure. Every succeeding view, by bringing up the images and the excitement of past appearances, is attended with the sum total of the emotion of all preceding; until that point is reached when further accumulation ceases, and the palling effect of the repetition of a merely intellectual image begins to wear down the intensity of the feeling.

By the help of the above principles of mind, we may

conjecture the process going on in the childish brain when it falls to toying — with a stick and a few smooth pebbles, for example. In the first place, the manœuvres which the child goes through, of striking the pebbles with the stick, may give it imagery altogether new, and thus evoke the pleasure proper to novelty. Or, in the next place, these motions may, by the force of similarity, restore images of operations previously witnessed, such as beating down the fire with the poker, the striking of a table or chair with a spoon or stick, or any similar operations performed by nurses or elder children for its amusement. The rapid raising and lowering of the stick may recal the pleasing imagery impressed by the dancing up and down in the arms which children are copiously treated to. The noise of the strokes is pleasant; and the effect of a lucky blow in dispersing the pebbles may recal a whole host of past pleasurable experiences to an infant mind. There is a primary delight in its own exertions which this brings strongly out; there is the delight in every image of activity, life, and motion, and the shifting of scenery; the stones, as lying close together, would be the magnet of one kind of past images, their scattering would quickly form another, and lead to new coincidences of past and present. In mature age an object appears as one clearly defined thing, which brings up only such images as exactly resemble it; but in the child images are vague and assume various forms, each of which is suggestive or attractive of its own likeness in the Past; hence there is more intellectual life and enjoyment, in proportion to the materials, in early life. With us, reason constrains the mind into certain limited channels, and though our faculties are stronger, and our Past more copious than the child's, yet the child probably riots among coincidences, and the already experienced pleasures of the Past, more profusely than we do.

Give a child a shut box, and it will probably examine it all round, and in a very short time toss it away. The sight gratified for a little, but a change of image was desired, and this was the most obvious method of procuring a change. By this act the child brings up the consciousness of exertion; and the sight of a moving thing reproduces former images of motion and activity. Show it that the box opens, and it resumes the study of it—shuts it itself, opens it again, thus reverting from image to image, and delighting in the transformation as the work of its own hands. It will now be long ere it resort to the extreme step of throwing it away, and seeking it back to throw it away again. From this and all other observations on childhood, we can see that a toy, which has nothing moveable or changeable about it, is a very imperfect thing; it has little source of

thought in it. With a finely-finished ornamental toy—an effigy of a man, a dog, or bird, a child will not lose much time ere it treat it as it would a stick, or a spoon, or an old canister, viz., beat the table with it to produce melody and the ideas of life, and motion, and self-exertion—toss it away—or apply it to its mouth to restore part of the pleasure of sucking the breast.

It is a very common error to confound toys with ornaments in amusing children. We hear a nurse, on holding up a pretty bauble to an infant, exclaiming, "See such a pretty thing," as if the child's capacity of enjoyment as yet contained nothing but a love of dazzle. It is common, too, to present to the eye what is not given into the hand, a very thankless indulgence. The sense of beauty and of nice imitation are of late growth. What childhood needs is, copiousness of images, resembling, and fit for restoring, those broad, palpable ideas which it has been able to gain,—to keep the faculty of identification and recovery of the Past working all the day long. It is thus preparing itself for the highest operations of intellect in mature life. By indulging it in noises and rapid motions of all kinds, we are, besides breeding happiness, cultivating ideas of activity, bustle, and life, which are the foundation of the habits of the smart, active workman or man of business, the animated, rapid, vehement orator, or the stake-all enthusiast.

That the power of intellect, by which one thing attracts another like it, improves by exercise, *besides* enriching the mind with a vast number of combined and mutually illuminated images, we can have no doubt. It is not easy to prove from facts that it does so. But every other force of the human system that we know of improves by exercise. The other faculty of intellect, adhesion of contiguous ideas, we know can be much strengthened; from seeing that routine, memory can be easily increased. But the attractive faculty is the nobler of the two, and its strength marks the greatness and originality of a mind. Whereas, too, the exercise of adhesive memory is nothing but dull exhausting labour, the attraction of the past to the present is continually effusing delight. This faculty may be kept in action from morn to night; instead of fatiguing, it produces a cheerful flow of spirits, the truest preservative of health and soundness of mind.

Let the infant be indulged in toys to the very utmost. Provide for it those that are transformable and moveable especially —anything jointed, a blunt scissors, a folding knife, or the like, a box into which you may inclose some trinket to rattle with, and give occupation in opening and shutting—anything in the form of a syringe or telescope, that can be drawn out and in—chains and strings suspending things. Besides transformable and move-

able things we can have sets of two or three separate articles, a little rod with rings on it, or any modification of combinables. Then, the apparatus of noise—things to strike the table, chair, or floor, or to tinkle on one another. Also, balls and projectiles of all sorts. Most salutary and invigorating both to mind and body is the exercise of throwing. Lastly, lead the infant at the earliest opportunity into imitation. Call its attention to certain little processes and manipulations with its toys, till it have acquired an ideal of them which it seeks to realize for itself. This is one of the finest sources of pleasure, and a noble product of the attractive faculty. To enter the child upon this is to commence both its education and the training of its faculties to undergo education.

Hitherto we have spoken of childhood from the first moment of *toyhood* to two years or so. We shall now take a stride to the boy or girl between six and ten, in whom we find new modifications of the same principles.

In expounding this era, we shall, as in the former instance, first produce a few examples of the things delighted in, noting what are the essential principles of the pleasure. Some of the things which amused the child continue to amuse the boy, but the improvement of his faculties and the enlargement of his Past make him lay chief stress on a higher order of apparatus.

In boyhood the delight in contrivance, in all kinds of artificer's work, in the changes made on things by manual operations, is most intense. When the boy of six or seven goes into a carpenter's shop, and sees a workman bring in from his wood-yard a deal board, and learns that he is to make a table with it, how engrossing is the interest with which he regards every step of the process—how impatient at those operations of nice, accurate squaring or hypercritical planing, which, not appearing essential, look like needless delays—how anxious to be present at every great decisive step, such as the fastening of two or three breadths of the plank together, or the screwing in of the legs! So, when the foundation of a house is chalked out, what delight is felt on the arrival of the first cart-load of stones or lime that is laid down; it is looked on as a most satisfactory indication that the work is seriously begun. Then the rearing of the walls goes on for some time, and the process of laying stone upon stone by repetition loses a little of its interest, and the anxiety is on the stretch for the appearance of windows; the workmen are persevering so long with dead wall, that there is an apprehension that these may be forgotten. The walls rise, and now to be absent from the grand step of beginning to erect the roof is a decided calamity; to avert which, the young observer, day after day,

stays till the last stroke of the school-hour, and a minute or two longer; but, oh! how lazy the men are, they don't seem to be beginning yet, and away the little thing must run, agitated by disappointment from behind and terror from before.

For the recovery to the mind of gratifications of a passion so intense, it is plain that many schemes will be tried—the breaking of complicated toys to see their inner working, and reconstruct them—the weighing in scales—the building of houses, either within doors, by books and cards and pieces of wood, or out of doors, with stones, mud, clods, boards, and whatever else may be got — the making of one's own whips, kites, &c.—the construction of ships to sail in pools; and, oh! the delight of seeing one of these moving from side to side by the wind, like a true ship acted on by an invisible and etherial and not a rude material agent, braving nobly the rippling of the pool, and while inclined to one side by the force of the breeze, sailing all the more majestically for it. Here there is a noble coincidence of one's own handiwork and property with the great stirring ideal of a true ship riding on the broad sea.

The realization of striking ideals is the strongest ambition of boyhood. Many of its sports are of an imitative character, such as the acting of soldiers, robbers, and police officers, to which the mind is powerfully excited after reading tales of war, marauding, or heroism. Students' guides, introductory lectures, recommendations of useful knowledge, biographies, act upon youth strongly by the ideals which they present of great learning, great genius, and industry surmounting impossibilities.

Toys properly adapted to this principle must be apparatus for imitating what boyhood is stirred with, and is able to imitate. A box full of pieces of wood of all sizes and thin pliable wire might contain materials of endless construction. Boys' folding-knives, chisels, gimlets, nails, a hammer, and small hand-saw, with a twelve-inch rule, and a rude square and plummet, may be allowed when the age of using them is reached, especially if, from proximity to workshops, the mind has been stimulated by the sight of carpenters' work. It is proper to divert the attention from impracticable attempts, such as constructing a steam-engine, a water-mill, or a full-rigged ship. In out-door work the imitation of the gardener, builder, and trencher, may be permitted. The digging of pits deep enough to conceal one's body altogether, and make a kind of abyss that would demand no small courage and strength to gain the earth's surface from, recovers to the youthful mind many a strange feeling, and has a kind of deep tragic interest.

Games of all sorts are the delight of boys; and in solitude

many a pleasant moment is spent in handling and counting the marbles, or other articles staked. The dreariness of school-hours is much relieved by handling even in the pockets these precious mementos; they bring up to the mind the vivid pictures of past games; and when rigid parents argue for the leaving of all these things at home, they proceed upon the fallacy of supposing that they serve their ends only on the arena of the playground, and the reluctance with which the pockets are emptied shows that the mere argument has not told.

It is impossible to calculate the amount of strength given to the young faculties through the magnetism of toys; it is probably more than that derived from any other quarter for the first seven years of life. The youth ought always to be seeing and handling something, and all varieties of things. To restore to him as much of his past imagery as possible, is to give pure intellectual and emotional delight, and exercise in him that great faculty which sustains the highest exertions of mind.

Girlish passions are more limited in scope than those of the boy. The young girl is not inspired by the same ideals as her brother, but it is essential to her present happiness and future mental vigour that she should have ideals, and realise them too. Whether the clothing and nursing of dolls is not made too much of we shall not say, but we have our doubts. We are certain, however, that the future character is largely determined by the early operations of intellect; and therefore we believe that any important change in the education of the female mind must begin in the regulation of the early visions and ideals, and the toys by which these and all past imagery are repeated in the mind's view.

It is a monstrous miscalculation in education when we refer the great process of mental improvement to the hour or two a day in which a constrained attention to book learning is kept up, and call the other eight or ten hours of the strong excitement of feeling and flow of intellect—play, sport, trifling, mere passing of time. A truer estimate would be, that the latter is to the former in effect upon the future being as a hundred to one. While the instructor in primers is making the young scholar attach sounds to letters, syllables, and words, by the operation of the adhesive faculty, where does he suppose is the other great faculty by which reasoning, imagination, and invention are to be sustained, getting fitting exercise? All that he gives it would not endow a boy of ten with the sagacity of a terrier. On the play-ground, in the streets and fields, gazing at shop windows, and getting stolen views at mechanics at their work, amid the trinkets and lumber and household operations of home, whether

rich or poor, by all the forms of trifling that the school-discipline allows—swinging the legs to and fro, running the toes along the seams of the floor, picking at the nail heads of the forms, scratching the desks with pins, studying the airs of the master, curling the leaves of the lesson book (the destruction of which perhaps shows more mind than its preservation), and in a boundless variety of circumstances, both natural and eccentric, is this great faculty, the glory of our nature, making its unobserved way amid frowns and rebukes and blows, and all kinds of obstructions, taken under care of Providence like the foundling and the outcast, until at last it is acknowledged as the greatest mark of honourable distinction belonging to humanity. The education of the youthful mind understood in this enlightened age !—it is only beginning to be studied. If the day ever come when the parent will see in the conversion of a forbidden, and formerly unnoticed and indifferent article, into a toy, as desirable an operation as the teacher sees in the comprehension of a truth, we shall then say that the science of education has progressed.

Keeping no longer by particular periods of life, we shall now indulge in a more excursive illustration of the actings of the assimilating faculty of our nature upon trifling objects.

Everybody knows what dreariness or vacuity of mind is, and in what circumstances we are overtaken by it—such as, when none of the stirring pursuits of life are in our view, or when we are not in a mood to entertain them. In such a state a great relief is found in anything that brings on the easy sparkle of the intellect—a variety of objects, each recalling from our Past some fellow of it, some principle shining in it, or an epithet appropriate to it. This succession of coincidences, the life of the intellect, dissolves the dreariness and thickness of the spirit. If the things of the Past bring up with them some accompaniment incongruous with the present, the result is, the feeling of the ludicrous, or laughter, that peculiar relaxation and dissolution of mind in which the spirits run on in full stream, and the cup of delight becomes filled to overflow.

Let us attend to a few of the contrivances we find made use of, by which in such situations objects are supplied to the mind as magnets of the Past. A watch, with chain, seals, and keys, is one resort of a vacant mind. It has a great range of affinities in the Past. In the first place, the grasping of the round, smooth, bulbous body of the watch in the hand, brings up the past experiences of clenching door handles, of securing articles closely locked up by the muscular power of the hand, of having firm, advantageous holds of things against attempts at seizure, and many other ideas varying with individual experience. Then

the holding of the chain and seals in suspension is strong in draughts upon the Past. Suspensions like this are connected with many feelings both of beauty and utility—such as the suspension of lamps, of bell-pulls, of goods drawn up to a loft, &c. Add to the suspension a gentle swing, and a new cluster of dim imagery brings up its attendant emotions. The easy sweep of the pendulum and pendulous objects is now present, with the feelings that may have grown upon it. This is better brought out if the watch be made the ball, and the seals the place of suspension. Next, holding the watch in the hand, we can twirl the chain round the finger, causing to appear images of whirling a sling, of spirals, screws, or of winding and roping, of a windlass, and a draw-well, with the idea of revolution round a centre. Then, the arrangements of seals and keys round the ring are numerous. If the chain be a multiple one, whose plies are kept together by a massive ring, the versatility and power of attraction is immensely increased. We do not mean to say that these configurations and evolutions actually bring up decided recognisable images of the particular objects that they simulate; but they certainly bring up general notions or ideas of them, which general notions, even, have a certain force of feeling around them; and this feeling, added to the temporary pleasure of the coincidences, forms a sensible contribution to the happiness of a vacant and desolate mind, though not a full satisfactory complement of enjoyment. Comparing the new fashion of watch-guards and thin flat watches with the old one of chain and seals, and bulbous watches, we admit to the former the pleasant idea of slipping into the waistcoat pocket without swelling out upon the breast, and also the suggestion of official pomp by the folds and crossing of the gold or silver watch-guard, but these we hold to be no equivalent to the power of alleviating solitude and dulness, which the old form has through its versatility and attractiveness.

Clerks, students, and writers of all sorts are apt to toy with pens, pencils, pencil-cases, and penknives. Each and all of these stand connected with a great range of their Past. The cutting away of a pen or a pencil for no purpose brings up the agreeable feelings that the prospective utility of these operations gave rise to—it restores a part of a scene of active and engrossing employment. In like manner, the drawing out and in of a pencil in a pencil-case is restorative of a fragment of the past, which in the destitution of other exercises occupies the mind again. When one takes out his pencil-case from his pocket, and runs out the pencil, whether he intend to use it or not, the act carries back his mind to those moments when he had a distinct end in view, which kept him alive and active, and the life and activity and

occupancy of mind come on him again faintly, though the specific end be wanting. These things, therefore, are so many messengers to summon up *past* states of activity and interest, when no *present* engrossing thing is to be had.

The operation of cutting is frequently had recourse to, as an amusement, at all periods of life. It is often associated with engrossing emotions, particularly those felt in planning an operation, and proceeding to execute it. When once a person has resolved upon any project, his mind is completely occupied by it, and after having once entered upon the work, he has room for nothing else in his thoughts till it be finished.* Thus, in taking aim to strike anything, the mind rests completely satisfied with one train of thought till the blow is given. There is no vacuity of mind in executing an interesting project, and hence the surest way of filling up vacant moments is to set upon new schemes, or revive the memory of old ones. Now from earliest boyhood cutting is associated with the execution of schemes, and there is scarce any period of life in which one may not engross one's mind by setting one's self to cut anything—wood, paper, cork, fruit, &c. Taking dinner would be the most unbearable, fatiguing operation of life, if there were in it no food for the mind. The artizan-like operations of spooning, cutting in proper directions and to proper sizes, and bringing together the right proportions of the different eatables, keep the intellectual powers and active principles alive. How torturing would it be to have nothing to do in taking our food but blindly receive each morsel into our mouths. The want of the play of mind would make us ravenous and impatient, as we see partly in children before they can help themselves; having nothing to stir our feelings but the gratification of taste and hunger, we should "bolt" without taking time to chew. By the mixing of intellectual operations and of the feelings which the schemes and pursuits of life give rise to with the pleasures of the palate, we eat deliberately, and enjoy our repast like rational beings. To the actings of one's own mind upon the necessary operations is usually added conversation, which heightens the intellectual and emotional element of the scene, and makes the gratification of the animal propensity still slower.

The cutting of desks, and tables, and church pews with penknives shows the propensity for planning and executing new schemes, lording it over propriety. There is no cure for this but a diversion of mind into a more harmless train of operations.

A pair of spectacles is a toy of great power. Being jointed,

* The exceptions to this too broadly stated principle do not affect the use here made of it.

it can be changed very much in its appearance. The two arms may have their ends brought together, so as to make a triangle, to which you may give various positions suggesting different structures. With one arm in your hand as an axle you may make the whole to revolve in wheel motion. You may balance it on your finger at different points—at the bridge between the eyes, at the angle of the arm, at a point near the middle of an arm; this operation of delicate balancing brings up from the Past, feelings of suspense and of nice accuracy of halving, which may entertain the mind a good while. You may wipe the eyes, feel their curvature, try their focus, &c. A pair of cast-off spectacles would make a toy for a child overflowing with intellectual life.

In walking abroad, a cane or a staff is an article whose power over the mind is immense. The very handling of it, the play it gives to the fingers, is suggestive and exhilarating. As we strike it on the ground, it brings up the imagery of pillars, props, and supports, with some of the emotion and interest which may have gathered around these in our minds. It adds to the effect of the minute imagery of the pathway or adjoining wall—the seams, hollows, protuberances, and inequalities of the stones or gravel, by enabling us to strike or punch the more conspicuous of them. The wielding of it brings up upon us the animating scenes of sword and cudgel play, of attack and defence, creates a robber or an insulting villain whom we knock down; we are re-inspired with the heroism which the tales, or sights, or experiences of war and violence and patriotism had formerly brought on. By striking little stones with it on the road we recal past sports and past occupations, and fill the mind with little schemes. But the mental magnetism of the walking stick is best seen in rural walks, where grass, thistles, nettles, and brambles grow; in knocking off the heads of the thistles, and beating down rank grass, a whole host of past things may flash up—burning images of cutting down enemies, of beating dogs, horses, or refractory human beings; the idea of planning a piece of destruction requiring some skill, and executing it well; the philosophic ideas of tenacity, brittleness, &c.

With a stout stick in a road well grown over with weeds, no one's mind need come to a stand. But when the rage for neatness and beauty has swept away every blade of vegetation from a rural walk, and lined both sides with stone walls, heaven keep pensive minds out there. In a fit of vacancy a mile of such a walk in solitude will bring a man sensibly nearer his grave. The bareness of a town street has been produced, without the buildings and the bustle that keep mind alive in the town. But in town

or country a walking stick will never leave the mind altogether empty and still. It is truly a noble instrument. It cheers the deserted mind of a beggar. Accursed be the features of that face that would sneer or frown at any living man for carrying a walking-stick. And if there be an inhabitant of these realms who is deterred by any expressions of opinion from carrying a staff in walking abroad, such an one is a slave in the worst sense; the operations of his mind are fettered, the run of his thoughts has been arrested. May the day of universal emancipation from such bondage come speedily.

It is common for people compelled to sit at a writing table and hear long-winded relations and harangues, which neither create interest nor exercise the intellect, to occupy themselves in fanciful drawings with pen and ink upon the paper before them. A current of thought from the Past thus sets in, affording a partial relief to the heaviness of the present scene.

When a person takes off his hat to speak to another, and holds it in his hand, he finds it a good toy, by manœuvring on which he can fill up the intervals of thought in the other's replies. He holds it by the brim, waves it up and down as if he were fanning himself, studies the different things to be seen inside—the mark of perspiration round the leather, the colour and texture of the lining, the maker's name (which is learned only on such occasions); he then turns it up into the wearing posture, and notes if the pile be well brushed down, smoothes it with his hand first round the side, and then on the crown by describing a spiral which exercises some ingenuity; being once set on, he finishes the job by dressing the brim in conclusion, and then holds it up before him to take a comprehensive view of it as thus improved; and in this way a stream of ideas is rushing past him, his affections are engrossed with the welfare of his hat. It is great cruelty to set one into a room to wait, and take away his hat from him, giving nothing in its place on which he may live the past over again while the present is delayed.

It is utterly impossible to lounge, even for a short time, in an artisan's shop, without setting ourselves to work on his tools. The materials on which to plan and execute are before us, and if it were only to cut into shreds a wood-shaving, or hammer a wire, we set head and hands agoing. In striking the workman's bench in a series of gentle blows that leave no mark, we are realising an image of what we have either done ourselves or seen others do for some really useful and interesting end; and the interest now attends the mockery or phantom of the process.

These examples show mature age resorting to the very operations in which childhood and youth are said to squander the

largest part of their time. What the young pursue systematically, the old use occasionally; and the occasional toying of the old is, in a measure, as essential to their endurance of existence as the making it a chief business is to the young. Let us attempt to point out a few of the occasions when the mind requires to be set in operation by trifles, so called because they have no recognized place in the serious business of life.

There are affections and feelings that the mind can derive happiness from for long periods. There are pleasures that sparkle for a moment and vanish. The coincidence of the past and present, one great elementary operation of intellect, gives rise to a delight of the latter kind, unless the Past bring along with it an atmosphere of permanent emotion. We must keep distinct the pleasure of the flash and the old pleasure that may happen to accompany the Past in its re-appearance on the stage; the former is always over in a few seconds, the latter may be of any duration. When we at any time depend on the first for our enjoyment, we must have a close succession of coincidences; when we have gained an enduring emotion, intellect may lie on its oars. Most of the pursuits of life are accompanied with enduring emotions. The necessaries and luxuries of life, sensual delights, wealth, rank, honour, power, fame, mental and moral greatness, the good of our fellows, heaven at last, are all objects of pursuit, which, while yet afar off, we can spend our time pleasantly in contemplating. But every one must have observed that there are only certain moods of mind in which we can find delight in ruminating on our chief good, or future possessions. These moods are such as, when our spirits are high and disposed to entertain all great schemes (intoxication causes this)—when we have had a successful turn, or have gained a decided step in any pursuit—when we feel ourselves particularly strong, and able to grapple with difficulties—when riding on the top of a prosperous wave—when a new scheme has just been planned—when our own views and hopes are re-echoed by others. In these moments a brilliant future illuminates the present; intellect is used to pass backward and forward before us its gorgeous scenes, to recount to us all the great things of our lot; it is a mere handmaid to assist our vision, its own proper delights are the small dust in the balance. These moods do not last; they cover but a small part of life. Much has to be otherwise filled up; and for one share of this filling up we resort to the Past. But before coming to the toy-brought Past, the book-brought Past is sought, and fills a considerable space. There still remains, however, in every one's life, crevices or little blanks, which, if left destitute, would acidulate the happiest lot. Let us now

enumerate a few. Hours or half hours of solitude, when indisposed to serious thinking or reading, and when no luminary either of hope or enjoyment is in view—when in a company where conversation is not very rich or sparkling, or the themes very engrossing—when waiting anywhere, in ante-room, drawing-room, business-office, workshop, &c.—when waiting for the replies of one whose ideas are slow—minutes of relaxation from labour, study, or business—intervals of deliberation either with ourselves alone or with others, when, seeing no quarter whence a decision may come, and yet unwilling to pronounce the affair impracticable, we drag on doing nothing—travelling by vehicles or on foot on dreary roads—listening to dull speeches, lectures, pleadings, sermons, &c., and waiting in public assemblies till these or other performances begin—hearing bores who cannot tell what they have got to say, or say it seven times over—giving instructions and observing whether they are comprehended—in situations where our labour and attention are intermitted, &c. &c. It will be seen, that in the best occupied minds there are blank moments wearisome to live through, that it is desirable that something should be done for these, and that if any apparatus for occupying them could be devised, it ought to make a part of household and pocket furniture. After providing for larger spaces, for days and hours, it remains to dispose agreeably of fragmentary groups of minutes.

For this purpose, we can do nothing better than generalize the occupations that are actually resorted to on these occasions when within reach. Toying and trifling, which *we* call exercising the highest function of the intellect in restoring the Past, let us erect into a system. Let us study the capabilities of different articles, and choose the best as models for a general manufacture. Let us have our small portables for the pocket, and our larger and more varied sets or stands of apparatus for the dwelling-house, the study, the waiting-room, the office, &c.

In speaking of the toys of childhood we recommended jointed and transformable things. These enable one to imitate a great number of objects or processes, or to realise many past states of mental occupation and interest. Thus, with a pair of draughting compasses, we can employ ourselves in stretching and bringing close the legs. The former recals to us the effort to stride over something, an effort often (as in trying the length of our own stride) accompanied with high interest. Having put the legs asunder some way, we can imitate walking with them, or rather slow, clumsy stumping, which will probably bring up and illustrate the idea of the nursery-book giants who take seven-league strides. We may also put them to their proper use of drawing circles,

which we can combine and complicate without end. We may imitate the pincers or nut-crackers by enclosing our finger between the legs, and squeezing either by the gaining or losing lever. The pincers itself is a good toy, as it bears a part in many operations. Along with these we may class the tongs, which is still more fertile in the idea of colossal striding, and also, from the large stretch of its extremities, is strongly attractive of ideas of grasping, enclosing, holding. A carpenter's rule, with its four divisions jointed to one another, has great versatility; when constructed on the scale of a foot it makes a good pocket toy, adding the occupation of measuring to the susceptibility of being formed into many shapes. A botanical glass with three eyes may, by the turning of one, two, or all of them, out of the case, in various combinations, afford considerable diversion. We alluded to spectacles formerly; they are of this class. Not merely draughting compasses, but all the articles of a case of mathematical instruments, pens, parallel rules, scales, &c., could be turned to account. A pocket knife, especially if double or treble bladed, may, by the angular motion and angular positions of the blades, create many coincidences of the above-mentioned kinds; and there is a new force of suggestion in the springs, which, acting over a certain range, defy us to keep the blades stationary within that range. Our natural disposition to overcome difficulties sets us to narrow this range if we can, by gently bringing the blade farther and farther out, eluding as if by stealth the spring's action.

We have thus one important class of toys—the jointed ones. If any one were to set to work upon them he could invent many new varieties, and improve upon the versatility and suggestiveness of these.

There is a little class of rigid toys that are of importance from the various ways in which they may be handled, and also from their exercise of the muscles of the fingers and arms,—a little rod like a pencil, a metallic ring or curved rod large enough to let in the hand, a ruler, a rod with a bulb at the end of it, &c. On the rods we can plait our fingers, and distort our hands; in the ring we can insert two fingers of each hand, and pull as if drawing it asunder. With a ruler or a poker we can operate in various ways; we can attempt to bend it over the knee or over the back of the neck, processes not only restorative of mental interest, but admirable for exercising those muscles which in mere walkers are neglected—the muscles of the superior extremities. There are many mistakes abroad on exercise. Walking brings only a small number of the muscles into action; the accompaniment of a walking-stick, so valuable as one of the keys

to the mental stores, makes the exertion more extended and equable. But, in addition, there is still imperiously demanded such operations as stretching the trunk, bending back upon our chair till it revolve on two legs, resting our whole weight through our hands upon chair-backs or stair-railings, lying on our backs and sides, and kicking about, yawning, and innumerable inelegant distortions, besides the above-mentioned operations upon the fingers and arms.

Next to single toys complete in themselves we have the infinity of combinations, or mutual actions of two or more articles.

One great division of this class includes knives, prickers, and edge tools of all sorts, with material on which to operate—pieces of wood, leather, cork, cloth, cords, chalk, &c. A pointed steel wire with a handle and a case would make a good pocket toy, along with bits of wood, or anything to probe and scratch upon; by it we could imitate writing, drawing, boring, cutting, &c. A knife whose blade has a sharp point serves some of the same purposes, and could also personate ripping and dissecting. A graver and a piece of boxwood would provoke an attempt at engraving; a process full of the interest of other cutting operations, added to that of attempting a higher than any of them.

Besides cutting toys, we can have little hammers, and fragile things, or articles with pieces in them requiring blows to fix or dislodge. Using a hammer implies aiming, uncertainty, and risk, and therefore combines a trial of skill with something of the engrossment of games of hazard. The same holds with balls used for striking distant things, as in knocking down pins.

Strings, chains, and articles suspended by them, to imitate pendulums, revolving bodies, collisions and blows—to bind and loose—to make devices of cordage and rigging, &c., might go over a wide range of thought.

Things to jingle on one another, making a sort of music, are not to be neglected. We find some relief and diversion of mind by beating one, two, three, the third beat emphatic, with a pencil on the table or across one of the fingers. Or one can beat time to some air that he is going over inaudibly in his mind.

Little chemical experiments of burning matches, papers, threads, wax, resin, &c., are very engrossing. With a light placed about the level of one's breast, a blowpipe, some wires, glass rods, and a few combustibles, one might get over a very dreary hour.

Of all these and such like articles only a few would make portable or pocket toys; the others are household articles. What we suggest, therefore, is to get up a collection of them into a stand or case to lie in waiting-rooms of all kinds, and in every

room where people are obliged to spend much of their waking time. A few small drawers at the base would contain little trinkets, balls, and the soft materials for edge tools; and the larger articles could be stuck into notches or holes in a platform surrounding a central pillar.

Compare this with some of the more costly methods of entertaining the mind, such as loading a drawing-room table (and in scarcely any other room will it be assumed that you have a mind) with elegantly bound books full of plates, or by curious specimens of natural history or antiquity, or by mere ornaments. As to looking at and admiring plates, it is dreadfully fatiguing; half an hour of it makes one's head dizzy.

Looking at fine shells, or minerals, or insects, when we have no knowledge of them, that is, when we cannot identify all their appearances with formerly learned principles, is nothing better than refined torture. New and complicated images are poured into the mind, which, having no ideas wherewith to harmonise them, and enable it to view them separately and successively, runs completely distracted, as if it were hearing six people speaking at once, or reading an unintelligible science. We are well aware that it is common to express gratification at seeing a splendid museum, though its objects be quite unintelligible; but the reasons for this are, that there is a slight gratification in casting our eyes on a new assemblage of striking objects,—that it is something to say we have seen what few see,—and that we should think it sacrilegious, and the sign of a barbarously ignorant mind, to confess that the sight had distracted and pained instead of interesting and refreshing us. There is a current hypocrisy here which no one has courage to shake off. But we assert, and defy it to be contradicted, that the gazing on unintelligible, dazzling objects, with a very little exception, is *in fact* most wearisome and hurtful, and that the nature of the human mind makes it so. With respect to ornaments and elegance, they help to diffuse an agreeable feeling over the mind; but if, as a subject of mental occupation, we are either summoned by others, or volunteer out of courtesy to *study* them, we find that they possess no material for it. After remarking the two or three points in which their fitness and beauty are conspicuous, we cannot raise another thought out of them; and if we persist, it is only keeping the mind on the rack.

But the pressing of improper objects upon the view is not the worst hardship in the present constitution of things; in many situations of waiting and suspense at the mercy of others, nothing is given to stir the intellect. We would fain hope that, at no distant time, it will be considered as barbarian cruelty to set a

person down in a naked lobby, beside a bare marble table, without one thing that he can take in his hand, or fix his eyes upon with ease, for ten seconds' continuance. To afford a straw, a wood-shaving, a bit of string, or a cinder, would be humanity; it would give some vent to a mind straitened and preying upon itself. We know not the precise usages of jails, but we may remark, that the effect of the punishment of solitary confinement depends upon the trifling articles that the criminal may be allowed to handle. Give a desperate fellow anything that would personate a weapon, and recal his past scenes of fighting and frenzy, and he would come out more hardened then he went in.

Before concluding our article let us recal in brief outline the chief topics that we have successively submitted to the reader:—the indications of the desire of handling or toying—the two great principles that sustain all the operations of the human intellect—the effect of toys in setting in action the principle of the reproduction of the Past by the attraction of similarity—the influence of toys upon the child, and the sort of toys that act best—their influence on boyhood and effect upon intellectual culture—the principle seen in operation in all periods of life—occasions when toys are required—the systematic classification of toys.

The actual introduction of the toying system in the way we suggest, would, at the outset, have a very comic effect. At present the handling propensity is gratified only by stealth, and, though observed working, can scarcely be made a subject of mutual remark in company, consistently with good breeding. But if each person were to take over to the fire with him from off the table his probe and piece of leather, as he does his toddy tumbler, his occupation would be common conversational property, and the occasion and magnet of innumerable witticisms. But a new and rich comic and conversational element introduced into life would be no small addition to social happiness. If the suggestiveness of toys was not only felt by individuals, but made occasionally the subject of mutual discussion, each telling what portion of his own Past they brought up, their intellectual action would be many times multiplied.

Stagnation of mind not only is present misery, but impairs the intellect; and, on the other hand, the full flow of mind is both pleasant and invigorating to the faculties; so that it is not even desirable that by the exercise of patience we should be habituated to endure the stagnation. It is not a matter of present comfort merely in which we may learn to deny ourselves, but touches our future welfare, the pitch of mental and moral greatness we may reach. Vacancies and moments of waiting and suspense look trifling individually, but their sum total would be found a fraction

of human life too large to lie unreclaimed from wearisomeness and attrition of intellect.*

In seeing after the comfort of our fellow creatures as well as our own, we must learn to take into account, that occupation of mind, whether engrossment by feeling or succession of thought, is as essential to them as warmth, wholesome food, or pure air. It is true we can attend to this only so far; but observe an instance of how far:—In monotonous employments which use the hands and not the head, there should be a separate provision for the head. One obvious provision is, knowledge of all sorts, and the associations and hopes connected with its acquisition—the book or lecture waiting at night, the meeting with intelligent and enthusiastic companions, the opportunity of communicating to those whom we delight in what we have acquired, &c. When we think upon the needs of all classes of humanity, and the small provision made for them, we are forced to assert that in one sense the mind of man, the greatest thing in the world, is among the least attended to.

Another remark, and our last. Having now had occasion to labour in a region of the human mind neglected by our written mental philosophy, we may remark of that science, that it will require to proceed a little farther into the minute anatomy of human life than it has ever yet done. At present this minute anatomising is left to novelists, who, even when their descriptions are truest to nature, render but lame accounts of causes or great principles; and though they give *knowledge*, it is not often in that sense in which it is *power:* it does not always teach us to control the acts and feelings which they describe. But description itself can never be perfect, unless observation be conducted under the light of great principles. No novelist, not even Dickens, has done full justice to the toy principle; and no one ever will until he conceive it aright as a principle. But let any one first learn the principle, and then proceed to study life in search of manifestations of its workings, and we fear not to say, that he will find ten times as many as have ever yet been recorded, besides obtaining a more exact account of each. N.

⁎ A good rational toy shop is still a desideratum in London, though something of the kind has been projected by the Christian Knowledge Society, at the suggestion of the Rev. Dr Short. One of the most useful toys for children is the Geographical Model, and another, the box of Architectural Solids, sold by G. Kershaw, 17 Wilderness row, Clerkenwell. The latter is a great improvement upon the boxes of common wooden bricks usually sold, it including a great variety of other forms required by children in their amateur building operations. Parents, also, would do well to obtain the Geometrical and Drawing Solids; and Mechanical Models, sold by Taylor and Walton, Upper Gower street.—Ed.

ART. V.—*Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians.* By George Catlin. In 2 vols. large 8vo. Published by the Author, at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly.

THIS is a remarkable book, written by an extraordinary man. We speak not of the work as a literary production, regarded as which its claims to merit would be very slight, but as a work valuable in the highest degree for its novel and curious information about one of the most neglected and least understood branches of the human family. Mr Catlin, without any pretension to talent in authorship, has yet produced a book which will live as a record when the efforts of men of much higher genius have been forgotten. It is somewhat remarkable, too, that we owe these volumes to Mr Catlin's neglect of literary studies. Had he, in the early part of his life, been less devoted to the pencil than the pen,—had he been more fond of his books than of rambling and sketching, he would certainly not have been led to form the singular and unexampled resolution of burying himself in the "far west" for a period of eight years, leaving his wife and friends, and breaking through all other ties, to give himself up to one object, that of becoming portrait painter to American Indians, and a faithful delineator of the manners, customs, and characters of races now rapidly passing away.

Great reason have we to be thankful that there is no conceivable pursuit for which there are not some men born with an especial taste and aptitude, and yet we are almost tempted to murmur against Providence that there was no Catlin in Cæsar's camp when he first invaded the English shores. How intense would have been the interest now attaching to a work in two volumes, with four hundred illustrations (the number this work contains), carefully engraved from original paintings, describing the ancient Britons, with the very features of their chiefs, the aspect of the country as it then appeared, the customs of the various tribes, and their habits, as connected, not merely with war, but with the every day occupations of their lives, with their hunting and cooking, their clothing and habitations, their marriages and festivals, and their religious or superstitious ceremonies. All this Mr Catlin has done for the copper-coloured tribes of America, destined apparently to speedy extinction; and in future ages his work, to the Anglo Saxon race then peopling the whole of that vast continent, will have the same interest which a similar work would now possess with us descended from the time of the aborigines of the British Isles.

Every one in London has seen Mr Catlin's unique gallery and his attractive exhibition of living models at the Egyptian Hall—we cannot too strongly recommend them to our country friends. We miss in these volumes the effect given by colouring in the original paintings; but when the exhibition is closed, these illustrations will be an acceptable substitute.

The letter press of the work contains the substance of the lectures Mr Catlin has delivered at various Institutions, with much additional matter that he thought it more convenient to arrange in the form of letters.

We could find fault with his want of order and method, yet, on the whole, we would rather have the work as it is, with all its interesting though sometimes prolix and confused details, than take it from the hands of a practised book-maker.

The first chapter, or Letter No. 1, gives the following general account of the Indians in their present and past state:—

"The Indians of North America, as I have before said, are copper-coloured, with long black hair, black eyes, tall, straight, and elastic forms—are less than two millions in number—were originally the undisputed owners of the soil, and got their title to their lands from the Great Spirit who created them on it,—were once a happy and flourishing people, enjoying all the comforts and luxuries of life which they knew of, and consequently cared for;—were sixteen millions in number, and sent that number of daily prayers* to the Almighty, and thanks for his goodness and protection. Their country was entered by white men, but a few hundred years since; and thirty millions of these are now scuffling for the goods and luxuries of life, over the bones and ashes of twelve millions of red men; six millions of whom have fallen victims to the small-pox, and the remainder to the sword, the bayonet, and whiskey; all of which means of their death and destruction have been introduced and visited upon them by acquisitive white men; and by white men, also, whose forefathers were welcomed and embraced in the land where the poor Indian met and fed them with 'ears of green corn and pemican.' Of the two millions remaining alive at this time, about 1,400,000 are already the miserable living victims and dupes of white man's cupidity; degraded, discouraged, and lost in the bewildering maze that is produced by the use of whiskey and its concomitant vices; and the remaining number are yet unroused and unenticed from their wild haunts or their primitive modes, by the dread or love of white man and his allurements."

Mr Catlin is no statist, and has forgotten to tell us when and how the census was taken which made the North American Indians originally sixteen millions, or which gives a population of thirty millions of white men to the Canadas and the United States. In both cases the exaggeration is obvious,

but there is yet no doubt of the fact that the Indians two centuries back were more numerous than at present, though no country was ever densely populated by tribes living in a continued state of warfare, and depending for subsistence entirely upon the chase.

Mr Catlin's first excursion was to the establishment of the Fur Company at the mouth of the Yellow Stone river.

Here he met with many Indians of various tribes, assembled for the purposes of trade with the company; among them the Mandans, to one of whose villages he afterwards paid a visit. The astonishment excited by the first introduction of portrait painting among the Mandans is well described:—

"Perhaps nothing ever more completely astonished these people than the operations of my *brush*. The art of portrait-painting was a subject entirely new to them, and, of course, unthought of; and my appearance here has commenced a new era in the arcana of *medicine* or mystery. Soon after arriving here, I commenced and finished the portraits of the two principal chiefs. This was done without having awakened the curiosity of the villagers, as they had heard nothing of what was going on, and even the chiefs themselves seemed to be ignorant of my designs, until the pictures were completed. No one else was admitted into my lodge during the operation; and when finished, it was exceedingly amusing to see them mutually recognizing each other's likeness, and assuring each other of the striking resemblance which they bore to the originals. Both of these pressed their hand over their mouths awhile in dead silence (a custom amongst most tribes when anything surprises them very much); looking attentively upon the portraits and myself, and upon the palette and colours with which these unaccountable effects had been produced."

"After I had finished the portraits of the two chiefs, and they had returned to their wigwams, and deliberately seated themselves by their respective firesides, and silently smoked a pipe or two (according to an universal custom), they gradually began to tell what had taken place; and at length crowds of gaping listeners, with mouths wide open, thronged their lodges; and a throng of women and children were about my house, and through every crack and crevice I could see their glistening eyes, which were piercing my hut in a hundred places, from a natural and restless propensity, a curiosity to see what was going on within. An hour or more passed in this way, and the soft and silken throng continually increased, until some hundreds of them were clung and piled about my wigwam, like a swarm of bees hanging on the front and sides of their hive.

"During this time, not a man made his appearance about the premises; after awhile, however, they could be seen, folded in their robes, gradually *sidling* up towards the lodge, with a silly look upon their faces, which confessed at once that curiosity was leading them reluctantly

where their pride checked and forbade them to go. The rush soon after became general, and the chiefs and medicine-men took possession of my room, placing *soldiers* (braves with spears in their hands) at the door, admitting no one, but such as were allowed by the chiefs, to come in.

"Mons. Kipp (the agent of the Fur Company, who has lived here eight years, and to whom, for his politeness and hospitality, I am much indebted) at this time took a seat with the chiefs, and, speaking their language fluently, he explained to them my views and the objects for which I was painting these portraits; and also expounded to them the manner in which they were made, at which they seemed all to be very much pleased. The necessity at this time of exposing the portraits to the view of the crowds who were assembled around the house, became imperative, and they were held up together over the door, so that the whole village had a chance to see and recognize their chiefs. The effect upon so mixed a multitude, who as yet had heard no way of accounting for them, was novel and really laughable. The likenesses were instantly recognized, and many of the gaping multitude commenced yelping; some were stamping off in the jarring dance—others were singing, and others again were crying—hundreds covered their mouths with their hands and were mute; others, indignant, drove their spears frightfully into the ground, and some threw a reddened arrow at the sun, and went home to their wigwams.

"The pictures seen,—the next curiosity was to see the man who made them, and I was called forth. Readers! if you have any imagination, save me the trouble of painting this scene. * * * * * * I stepped forth, and was instantly hemmed in by the throng. Women were gaping and gazing—and warriors and braves were offering me their hands,—whilst little boys and girls, by dozens, were struggling through the crowd to touch me with the ends of their fingers; and whilst I was engaged, from the waist upwards, in fending off the throng and shaking hands, my legs were assailed (not unlike the nibbling of little fish, when I have been standing in deep water) by children, who were creeping between the legs of the bystanders for the curiosity or honour of touching me with the end of their finger. The eager curiosity and expression of astonishment with which they gazed upon me, plainly showed that they looked upon me as some strange and unaccountable being. They pronounced me the greatest *medicine-man* in the world; for they said I had made *living beings*,—they said they could see their chiefs alive, in two places—those that I had made were a *little* alive—they could see their eyes move—could see them smile and laugh, and that if they could laugh they could certainly speak, if they should try, and they must therefore have *some life* in them.

"The squaws generally agreed, that they had discovered life enough in them to render my *médicine* too great for the Mandans; saying that such an operation could not be performed without

taking away from the original something of his existence, which I put in the picture, and they could see it move, could see it stir."

Mr Catlin, throughout his work, has made a mistaken application of the word "Medicine," using it as a generic word equivalent to "Mystery," instead of a specific name for one of the departments of Mystery, which the art of physic may indeed well be called both in America and Europe. Among the American Indians the village doctor is always the priest, and no cure is ever performed without the same kind of conjuration which accompanies their religious rites. The administrator of medicine is therefore a "mystery monger;" but it is wrong to call the priest, or mystery monger, "a medicine-man," because the use of medicine is only one of the mysteries in which he deals. When the two chiefs pronounced the words, "Te-ho-pe-nee-Wash-ee," Mr Catlin was not addressed with the title of "great medicine white man," as he supposed, but with the title of "great white conjuror," though we could almost say that Mr Catlin was "no conjuror" not to make this obvious distinction.

He commits the same error when describing the charm or talisman carried by the Indians as a protection in war, and from danger of every kind; but instead of using either of those appropriate terms, he calls the charm, or talisman, "a medicine bag," reminding us of a box of pills, though the bag contains no pills, nor anything intended to be used as medicine. It is very noteworthy how closely this superstition of the talisman corresponds with the Arabic customs of the East:—

"These bags are constructed of the skins of animals, of birds, or of reptiles, and ornamented and preserved in a thousand different ways, as suits the taste or freak of the person who constructs them. These skins are generally attached to some part of the clothing of the Indian, or carried in his hand—they are oftentimes decorated in such a manner as to be exceedingly ornamental to his person, and always are stuffed with grass, or moss, or something of the kind; and generally without drugs or medicines within them, as they are religiously closed and sealed, and seldom, if ever, to be opened. I find that every Indian in his primitive state carries his medicine-bag in some form or other, to which he pays the greatest homage, and to which he looks for safety and protection through life—and in fact, it might almost be called a species of idolatry; for it would seem, in some instances, as if he actually worshipped it. Feasts are often made, and dogs and horses sacrificed, to a man's medicine; and days, and even weeks, of fasting and penance of various kinds are often suffered, to appease his medicine, which he imagines he has in some way offended.

"This curious custom has principally been done away with along the frontier, where white men laugh at the Indian for the obser-

vance of so ridiculous and useless a form: but in this country it is in full force, and every male in the tribe carries this, his supernatural charm or guardian, to which he looks for the preservation of his life in battle or in other danger; at which times it would be considered ominous of bad luck and an ill fate to be without it.

"The manner in which this curious and important article is instituted is this: a boy, at the age of fourteen or fifteen years, is said to be making or "forming his medicine," when he wanders away from his father's lodge, and absents himself for the space of two or three, and sometimes even four or five, days; lying on the ground in some remote or secluded spot, crying to the Great Spirit, and fasting the whole time. During this period of peril and abstinence, when he falls asleep, the first animal, bird, or reptile, of which he dreams (or pretends to have dreamed, perhaps), he considers the Great Spirit has designated for his mysterious protector through life. He then returns home to his father's lodge, and relates his success; and after allaying his thirst, and satiating his appetite, he sallies forth with weapons or traps, until he can procure the animal or bird, the skin of which he preserves entire, and ornaments it according to his own fancy, and carries it with him through life, for 'good luck' (as he calls it); as his strength in battle—and in death his guardian *Spirit*, that is buried with him; and which is to conduct him safe to the beautiful hunting grounds, which he contemplates in the world to come.

"The value of the medicine-bag to the Indian is beyond all price; for to sell it, or give it away, would subject him to such signal disgrace in his tribe, that he could never rise above it; and again, his superstition would stand in the way of any such disposition of it, for he considers it the gift of the Great Spirit. An Indian carries his *medicine-bag* into battle, and trusts to it for his protection; and if he loses it thus, when fighting ever so bravely for his country, he suffers a disgrace scarcely less than that which occurs in case he sells or gives it away; his enemy carries it off and displays it to his own people as a trophy; whilst the loser is cut short of the respect that is due to other young men of his tribe, and for ever subjected to the degrading epithet of "a man without medicine," or "he who has lost his medicine," until he can replace it again, which can only be done by rushing into battle and plundering one from an enemy whom he slays with his own hand. This done, his medicine is restored, and he is reinstated again in the estimation of his tribe; and even higher than before, for such is called the best of medicine, or '*medicine honourable.*'

"It is a singular fact, that a man can institute his mystery or medicine, but once in his life; and equally singular that he can reinstate himself by the adoption of the medicine of his enemy; both of which regulations are strong and violent inducements for him to fight bravely in battle: the first, that he may protect and preserve his medicine; and the second, in case he has been so unlucky as to lose it, that he may restore it, and his reputation

also, while he is desperately contending for the protection of his community.

"During my travels thus far, I have been unable to buy a medicine-bag of an Indian, although I have offered them extravagant prices for them; and even on the frontier, where they have been induced to abandon the practice, though a white man may induce an Indian to relinquish his medicine, yet he cannot *buy* it of him—the Indian in such case will bury it, to please a white man, and save it from his sacrilegious touch; and he will linger around the spot, and at regular times visit it, and pay it his devotions, as long as he lives."

It has often been observed by writers on education, that there is no such person as an individual perfectly uneducated. The mind cannot remain untaught; we are always learning something, profitable, useless, or mischievous, from the cradle to the grave;—but education is of various kinds, and the question is simply, which is better for the people—that of schools, or the education of the beer-shop and street? With the Mandans education means training in the art of war; and our readers may be interested with an account of the methods pursued by tutors employed

"To teach the young idea how to *scalp*."

"During the pleasant mornings of the summer, the little boys between the age of seven and fifteen are called out, to the number of several hundred, and being divided into two companies, each of which is headed by some experienced warrior, who leads them on in the character of a teacher; they are led out into the prairie at sunrise, where this curious discipline is regularly taught them. Their bodies are naked, and each one has a little bow in his left hand, and a number of arrows made of large spears of grass, which are harmless in their effects. Each one has also a little belt or girdle around his waist, in which he carries a knife made of a piece of wood and equally harmless; on the tops of their heads are slightly attached small tufts of grass, which answer as scalps, and in this plight they follow the dictates of their experienced leaders, who lead them through the judicious evolutions of Indian warfare—of feints—of retreats—of attacks—and at last to a general fight. Many manœuvres are gone through, and eventually they are brought up face to face, within fifteen or twenty feet of each other, with their leaders at their head stimulating them on. Their bows are bent upon each other and their missiles flying, whilst they are dodging and fending them off.

"If any one is struck with an arrow on any vital part of his body, he is obliged to fall, and his adversary rushes up to him, places his foot upon him, and snatching from his belt his wooden knife, grasps hold of his victim's scalp-lock of grass, and making a feint at it with his wooden knife, twitches it off and puts it into his belt, and enters again into the ranks and front of battle.

"This mode of training generally lasts an hour or more in the

morning, and is performed on an empty stomach, affording them a rigid and wholesome exercise, whilst they are instructed in the important science of war. Some five or six miles of ground are run over during these evolutions, giving suppleness to their limbs and strength to their muscles, which last and benefit them through life.

"After this exciting exhibition is ended, they all return to their village, where the chiefs and braves pay profound attention to their vaunting, and applaud them for their artifice and valour.

"Those who have taken scalps then step forward, brandishing them and making their boast as they enter into the *scalp-dance* (in which they are also instructed by their leaders or teachers), jumping and yelling—brandishing their scalps, and reciting their *sanguinary deeds*, to the great astonishment of their tender aged sweethearts, who are gazing with wonder upon them."

Among the notices connected with the subject of natural history, we have a lengthened account, illustrated by grapic sketches, of the buffalo and antelope of the prairies; but less familiar to the public are the gregarious habits of the prairie dog.

"The dog of the American Prairies is undoubtedly a variety of the marmot; and probably not unlike those which inhabit the vast Steppes of Asia. It bears no resemblance to any variety of dogs, except in the sound of its voice, when excited by the approach of danger, which is something like that of a very small dog, and still much more resembling the barking of a grey squirrel.

"The size of these curious little animals is not far from that of a very large rat, and they are not unlike them in their appearance. As I have said, their burrows are uniformly built in a lonely desert; and away, both from the proximity of timber and water. Each individual, or each family, dig their hole in the prairie, to the depth of eight or ten feet, throwing up the dirt from the excavation, in a little pile, in the form of a cone, which forms the only elevation for them to ascend, where they sit, to bark and chatter when an enemy is approaching their village. These villages are sometimes of several miles in extent; containing (I would almost say) myriads of their excavations and little dirt hillocks, and to the ears of their visitors, the din of their barkings is too confused and too peculiar to be described.

"In the present instance, we made many fruitless endeavours to shoot them; but found our efforts to be entirely in vain. As we were approaching them at a distance, every one seemed to be perched up on his hind feet, on his appropriate domicile, with a significant jerk of his tail at every bark, positively disputing our right of approach. I made several attempts to get near enough to "draw a head" upon one of them; and just before I was ready to fire (and as if they knew the limits of their safety), they sprang down into their holes, and instantly turning their bodies, shewed their ears and the

ends of their noses, as they were peeping out at me; which position they would hold, until the shortness of the distance subjected their scalps to danger again, from the aim of a rifle; when they instantly disappeared from our sight, and all was silence thereafter, about their premises, as I passed them over; until I had so far advanced by them, that their ears were again discovered, and at length themselves, at full length, perched on the tops of their little hillocks and threatening as before; thus gradually sinking and rising like a wave before and behind me.

"The holes leading down to their burrows are four or five inches in diameter, and run down nearly perpendicular; where they undoubtedly communicate into something like a subterraneous city (as I have formerly learned from fruitless endeavours to dig them out), undermined and vaulted; by which means they can travel for a great distance under ground, without danger from pursuit.

"Their food is simply the grass in the immediate vicinity of their burrows, which is cut close to the ground by their flat shovel teeth; and, as they sometimes live twenty miles from any water, it is to be supposed that they get moisture enough from the dew on the grass, on which they feed chiefly at night; or that (as is generally supposed) they sink wells from their underground habitations, by which they descend low enough to get their supply. In the winter, they are for several months invisible; existing, undoubtedly, in a torpid state, as they certainly lay by no food for that season—nor can they procure any. These curious little animals belong to almost every latitude in the vast plains of prairie in North America; and their villages, which I have sometimes encountered in my travels, have compelled my party to ride several miles out of our way to get by them; for their burrows are generally within a few feet of each other, and dangerous to the feet and the limbs of our horses."

One of the best anecdotes in a work, which is almost inexhaustible in materials for quotation, is one relating to the author's horse "Charley," a noble animal of the Camanchee wild breed.

"On this journey, while he and I were twenty-five days alone, we had much time, and the best of circumstances, under which to learn what we had as yet overlooked in each other's characters, as well as to draw great pleasure and real benefit from what we already had learned of each other in our former travels.

"I generally halted on the bank of some little stream, at half-an-hour of sunset, where feed was good for Charley, and where I could get wood to kindle my fire, and water for my coffee. The first thing was to undress 'Charley,' and drive down his picket, to which he was fastened, to graze over a circle that he could inscribe at the end of his laso. In this wise he busily fed himself until nightfall; and after my coffee was made and drank, I uniformly moved him up, with his picket by my head, so that I could lay my hand upon his laso in an instant, in case of any alarm that was liable to drive him

from me. On one of these evenings when he was grazing as usual, he slipped the laso over his head, and deliberately took his supper at his pleasure, wherever he chose to prefer it, as he was strolling around. When night approached, I took the laso in hand and endeavoured to catch him, but I soon saw that he was determined to enjoy a little freedom; and he continually evaded me until dark, when I abandoned the pursuit, making up my mind that I should inevitably lose him, and be obliged to perform the rest of my journey on foot. He had led me a chase of half a mile or more, when I left him busily grazing, and returned to my little solitary bivouac, and laid myself on my bear-skin and went to sleep.

"In the middle of the night I waked, whilst I was lying on my back, and on half opening my eyes, I was instantly shocked to the soul, by the huge figure (as I thought) of an Indian standing over me, and in the very instant of taking my scalp! The chill of horror that paralyzed me for the first moment, held me still till I saw there was no need of my moving—that my faithful horse 'Charley' had 'played shy' till he had 'filled his belly,' and had then moved up, from feelings of pure affection, or from instinctive fear, or possibly from a due share of both, and taken his position with his fore-feet at the edge of my bed, with his head hanging directly over me, while he was standing fast asleep!

"My nerves, which had been most violently shocked, were soon quieted, and I fell asleep, and so continued until sunrise in the morning, when I waked, and beheld my faithful servant at some considerable distance, busily at work picking up his breakfast amongst the cane-brake, along the bank of the creek. I went as busily to work, preparing my own, which was eaten; and after it I had another half-hour of fruitless endeavours to catch Charley, whilst he seemed mindful of success on the evening before, and continually tantalized me by turning around and around, and keeping out of my reach. I recollected the conclusive evidence of his attachment and dependence, which he had voluntarily given in the night, and I thought I would try them in another way; so I packed up my things, and slung the saddle on my back, trailing my gun in my hand, and started on my route. After I had advanced a quarter of a mile, I looked back, and saw him standing with his head and tail very high, looking alternately at me and at the spot where I had been encamped, and left a little fire burning. In this condition he stood and surveyed the prairies around for a while, as I continued on. He at length walked with a hurried step to the spot, and seeing everything gone, began to neigh very violently, and at last started off at fullest speed, and overtook me, passing within a few paces of me, and wheeling about at a few rods distance in front of me, trembling like an aspen-leaf.

"I called him by his familiar name, and walked up to him with the bridle in my hand, which I put over his head, as he held it down for me, and the saddle on his back, as he actually stooped to receive it. I was soon arranged, and on his back, when he

started off upon his course as if he was well contented and pleased, like his rider, with the manœuvre which had brought us together again, and afforded us mutual relief from our awkward positions. Though this alarming freak of 'Charley's' passed off and terminated so satisfactorily, yet I thought such rather dangerous ones to play, and I took good care after that night to keep him under my strict authority; resolving to avoid further tricks and experiments till we got to the land of cultivated fields and steady habits."

We must not pass over the description which follows:—

"On the night of this memorable day, Charley and I stopped in one of the most lovely little valleys I ever saw, and even far more beautiful than could have been *imagined* by mortal man. An enchanting little lawn of five or six acres, on the banks of a cool and rippling stream, that was alive with fish; and every now and then a fine brood of young ducks, just old enough for delicious food, and too unsophisticated to avoid an easy and simple death. This little lawn was surrounded by bunches and copses of the most luxuriant and picturesque foliage, consisting of lofty bois d'arcs and elms, spreading out their huge branches, as if offering protection to the rounded groups of cherry and plum-trees that supported festoons of grape-vines, with their purple clusters that hung in the most tempting manner over the green carpet that was everywhere decked out with wild flowers of all tints and of various sizes, from the modest wild sun-flowers, with their thousand tall and drooping heads, to the lillies that stood, and the violets that crept beneath them. By the side of this cool stream Charley was fastened, and near him my bear-skin was spread in the grass, and by it my little fire, to which I soon brought a fine string of perch from the brook; from which, and a broiled duck, and a delicious cup of coffee, I made my dinner and supper, which were usually united in one meal, at half-an-hour's sun. After this I strolled about this sweet little paradise, which I found was chosen, not only by myself, but by the wild deer, which were repeatedly rising from their quiet lairs, and bounding out, and over the graceful swells of the prairies which hemmed in and framed this little picture of sweetest tints and most masterly touches.

"The Indians, also, I found had loved it once, and left it; for here and there were their solitary and deserted graves, which told, though briefly, of former chaunts and sports; and perhaps, of wars and deaths, that have once rung and echoed through this little silent vale."

Mr Catlin's sympathy with the Indian races, and his advocacy of their cause against the injustice with which they have often been treated by the whites, command our respect. He satisfactorily disproves, in their defence, the charge of wanton cruelty, and shows that the objections of the savage to the usages and ideas of modern civilization are not very easily met:—

* * "Amongst these tribes that torture their prisoners, these

cruelties are practised but upon the few whose lives are required to atone for those who have been similarly dealt with by their enemies, and the *remainder are adopted into the tribe*, by marrying the widows whose husbands have fallen in battle, in which capacity they are received and respected like others of the tribe, and enjoy equal rights and immunities. And before we condemn them too far, we should yet pause and inquire whether in the enlightened world we are not guilty of equal cruelties—whether in the ravages and carnage of war, and treatment of prisoners, we practise any virtue superior to this? and whether the annals of history which are familiar to all, do not furnish abundant proof of equal cruelty to prisoners of war, as well as in many instances to the members of our own respective communities. It is a remarkable fact, and one well recorded in history, as it deserves to be, to the honour of the savage, that no instance has been known of violence to their captive females, a virtue yet to be learned in civilized warfare.

"If their punishments are certain and cruel, they have the merit of being *few*, and those confined chiefly to their enemies. It is natural to be cruel to enemies; and in this I do not see that the improvements of the enlightened and Christian world have yet elevated them so very much above the savage. To their friends, there are no people on earth that are more kind; and cruelties and punishments (except for capital offences) are amongst themselves entirely dispensed with. No man in their communities is subject to any restraints upon his liberty, or to any corporal or degrading punishment; each one valuing his limbs, and his liberty to use them, as his inviolable right, which no power in the tribe can deprive him of; whilst each one holds the chief as amenable to him as the most humble individual in the tribe.

"On an occasion when I had interrogated a Sioux chief, on the Upper Missouri, about their Government, their punishments and torture of prisoners, for which I had freely condemned them for the cruelty of the practice, he took occasion, when I had got through, to ask *me* some questions relative to modes in the *civilized world*, which, with his comments upon them, were nearly as follow, — and struck me, as I think they must every one, with great force:—

"'Among white people, nobody ever take your wife—take your children—take your mother, cut off nose—cut eyes out—burn to death?' No! 'Then *you* no cut off nose—*you* no cut out eyes—*you* no burn to death—very good.'

"He also told me he had often heard that white people hung their criminals by the neck and choked them to death like dogs, and those their own people; to which I answered 'Yes.' He then told me he had learned that they shut each other up in prisons, where they keep them a great part of their lives, *because they can't pay money!* I replied in the affirmative to this, which occasioned great surprise and excessive laughter, even amongst the women. He told me that he had been to our Fort, at Council Bluffs, where we had a great many warriors and braves, and he saw three of them taken out on the

prairies, and tied to a post and whipped almost to death; and he had been told that they submit to all this to get a little money.—'Yes.' He said he had been told, that when all the white people were born, their white *medicine-men* had to stand by and look on—that in the Indian country the women would not allow that—they would be ashamed: that he had been along the Frontier, and a good deal amongst the white people, and he had seen them whip their little children—a thing very cruel: he had heard, also, from several white *medicine-men*, that the Great Spirit of the white people was the child of a white woman, and that he was at last put to death by the white people! This seemed to be a thing that he had not been able to comprehend, and he concluded by saying, 'The Indians' Great Spirit got no mother; the Indians no kill him, he never die.' He put me a chapter of other questions, as to the trespasses of the white people on their lands; their continual corruption of the morals of their women; and digging open the Indians' graves, to get their bones, &c. To all of which I was compelled to reply in the affirmative, and quite glad to close my note-book, and quietly to escape from the throng that had collected around me, and saying (though to myself and silently), that these and a hundred other vices belong to the civilized world, and are practised upon (but certainly in no instance reciprocated by) the 'cruel and relentless savage.'"

Here we take our leave of a work over which we have lingered with much pleasure, strongly recommending it, notwithstanding its literary defects, to the reader, and hoping its extensive sale will amply repay Mr Catlin for the great outlay he must have incurred. E.

ART. VI.—1. *Preussen und Preussenthum von* J. VENEDEY Mannheim, 1839.

2. *Preussen und Frankreich Staats Wirtschaftlich und Politisch von* DAVID HANSEMANN. 2te. Auflage. Leipzig, 1834.

3. *Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preussisches Staaten Herausgegeben von Kammergerichtsrath Mannkopf.* Berlin, 1837-8. 6 Bände.

4. *Der Deutsche Bundestag, eine Politische Skizze von* GUSTAF KOMBST. Strasburg, 1836.

5. *Authentische Ahtenstücke aus den Archiven des Deutschen Bundes von* GUSTAF KOMBST. 2te Auflage. Leipzig, 1838.

6. *Geschichte des Preussischen Staats von* G. A. H. STENZEL. Hamburg, 1830-37. Bände, 1-2.

THERE is a fashion abroad at present of praising Prussia by wholesale, as in all things it is also orthodox to suspect Russia; and these fashions are, no doubt, not mere whims snapped

out of the air, but multiplied echoes of a real sound. There is something strange, however, in them both, particularly in that which affects Prussia. There was a time in the political annals of this country when Neptune and Freedom, in rival strophe and anti-strophe, delighted to chaunt our praises; when—

> "All the globe round
> No spot could be found
> So happy as this little island."

But now, it seems, there is neither happiness nor freedom to be found within the three angles of our triangle; and we are solemnly assured that "to find a practical example of the blessings that are commonly supposed to be the necessary results of liberty, we are obliged to turn from the country rife with it to a country where it is nominally extinct"—this country being Prussia.

It is only lately, however, that the Tories have discovered the excellence of absolutism in Prussia. With the passing of the Reform Bill, in the estimation of those men, the immortal glories of the British constitution suddenly paled, became utterly extinguished (like John Keats' fiery particle), by a vulgar pair of Whig candle-snuffers; our freedom suddenly became slavery, because the aristocratic interest was no longer free to have everything its own way; and our "snug little island" was snug no more, because the Tories were no longer snug in their places.

We, on the other hand, plead guilty to some very Liberal, or, we should rather hope, British prejudices in reference to this subject. Let parties change as they may, we feel strongly that we can have no community of feeling with continental despotism under any Avatar; and we are compelled to say so. For as to that cosmopolitan musing over a thing, and floating round about it with sublime indifference, which some will praise as the true historical position, we do not affect it; we can see with our own eyes only, and from that ground where God has planted us. Neither can we assume a philosophic air, and set out by stating that forms of government are indifferent;

> "That which is best administered is best."

For such forms, political and ecclesiastical, are not mere dresses, names, and fashions, which are so to-day for no better reason than because they were *not* so yesterday; they are embodiments; they express and represent, and are vitally combined with a principle. But on the other hand, while we must see the thing with British eyes, we are bound to keep them wide open to Prussian, not to English lights. Spandau, for instance, with our

illumination, is merely a dark dungeon, clad with liverwort and peopled with toads: while to Prussian lights it is a neat and admirably organized lunatic asylum, where every shatter-pated extravagant that with us makes a foolish noise in the world and disturbs the public peace—Chartist, Puseyite, Non-Intrusionist, Orangeist—is seasonably lodged, and paternally cared for. Young men are called striplings, according to Skinner, because until majority they are subject to stripes; and in this etymology we see certainly one side of the *paternal* system in Prussia, and why its state prisons were at one time so plentifully peopled.

One general remark of an historical nature we must make before endeavouring to present our readers with a short analysis of the Prussian system. The laudators of this "liberal and paternal despotism" make a grand blunder in the very threshold of their political philosophy. They would teach us by living example how much more admirably reforms are conducted by an absolute monarch than by a free people; but they forget to tell us what history speaks in the plainest phrase, that had it not been for the example and influence and *fear* of a free people, the lauded reforms of despotism had never seen the light. The 4th of August, 1789, mad as that night was, must be looked upon by the philosopher and historian as the proper father of all the late King of Prussia's legislative wisdom; and the Prussian system, as it was in the year 1806, and as it is now essentially, had as little to do with the great reforms of 1808-12 as Sir Robert Peel's genius with the Catholic Emancipation Bill in 1829. Altogether, the student of social science will observe that many things which we admire most in Berlin and Vienna, were done, not by virtue of the system, but in spite of it. Joseph II did not legislate for Austria on Austrian principles, any more than the late Sultan Mahmoud found his blue surtout in the streets of Stamboul. As little did Stein do what he did for Prussia on Prussian principles. Prussian principles had fought and lost the battle of Jena; and what was done afterwards was done altogether on French principles, only not at all in a French fashion. The 'Landrecht' itself is very honest on this head. The edict of 27th October, 1811, in ordering an equality of taxation throughout the kingdom, assigns as reasons for this procedure, first, that the immunities formerly recognized in this matter were contrary to natural justice; and second, that they are "quite incompatible with the spirit of the laws that now prevail in the neighbouring states,"—a plain enough reference to France and the principles of the French Revolution. The French Revolution was, in fact, acted over again in Prussia after the battle of Jena; the Prussian

system proper had been weighed in the balance and found wanting; necessity pressed; ruin looked the monarchy sternly in the face; there was no time for half-measures, no choice of counsellors; Frederick William took a Stein, a Scharnhorst, and an Arndt into his counsels,* as Louis XVI took a Mirabeau; he became liberal and democratic, because despotism and aristocracy had brought the monarchy to the brink of ruin; in his reforms there was nothing of that grand prophetic instinct which feels the need of the future, and provides for it; his only virtue was the compulsory courage of the man who, because his eye offends him, plucks it out, knowing certainly that, if he does not do so, his whole body will be cast into hell-fire; and he appears wiser than Louis XVI, only because God raised up wiser ministers to advise, and a stronger necessity to compel him. Above all, there was the fearful sign of French terrorism hanging, like a pillar of fire and a pillar of cloud, over all Europe; that was not a thing which the most frivolous could presume to despise; and to wise and patriotic statesmen, like Stein and Hardenberg, it taught the solemn lesson that the only way to prevent the late outbreaking of popular vengeance, is with timely wisdom to redress popular wrongs.

In order to form a just notion of the Prussian system as it at present exists, we must set out from the state of parties as it was in Germany immediately after the peace. That this was no quiet or very manageable element, but full of fermentation and strife, we may well conceive. A people long accustomed to do nothing for themselves, used merely as instruments by aristocracy and police, had suddenly been called into independent action—had been made men, citizens, and soldiers, saviours of their country, conquerors of Napoleon, and deliverers of Europe. They who under the old system could have no marks to show but the mark of the corporal's cane, now went about in public places studded with Russian and Prussian crosses, beholding the ruddy countenance of Alexander in joy, and boasting that the stiff, formal paternity of Frederick William sat upon the throne of "old Fritz" by the grace of God certainly, but also by the strength of their arms. This was a state of things altogether new in Prussia; and to new circumstances, as all history teaches, only great and original minds are equal. The late king was a decent, respect-

* Arndt was not literally in the counsels of the King of Prussia in 1813, but he was Stein's right-hand man, and did more for the restoration of the monarchy than any other man, except Stein himself, Hardenberg, Scharnhorst, and Blücher. For these services he was rewarded as all honest and energetic Germans were after the peace, by state prosecutions, inquisitions, and harassments of every kind.—See his Memoirs lately published.

able, stern old gentleman, but without any great grasp of mind or nobility of sentiment; as an elder of a Calvinistic, or, as he was fond of phrasing it, Evangelical church, he might have been an ornament to any parish; as king in a limited monarchy like Great Britain he might have been respectable; as king in Prussia he was only not bad. It is not in him, accordingly, that we are to look for the moving power of the Prussian system as it has been working for the last twenty-five years; he did no more in Prussia (except in the one famous matter of forcing a church-union between Calvinists and Lutherans, and making a liturgy) than a sovereign of his calibre might have done in Great Britain; he did not control, but was controlled by the existing parties; he was the slave, not the shaper of the system. The parties with whom he had to deal were two; the Liberal party raised up by Stein, Scharnhorst, Arndt, and the popular enthusiasm of the liberation war; and the old absolutist aristocratic party, which had reigned supreme before the battle of Jena, and with other restorations now hoped to be restored in Prussia (as already in Hanover and Hessia it was being gallantly restored) to its ancient and legitimate ascendancy. The arguments of these two parties we may suppose pleaded before his Prussian Majesty, in 1816, somewhat in the following shape.

For the Liberal party it would be urged that democracy, philosophically considered, was an element that, whether statesmen relished it or not, seemed destined to enter strongly into all the forms of modern political development. That in Britain it had grown up gradually—in France been introduced volcanically—and in Prussia, by the reforms of Stein and Hardenberg, surgically. That the question for the King of Prussia's consideration was not whether he should go back to the old despotic system (for that was impossible), but how he could most wisely and safely develop to full fruition the democratic germs sown into the soil by the legislation of the last ten years. That democracy was dangerous only when left to itself—when smothered, and forced to find vent by fitful impulses; but that, when cherished and fairly treated by a paternal prince, it was the true stay and support of monarchy. That not only were the reforms of Stein and Hardenberg, by which the state had been saved, essentially popular and liberal in their nature, but the Congress of Vienna had expressly promised a representative constitution to the German States, and the King of Prussia had in the same year (1815) publicly confirmed that promise with reference to his kingdom. That though a representative constitution in the Anglo-French case might, in a Catholic country like Austria, be neither desirable nor practicable, yet in Protestant Prussia, where freedom of thought had

been long native, and a high state of intellectual culture attained, a free government was the only natural, the only possible government. That of all European people the Germans—not restless turmoilers, like the French, possessed habitually by Hopdance and Flibbertigibbet, but solid, sensible, and systematic in all things—were the most fitted to exercise the important functions of self-government. That the municipal order established by Stein was, in fact, a confession and a proof of this; but that such a free constitution in the bourghs would be altogether an anomaly and an absurdity unless extended to the general government of the country. Further, that in Rhenish Prussia, an extensive and important province, many popular institutions already existed which the people clung to with affection, and which it would be impossible to supplant by the military system. That it was of the utmost consequence for Prussia to conciliate this province, a new acquisition, and not without French sympathies. That not in the Rhenish provinces only, but over the whole of Germany, especially in the south-west States, Liberalism was strong. That in Austria and Prussia there was, and must always be, a rivalry and a competition for the protectorate of the minor German States; and in this view Prussia had to consider not only what was proper for herself in her own internal organization, but what was politic for her in relation to the minor German States. That by taking a decidedly liberal course, in opposition to Austria, Prussia had a sure and speedy way of acquiring the ascendancy, and taking the lead in Germany, while, as an enlightened Protestant power, if she attached herself to Metternich and the system of political and ecclesiastical obscuration which he represented, she would act in direct contradiction to her own principles, sink in that public estimation which had now placed her so high, and be obliged to assume the humiliating position of political equerry to Austria. By moral might and by popular sympathy only could Prussia hope to counteract in any degree the superior physical influence of Austria; if she threw away this, and, in the spirit of ante-Jenensian policy, sought to base herself on the mere mechanics of military, bureaucratic, and aristocratic puppetry, her fate was sealed. She might go on comfortably enough, as despotic France had done, for a season, but she must end also like France, when popular strength could no longer be outraged, in a revolution.

To this the party of the re-action would be ready with the reply, that democracy had indeed been on the increase latterly, might perhaps be still increasing, but it was not the less an evil, and to be watched with jealousy. A wise statesman might, perhaps, in these times, be forced to innoculate the people with a little

Liberalism, as physicians innoculate with cow-pox; but the very purpose of bringing on the milder affection advisedly is to prevent the accidental violent outbreaking of a fatal disease of the same kind. The reforms of Stein might be viewed in this light; or whatever might be their character or tendency, they certainly were not carried through by French or constitutional machinery. "Tout pour le peuple rien par lui" is the maxim of every wise and paternal government; and in this spirit the great reforms that characterize Prussian legislation have always been carried out. It was false in particular to say that Stein and Hardenberg had saved Prussia by Liberalism in 1813. It was patriotism that saved Prussia then, as it had saved it before from a no less dangerous combination under Frederick the Great, at a time when even in France the name of Constitutionalism was unknown. No one could cast a glance on the past history of Prussia, short but glorious as it had been, without perceiving that she owed all her grandeur and her European importance to the strength and energy of her purely monarchical government. Frederick William, the great Elector, in the 17th century, and his greater successor in the 18th, had achieved what they did achieve—literally *made* Prussia—as much by the unembarrassed field of action which they could command as by the weight of extraordinary abilities. The great Elector in particular had set himself steadily against the obstinacy of the East Prussian States when they endeavoured to tie his hands in the central administration of his dominions; and it requires no very profound political glance to see that if this remarkable man, in the critical times that followed the peace of Westphalia, had adopted any other plan of government, the north of Germany at the present moment, instead of presenting the aspect of a strong and united Prussian monarchy, would have been a mere bundle of German and Sclavonic anarchy. As for the German character generally, nothing was a greater mistake than to suppose that because the Germans, at least the North Germans, were the most intellectual and best educated people in Europe, they were therefore either much inclined, or particularly well adapted, for exercising political power. The pragmaticality and pugnaciousness of an American or an English politician were indeed so very far from having anything to do with intellectual superiority that they produced naturally an habitual undervaluation of science, and chilled all pure enthusiasm for the fine arts. The Germans were not a politically educated people—had no desire to be so. They were accustomed to see public affairs managed systematically by men who had made politics a special study, and had been practically trained to the details of the most difficult of all arts, the art of

governing;* whereas, in constitutional countries, the most important affairs were left to the chance direction of every skip-jack champion of battling parties, who were more solicitous to vex one another than to do good to their country. As for the King of Prussia, he had indeed, following out a well-known article in the act of confederation, promised States and a representation to the Prussian people; but he was not talking, and could not by any rational man be understood to be talking, of French or English, but of German States, a thing well known in native history, and perfectly consistent with that strong central energy of the governing power, and sympathetic obedience of all the outermost members, without which a good government could not exist. German States were consultative, not legislative bodies; and these the King of Prussia had determined to create and to maintain in such a manner as was consistent both with the provincial liberties of the people and the independence of the central government. As to the relations of Prussia to Austria and the minor German States, that was a very simple matter, and, when properly considered, afforded indeed the strongest of all arguments against the schemes of the Constitutionalists. A cry had been raised for German unity; and though the incongruous mob of beardless boys and bearded pedagogues who had raised this cry entertained, as might be expected, no very definite ideas on the subject, yet it was an important subject certainly, and, as affecting the independence of Germany in its foreign relations, a subject demanding the serious consideration of every patriot, in preference to any new and doubtful schemes of internal organization. Now it was manifest that if Prussia should stand forward against Austria as the champion of so called liberal principles, the unity of Germany was gone. Prussia might succeed in attaching to herself some of the Protestant States, but Austria would have equal influence with the Catholic ones; and in any event Germany, by the introduction of the Anglo-Gallic element, would

* In Prussia, as in most states of Germany, a candidate for the higher offices of government, and even for many mere clerkships and other subordinate situations, must have studied at the University the following branches:—1. The law of nations (Natur-richt). 2. The public or constitutional law of the most famous nations. 3. The principles of the Roman and German law. 4. Police administration. 5. Political economy (Staats wirthschaft). 6. Universal history. 7. History of public treaties. 8. Diplomacy. 9. Statistics. After he has finished this University *curriculum*, the candidate has further to pass through a practical preparatory course in different departments of government for a number of years, and only after he has been found duly qualified in *two* (or, if he is a lawyer and has served in the courts of justice, in *three*) consecutive examinations, he is considered fit to be enrolled as an officer of state.

be clearly divided against herself; and the confederation which they had just, with great difficulty, manufactured at Vienna, fall asunder more quickly than it had been made. It was plain, therefore, that to attain that national unity which every true German must have more at heart than constitutional experimenting, however splendid, the first thing necessary was the close union of Austria and Prussia, which union alone could have influence sufficient to give consistency, unity, and dignity to the proceedings of the confederation; and it was equally evident that this union could be effected only on principles of strict conservatism. The character of the German people, the genius of the Prussian monarchy, the interests of the Germanic confederation, all combined to dictate to the sovereign an accession to the Austrian and Russian, rather than to the Franco-English political system. Prussia certainly, by virtue of the preponderating Teutonic element in her population, was the German State *par excellence;* the minor States had a right to look up to her for direction and championship, while the tendencies of Austria naturally lay more towards Italy and the mouth of the Danube. Prussia would not be backward in asserting her natural influence over the western and south-western States of the confederation, but there were many more certain, certainly more safe, ways of asserting this influence than by standing forward as the propagandist of French Liberalism, an act which in a King of Prussia would be the most base betrayal of his sovereign rights—perfect political suicide.

The *pro* and *con* of Liberalism and Absolutism which we have here stated the reader will bear in mind is no mere argument; it is a fact. That the Prussian government, some twenty or twenty-five years ago, seriously entertained the notion of cherishing the constitutional parliamentary system, is a fact of which there are a thousand evidences, and which writers by no means tinged with "French ideas" have been the most forward to admit (Hansemann, p. 287). It is a fact also that since that period this notion has gradually relaxed, and, as it seems now, is altogether abandoned. Prussia has, since 1817, been governed on the principle of a monarchico-aristocratico-bureaucratic reaction against the Liberalism which had been called up in the hour of need to vanquish Napoleon; an issue at which no man with a grain of political sagacity will be surprised. The late King of Prussia himself might indeed have been induced to consent to the limitation of his absolute authority more readily than a monarch of greater energy and ability; perhaps he really was, like his brother Alexander of Russia, a little infected with Liberalism in some points; but the united

aristocracy and bureaucracy acting in harmony with the vulgar prejudices and interests which belonged to his position, would soon prevail to clear his brain of such unkingly hallucinations. Accordingly we find, in an able memorial written by a Prussian diplomatist in the year 1822 (No. I of Dr Kombst's 'Aktenstückes'), the constitutional system denounced as essentially opposed to the character of the Prussian monarchy, and on no account to be tolerated. On this principle the Prussian government has since acted, and its acts are patent to the world. Dr Kombst, whose publicistic talents are well known, says "that he is acquainted with no writing in which the system followed by Prussia for the last twenty years is so clearly developed as in the memorial of 1822." The paper bears internal evidence to its own value; it contains a theory which explains all the facts, and would in this respect be of the utmost importance to the politician, were its internal connexion with the Prussian government as uncertain as it is authentic. We subjoin a short extract.

"The nature of the form of government which can alone secure the grandeur and influence of Prussia, excludes of itself, without reference to other considerations, irrevocably all favour to the democratic-representative ideas which at present are so widely spread in Germany. THESE IDEAS IN ALL THEIR PHASES AND CONSEQUENCES PRUSSIA CAN ONLY DECIDEDLY OPPOSE. In carrying out this opposition, however, any appearance of leaning to the other extreme, and taking part with the hierarchical principles of the Catholic monarchies, is carefully to be avoided; Protestant Germany must not be offended. The true Prussian policy is, with the one hand to hold firmly the reins of monarchical authority, and with the other to extend an enlightened patronage over Protestantism on the continent. Prussia must hold herself forth as that monarchy which, while it is decidedly opposed to popular forms, does nevertheless possess the greatest number of properly Liberal maxims of government, as the monarchy which everywhere patronises true intelligence and enlightenment, which possesses the most certain, the most strong, and the most clear-headed administration, and which opens the most freely to every talent its most appropriate career."

These words are short, but significant. They characterize the spirit of the Prussian government in two words—a determined hostility to Liberal forms, and an ostentatious parade of Liberal principles. The men who inhabit the banks of the Spree and the Havel are famous boasters; they are ever forward to sound themselves as the most enlightened and the most Liberal politicians in Europe. So the good people of Scotland also have it ever in their mouths that they are the most moral and the most religious people that God made. We shall see presently to what the liberalism of

the Prussian government amounts; meanwhile we may be permitted to express an opinion, that, as in ecclesiastical policy no such monstrosity has hitherto appeared as the union of the form of Popery with the substance of Protestantism, but each of these religious phases rather has a form of its own correspondent to its substance, so in civil policy a union of despotical forms with liberal principles seems an impossibility. Such a combination is a mere juggling with phrases to deceive the superficial. A despotic government is good in one way, and a liberal government is good in another way (the Englishman thinks a liberal government the *best* in many ways); but these two kinds of goodness were never made to amalgamate. They are opposed to one another as affirmation is to negation, as Popery, or sacerdotal Christianity, is to Protestantism, or the Christianity of the individual.. And the Pope unquestionably, we may here say, is a much more heroic character, and a much more honest man, than the King of Prussia. The Pope pretends to no Liberalism, he admits of no compromise, and is admired deservedly of all Europe for his consistency.

Let us now look a little more minutely, link by link, into the peculiar concatenation of Prussian despotism. We begin properly with

THE KING; and a few sentences from the statute-book will best explain the nature of his power. In the second part of the 'Landrecht,' title 13, we read—

"§ 1.—All the rights and duties of the State towards its citizens and towards its allies, are united in the Sovereign.

"§ 4.—To the Sovereign belong all and whatsoever privileges and rights are necessary for the maintenance of the public peace, and the advancement of the public weal.

"§ 6.—To the Sovereign belongs specially the right of making laws, and of administrating the police; the right also of rescinding and of interpreting the laws with legal authority.

"§ 7.—No capital sentence, or sentence to ten years' imprisonment, pronounced by a court of law, is valid without the royal confirmation.

"§ 8.—All societies that exist or may arise in the State, and public institutions of every description, are subject to the supervision and control of the government.

"§ 15.—The right to impose taxes on the persons, property, trade, and production of his subjects, is a right of Majesty."

These propositions proclaim clearly enough the omnipotence of the sovereign as the organic principle of the Prussian system; and so it is in fact, much more than parliament with its omnipotence in the organic principle of the British system. The King

of Prussia, through his hundred-armed bureaucracy, literally manufactures everything in his dominions, from the buttons on his soldiers' coats to the prayers in his people's liturgy; *manufactures* we say, for all voluntary vitality, all independent, original, moral, and social movements, are rigorously interdicted. It is the principle of government in Prussia, that if God and nature be permitted to do anything of their own accord, they will infallibly blunder; therefore the King is set up to teach the grass how to grow, and to preach to the stomachs of men how they shall and how they shall not be hungry. This is a literal fact in Prussia; nothing exists in that region but by virtue of a stamp and a license; and the congregations of a few idle Burschen to drink beer, or of a few fair penitents to sing psalms, are equally high treason against the majesty of the monarch. These things appear revolting, ridiculous to us; they are so; but if we will cast away all faith in the nature of man, a government by force and by suspicion seems the only alternative. Either God sent forth man as a rational being, at least a being capable of rationality, and with rationality capable of acquiring self-government in some shape or other; or he sent him forth as a wild beast and a fool, to be managed only by a cunning combination of cajolery and chains. This latter is the creed of absolutism if it would dare to speak itself out. Frederick the Great, a genuine Prussian, was great and honest enough to speak it out; and, like Lord Byron, had more faith in dogs than in men. The present Prussian government deals more in liberal phrases; but its principle is the same, as, indeed, it is the principle of all absolutism, ecclesiastical as well as civil—a thorough want of faith in human nature.

It is curious to look back from the present perfect development of despotism in Prussia to those times, not very far distant, when liberty still existed something more than a name. And here we find, as in the case of Poland, and so many other sad instances of which history is full, that though the enslavers were not guiltless, the free men by the abuse of their own freedom were chiefly to blame. So when Frederick of Hohenzollern, Burg-graf of Näruberg, the founder of the present dynasty, in the year 1415, came to take possession of the Electorate of Brandenburg, bought by hard cash and good services from Kaiser Sigismund, he found the native nobility, who should have been the protectors of the other classes and the representatives of their liberties, organised almost as a regular gang of robbers and freebooters. To prostrate these men was to lay the foundation of government; and as they were indeed wild beasts, and not reasonable beings, Frederick, instead of state logic and liberal principles, brought to bear against them

a great gun called "Lazy Meg" (*die faule corete*), carrying twenty-four balls; the effect of which was soon enough to drive one-half of them out of the country, and to bring the other half to the Electoral palace, "with ropes about their necks," to do homage. This was a bold stroke of the first Hohenzollern, and deserves all praise. The bold barons, in their rude strength, had boasted that, "though it should rain burg-graves a whole year without ceasing, none should ever be allowed to take root in the Mark;" but "Lazy Meg" was stronger, and destined to stand forth eternized in history as a grand prophecy of the military system which has since done such wonders in Prussia. Another famous epoch in the history of Prussian liberties is the reign of Frederick William, the great Elector; but here the faithlessness of the governor, not the lawlessness of the governed, brought about the loss of liberty. From this Sovereign properly the present military system, and with that the European significance of the Prussian monarchy, dates. From him also dates the system of governing by lies and perfidy when force fails, of which the modern German Liberals accuse the present Prussian government, which certainly it cannot be doubted that the great Elector practised on a great scale. The most remarkable instance of this princely perfidy, and one which irrevocably fixed the character of the government, is that public lie by which he extorted the submission of the East Prussian States in 1663. By the treaty of Welau (1657) and the peace of Oliva (1660), Frederick William had been recognised by Poland as hereditary and independent duke of a province, East Prussia, which his family had hitherto held only as the vassals of Poland. The hereditary grant had been obtained from the King of Poland as feudal superior, and with this the Elector naturally thought that the transaction was completed. But no! a remarkable phenomenon presented itself; the States thought they also had something to say in the matter. They were not to be transferred from one proprietor to another by the stroke of a pen, like so much stock lying in a bank; they had a right to choose their own master, and to impose on him what conditions they pleased before taking the oath of fidelity. They were determined that no Elector of Brandenburg should lord it over the Prussian people by divine right, or by the right of the sword, but by social contract. Rousseau, indeed, was not born in these days, nor had French speculators begun to ratiocinate about the rights of man; but the States of East Prussia propounded their philosophy, asserted their principle, and carried their point in the face of one of the most energetic and powerful princes of Europe. One philosophy, however, was too deep for them; they did not know that the vows

of despots, like dreams, are to be interpreted contrariwise. They believed the word of a liar, and they were deceived. After using every appliance of force and stratagem in vain, Frederick William, before receiving the oath of fealty, on the 12th day of March, 1663, solemnly swore to the following effect:—"That the treaty of Welau and the peace of Oliva, by which the Prussians had been handed over from Polish to Brandenburg sovereignty, were utterly null without the consent of the States; that in respect of that consent now given, the Elector would maintain inviolable their ancient rights, and undertake nothing of importance in which the duchy was concerned without the advice and good pleasure of the States; that, in particular, he would not involve it in a war, or lay on imposts and taxes, without the consent of the said States; that a parliament should be called every six years; and that on his accession to the sovereignty every future Elector should, before receiving the oath of fealty, swear solemnly to maintain the Prussian constitution and privileges as they had been enjoyed under the superiority of Poland.* Such and so liberal was the constitution of Prussia in the year 1663, looking, to all outward judgment, as lasting as the constitution of Great Britain in 1688; but where the prince has no honour, and the people no strength, it is in vain to hope that seals, and stamps, and signatures will secure the liberties of a nation. It does appear, however, a notable thing in Prussian history, that its two most distinguished sovereigns—the great Elector and the great Frederick—should have distinguished themselves by acts of more than common perfidy and baseness; and when we compare the treachery that accompanied the acquisition of Prussia in the 17th century with the meanness that effectuated the several partitions of Poland in the 18th, we are almost tempted to think that a certain baseness of soul and lack of moral heroism is hereditary in Prussia; and we seem to see a clear exemplification of a great law of nature, which has been admirably expressed by the German dramatist—

> "This is the very curse of wicked deeds—
> *Once done, they must beget more wickedness.*"

After the social contract of the great Elector, we hear no more of States in Prussia till the year 1815, when the Congress of Vienna (strangely enough!) announced to the world, "In allen Bundestaaten soll eine landstændische Verfassung statt finden." (Act of Confederation, art. 13.) "A CONSTITUTION by States shall exist in all States of the Confederation;" which liberal-sounding declaration was scarcely proclaimed to the gaping ears

* Stenzel, vol. ii, p. 197.

of German Constitutionalists, when it was followed by another of similar import, expressly from the Prussian monarch. "Es soll eine Repræsentation des Volks gebildet werden."—" A REPRESENTATION of the people shall be formed." (Landrecht, Th. II, title 13, § 18, B.) And if, after this talk of representation and constitutions on the part of the governor, some of the more enthusiastic of the governed did begin to dream of the possibility of such a thing, and did speak out their faith in honest and energetic phrase, who is to blame for these "demagogic agitations" (demagogische umtriebe*) but the monarch himself? Whatever the diplomatic conclave in Vienna and the cabinet council in Berlin might understand by the words, "states, constitution, and popular representation," these words were part of the current political language of the times, and were understood to mean something altogether different from the system of absolutism which Prussia since the peace has so conscientiously followed. Herein lies the guilt of the modern Prussian government; not plain perfidy, like that of the great Elector, but only a little humbug, or say mere weakness and vacillation; for we never can persuade ourselves that Prussia really means to introduce a *bonâ fide* representative constitution, instead of her present military-bureaucratic one. Neither do we think that the present King of Prussia is in any way bound to do so; he cannot be bound to commit suicide on his own sovereign rights. His father was bound to introduce a popular representation only in "honour;" by law he was entitled any day to rescind the resolution of yesterday (*vide supra*,), and the son plainly is bound neither in law nor in honour. We shall not even insist that a constitutional government in Prussia would at present be either practicable or expedient (though we have a strong private opinion that it is both practicable and expedient); the letter of the law also may be sufficiently satisfied by the provincial consultative (not legislative) States that at present exist; but what we blame and what we detest in the Prussian government is the parade they are accustomed to make of liberal phrases when anything but Liberalism is intended; the unprincipled and unreasoning inconsistency with which they first create crimes, and then punish them, filling their own prisons and the land of the stranger with political offenders, of whose treason they are themselves the authors.

* Read that article and the article 'Wartburgsest' in the 'Conversations Lexicon.'—See also the 'Memoirs of Arndt,' Leipzig, 1840, and Menzel's 'History of the Germans,' c. 492.—A pale and smock-faced affair altogether, and most characteristic of German governments, whose statesmen, accustomed to sail only in artificial canals, if once they happen to find themselves on open sea, fall into a fever straight, and fear to be drowned when one wave whips the deck not big enough to fill the scupper-holes.

The system of mock-representation by provincial States in Prussia, is a thing very characteristic both of Prussia and of the Prussian government; of Prussia, because it exhibits that country as essentially a patch-work, destitute of all inward unity, and kept together only by external force; of the Prussian government, because it is a striking instance how jealous that government is of any popular influence exercised on its central authority, and how it can only tolerate a sort of popular activity in the extreme members, in so far as such activity tends to contract and localize the ideas of the citizen, without exciting in him any presumptuous conception that he is entitled to have a voice in the effective legislation of the country. The law of June 5, 1823, instituting the provincial States, declares their right and powers as follows:—"So long as no General Assembly of the States shall be called, the projects of such general laws as propose a change in the taxation of the kingdom shall be submitted to the consultation ('Berathung,' not 'Beschluss,' or decision) of the provincial States, in so far as they affect the province.

"The community-interests of the provinces shall be submitted to the decision ('Beschlüss') of the States, 'under reservation always of our supervisorship and confirmation.'"

From which it appears that the popular representation of which the "liberal despotism" of Prussia boasts is a right, "under royal supervisorship and confirmation," to impose certain provincial and county rates for building bridges, macadamizing roads, cleansing common sewers, and other matters of that comprehension; but that they have legally as little right to influence the general legislation of the kingdom as they have to influence the British parliament. Thus, in principle; in practice, matters are much worse; for the members of the provincial States, though elected apparently by a free constituency, and allowed to assume an independent position in presence of the sovereign power, are, in fact, by means of a wide-spreading and all-influential bureaucracy, so managed and led by the government, that to talk of popular rights and representation in their case is the sheerest mockery. And Herr Hansemann accordingly informs us that no complete budget, even of provincial expenses, has hitherto been laid before the Rhenish States, and that extensive outlays of public money, in matters of mere provincial concernment, are daily made without the sanction of the States being either asked or given. And he thinks also, what is sufficiently characteristic, that the government may be perfectly authorised in this conduct; because all the enactments of the Prussian statute-book, which talk of popular rights, are so vague and general, and so liable to be crossed and counteracted by other

enactments of a contrary tendency, that every *plus* in the Liberal legislation of Prussia must be understood to have a *minus*, which makes the practical result nothing. Of this both he and Herr Venedey give a remarkable instance in the matter of the national debt. In the year 1820 a cabinet order of the 17th January, on the regulation of the national debt, declared, "That for the future no public loan should be made without calling the States General." The States General have not yet been either called or constituted; but the Prussian government, it appears, has a bank called the "Sea Company," which by statute is empowered to make government loans; one statute does not repeal another by implication, so the Sea Company still continue to increase the national debt at the pleasure of the council of state and the minister of finance; and the very liberal cabinet order of the 17th January is a dead letter. The litany of Prussian Liberalism is full of such dead letters.

The Prussian monarchy being thus absolutely unlimited by the provincial parliaments that are, or the national parliament that is to be, is there no other social might that practically limits that which is in theory absolute, and healthily tempers that which is in tone acrid? Assuredly there is; for though the Prussian phrase of Liberalism is most Jesuitical and base, yet as a pure and unmitigated despotism Prussia is certainly entitled to the praise of being an enlightened and an efficient despotism. Grant the postulate of absolutism, that self-government in the body social is the greatest of all chimeras—that everything must be done *for* the people, nothing *by* the people, and the Prussian government does what it has to do better and more efficiently than any other despotism which the world has yet seen. How comes this? The two grand mights which have mitigated and toned down the Prussian despotism, are, first, that which we mentioned prominently in the outset of these remarks—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION; and second, that which is of most native German and Prussian growth—PROTESTANTISM. We said that the French Revolution was in fact acted over again in Prussia after the battle of Jena; Stein, the impatient, the fiery, the energetic, the stern old aristocrat, and yet the warm advocate of popular rights, was its Mirabeau; he abolished the exclusive privileges of the nobility; he released their land from its barren entails, and by a bold agrarian law made it a thing of public commerce; he elevated the peasant serfs into independent proprietors; he created a middle class; with one blow he defeudalized the most feudal despotism in Germany. Such wonders were worked by the French Revolution; and though the men who now govern, and have for the last twenty years governed

Prussia, have shown a strong inclination to retrace their steps, and have acted consistently on the principle of reaction, yet they have found it impossible to undo essentially what has been done. The citizenship of the Prussian serfs is now "an accomplished fact;" feudalism cannot be restored; the nobility, whom the new King has shown a desire to reconstruct,* if recreated, will not command the ancient respect; the King of Prussia is the most absolute of modern monarchs, but he is and must be the monarch of the middle classes. So far the Prussian despotism of the present day may well be compared with the French despotism under Napoleon—equality, but no liberty; according to that of the poet—

> "The Kaiser has for all an equal heart,
> And cannot sink one class to lift another."

Which is most literally true of the present King of Prussia; for all claims before him are sunk equally low, and may rise equally high. In this point of view it cannot be doubted that the Prussian government is in every respect superior to our own, which being founded essentially on aristocracy, and pervaded by the spirit of caste, is most unequal in some things, and more unjust than any government of Europe. We are only, in fact, at this present moment, and since the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Bill, beginning to act the French Revolution over again in England, and to all appearance we have not yet finished the business. Perhaps, by God's blessing, we shall be able to go through the crisis in a much more healthy way than was the case either with Prussia or France. We are likely to manage it gradually.

The other influence which has modified, and continues essentially to modify, the character of the Prussian despotism, is PROTESTANTISM. It is true, indeed, that this phasis of Christianity has in Prussia, as in other countries, always shown itself much more willing to bend the neck before state absolutism than sturdy old Popery; but Protestantism is in inward principle, however it may have been accidentally affected by its outward relations to the secular power, essentially a democratic thing; and the King of Prussia, were it free to him to choose the

* The present king, shortly after his succession, on the occasion of his coronation at Konisberg, granted a number of titles of nobility, under the express condition that these titles were only to descend upon the oldest son, that they were connected with a certain estate, and should cease to belong to the family as soon as this estate should cease to belong to it. From recent travellers we learn that the German nobles themselves are not very favourable to such a reconstruction of the nobility. One of the principal arguments against it is, its palpable injustice towards younger sons, which formerly was unknown in Germany, or at least limited to some of the highest aristocratic families of the land.

religion which should be homogeneous throughout to his principles of state policy, would assuredly prefer the filial precepts of Confucius to the rebellious protests of Martin Luther. But Protestantism exists in Prussia, like the reforms of Stein, an historical result, "an accomplished fact" which there is no getting rid of; nay, worse than this, it is an indwelling principle of intellectual independence, which is continually working with intense energy against that system of absolute subordination and submission which Prussia preaches as the highest perfection of the social state. Sad, too, it is for the consistency of Prussian absolutism, that in no country has the Protestant principle of private judgment received so grand and free a development as in Germany. In other countries, what they call Protestantism is merely a sort of mild Popery; Calvin's Catechism, instead of Bellarmin's; but in Germany they really do *study* the Bible. The enterprise and the boldness of the theological mind in Germany are sufficiently known. But theology is a region where the strongest mortal wing will soon flap itself weary; the spirit of research must therefore penetrate into other regions, and in this age of the world there is no more likely region for an adventurous mind than political and social science. Here, then, lies the danger. May not that feverish German speculation which has tried its strength in so many regions of religion and metaphysics, turn itself at last upon politics, become practical, as poets write prose when they get older? Is it not, even now, shaking our pillars, sapping our foundations? Unquestionably. But an active spirit of inquiry, for which the Germans are famous—the proper offspring of Protestantism—and which has, since the year 1813, begun to take a practical and political direction, is the most dangerous enemy that the Prussian system has in Prussia; an enemy also unfortunately which cannot be cast out, like one or two swashbuckler Burschen, to America; it is like indwelling sin in the saints, which oftentimes waxes strong even to apparent mastery. Nay, it keeps the tight army of bureaucratists in continual fear; for intelligence in an intelligent country is a spy that sees things hidden even to a Prussian police, acts as a sort of unspoken public opinion, and constantly to be dreaded parliamentary insurrection we may say. It is altogether a fearful power, too strong to be put down violently, too dangerous to be unconditionally tolerated. It acts practically as a most potent check on bureaucratic despotism; and bureaucratic despotism, with the natural instinct of self-preservation, reacts as a check upon it in more ways than one; and the main check which they employ is the censorship; for though a man may say anything in Germany with a little tact, he dare not say it in any direction;

he must shoot his arrows up into the clouds, not directly at the object which he wishes to cleave. Of this we have a remarkable instance in Herr Venedey's book, 'Preussen and Preussenthum,' the title of which we have borrowed to head our present observations, but which the reader will not find in any Leipzig catalogue. The book is forbidden; as every book is in Prussia that freely and manfully, and in a spirit of uncompromising criticism, discusses the conduct of public affairs. We do not know whether Herr Hansemann's book has been forbidden also; Herr Venedey says it was; but it has reached a second edition; so either the bar has been removed, or the Saxon booksellers are too independent to trouble themselves about fulminations from the Vatican in Berlin. Be this as it may, Hansemann's book, even more aptly than Venedey's, may serve as a sample of the operation of the censorship in Prussia. Venedey slashes without ceremony or mercy; he is not only bold, but bitter; he writes in a tone of decided hostility, like some Luther denouncing a Leo. Such a man of course is not to be tolerated in Prussia; his presence is public rebellion against the vital principle of the government; he is a blasphemer, a curser of parents, a despiser of dignities, a stirrer up of seditions; he cannot remain in that region unless his nostril be willing to receive the snaffle; he goes forth, therefore, with an iron countenance, glowing all over like honest Börne, to join "the Germans in Paris," or Pennsylvania; he flings a bolt, a burning book, behind him; and the Prussian government might as soon tolerate a Roebuck in the provincial States of the Rhine as such a book. Hansemann again is a gentleman (and a Jesuit also, one almost suspects); he is cool, correct, proper, and accurate in all things; wreathes his sting cunningly in a smile; honeys the drug that the child may not pout; and having nothing of the barbarous in his disposition, he gets the civil presumption in his favour, that where he does wound it is the needful cut of the surgeon, not the reckless stab of the assassin. Such a man is the only proper person to write a German book on Prussian policy; for as to downright, plain-spoken, political honesty in *honest* Deutschland, that is a conceit under the pious sway of paternal Prussia not to be dreamt of for a moment. He is an impudent boy, who speaks plainly to papa.

The spirit of Protestantism, taken generally as the spirit of intellectual activity and independence, for want of a House of Commons and a free press, manifests itself mainly in Prussia through the universities. These institutions in Germany generally have always been distinguished by a boldness, a breadth of intellectual gladiatorship, not at all in harmony with the minute and anxious mechanics which distinguish the social system of that country. We find, accordingly, that Prussia has stood promi-

rently forward in the measures that have been taken at different times since the peace to gag the mouths of free-spoken professors, and to clip the wings of the beer-inspired fantasy of the Burschen. She makes a boast, indeed, of her magnificent educational system; and the boast has become, by frequent echoings, almost European; but when we praise here, as praise we must, we must praise with discrimination. As an absolutist power, Prussia neither wishes nor can wish for the realization of that highest ideal of education that Protestantism projects,—the freeest possible development of the individual mind; but what she cherishes and fosters is substantially that which Popish Austria also cherishes,—the education which trains men to passive obedience, and drills them dexterously into social subservience. Nor let it be supposed that this is a small amount of education. The Jesuits were ingenious and learned men; so are the Prussian diplomatists, who are the Jesuits of this nineteenth century. Despotism requires clever men; despotism, if it find them not, will force educated men; but they must be educated to be useful, and to be used according to a plan. Now the German universities, as we all know, are the most planless educational institutions in the world; their principle is that nature shall not be hampered, that the youthful mind shall develop itself as freely as possible, according to the genuine idea of Protestantism. And such deep root has this principle taken in Germany, that, notwithstanding the help of Metternich and the Diet, it seems in the long-run much more probable that the universities will subdue the Prussian system than that the Prussian system will subdue the universities. Externally, however, the Prussian system seems evermore to triumph; as this professor suspended, that Bursch banished, and the ingenious discovery of high treason in a bacchanalian song, ever and anon publicly manifests. So much for the universities. In the inferior institutions the Prussian system has more free scope, and accordingly we find* that village schoolmasters, private tutors, and instructors of youth of all sorts, are subjected in Prussia not only to a most strict government superintendence in the matter as well as the manner of education, but further, that they live habitually in an atmosphere of control and inspection from above, which amounts virtually to *espionage*. The masters are strictly enjoined to nip every utterance of independent thought or action on the part of their pupils in the bud; and for themselves, they know that the mere suspicion of political heresy, in any shape, is sufficient to remove them from their seats and from their salaries. In the ministerial circulars we also

* See the passages from Cabinet Orders and Ministerial Circulars, quoted at length by Venedey in his first chapter.

find frequent warnings against the great danger of over-education,* a most natural and proper warning to proceed from an absolute government; for, as the Popish religion cares mainly for the education of the priests, so a despotic government cares consistently for the thorough education only of the bureaucracy. A Prussian diplomatist cannot be too clever; a Prussian subject may readily be overwise. And accordingly we find, from the reports of recent travellers, that the Prussian government has been seriously thinking of taking in the canvass of the educational ship. Witness the following passage from George Combe:—

"When I visited Prussia in 1837, one serious evil in this educational system had begun to develop itself. The education of females under the national system has been so much inferior to that of the males, that a body of young women has grown up who are strikingly behind the men of the same generation in general intelligence and accomplishments. The consequence of this inequality in mental attainments is a diminution in that respect for women which has long been a beautiful feature in the Prussian character. The cause of this evil was understood and regretted by many persons; but it was whispered in society that the government was more inclined to diminish the education of the men than to increase that of the women. 'But,' said I to a Prussian gentleman, 'why do not your enlightened men themselves institute higher schools for females?'—'You speak,' said he, 'like a Briton. Here nothing can be done without the government. Should any private individuals attempt to establish improved academies for female education without the sanction of government, they would be immediately stopped.'"*

This is sufficiently characteristic. Altogether we see that the Prussian government is in a false position with regard to education. The American people, as the same candid and intelligent traveller remarks, are educated far beneath the standard which democracy requires; the German people generally, and the Prussians in particular, far too high for the purposes of despotism. The minister of public instruction, therefore, in Prussia, does right to lower the general standard of popular education, if he can; for either the people must give up the habit of thinking, or the government give up the habit of interdicting the expression of thought.

In connexion with Protestantism in Prussia, we have not mentioned the church, which one might think was the proper body and bearer of the spirit of Martin Luther in that country; but the fact is that the church is, both physically and morally, a

* We have seen in Prussia schools for girls, much superior to any existing in England; but the Germans have generally (from their domestic habits) a strong prejudice against female authorship; and that learning is not encouraged among women is, we think, to be attributed more to popular prejudice than any difficulties occasioned by Government.—Ed.

weak thing in Germany; physically, because it is poor; morally, because the real pulpit of the public mind is the professional cathedra. And even where the church orator does command the public mind, he does so only as an emanation from the great centre of intellectual activity in the universities. Singular enough! In Germany, the universities control the church; in England, the church controls the universities. 'Tis a matter that deserves to be pondered.

One characteristic thing only with regard to the Protestant church in Prussia we shall mention. It is altogether built into the state; thoroughly Evastian; according to the most extreme sect of those who swear by the twenty-third chapter of the Westminster Confession; most safely planted beyond the unpleasant possibility of intrusion; the clergy are recognized in the Landrecht only as state-officers (Beamte); and the sovereign manufactures the liturgy and reforms the hymn-book according to the absolute omnipotence of his pious whim. When the old curate dies, the new curate finds on the reading desk "a new liturgy bound in violet, with a golden cross on the cover, presented to the parish by his majesty himself;"* which liturgy, if the restive parson will not loyally receive, he is forthwith sent to Spandau; and if Spandau will not reform him, he is sent to Paris; while his pious congregation wanders out by fifties and by hundreds to Australia, because prayer-meetings are high treason in Silesia. So the paternal system works in Prussia and in China; "for I intend to render the empire filial," as the late Celestial said when he bambooed a whole district for the offence of one.

On no subject have the laudators of the Prussian system talked with less understanding, or, if they did understand, with less fairness, than on the municipal corporations. These have been set forth as something so essentially democratic in their constitution, that practically they may well be considered as a sufficient compensation to the Prussian citizen for the want of public parliaments and liberty of the press; at least we may look upon them as admirable schools of freedom, nurseries of constitutionalism, visible pledges of the popular principles, and living earnests of the liberal intentions of the government. Most sorry are we to state, on the other hand (though nothing surprised), that after a minute examination of this matter, we have found no traces of anything in any sense popular, much less democratic, but rather another clear and irrefragable proof, added to the many which we already

* Meine Suspendirung, Einkerkerung, und Auswanderung. Von Otto Friedrich Wehrhan. Leipzig, 1839. A curious piece of ecclesiastical autobiography, which, in these church times, might well be appended to a new edition of De Marca's famous book, 'De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii.'

possess, that anything in the shape of individual independence and popular control is altogether inconsistent with the spirit of the Prussian system, and if it exists in any department of that system, exists only as an exception and an anomaly. It is easy, however, to see how those who have found a counterpoising democracy in the municipal system of Prussia have allowed themselves to be deceived. They have taken the fair phrases of Stein's municipal order, promulgated in 1808, for substantial gospel; they have assumed that the then liberal principles of the government, adopted by necessity in the hour of public danger, are the principles on which the present Prussian ministry acts, and on which it has acted since the peace; they have spoken as if the thirteen millions of souls which inhabit the large geographical extent of the Prussian kingdom in 1840 were all governed by the same laws which governed the six millions inhabiting the small geographical extent of Prussia, maimed and truncated as it was by the peace of Tilsit. But if any person chooses to look into the statute book (Th. II, title 8, § 178, II), he will there find how totally different the fact is from all such fond imaginations. He will there find in the revised municipal order of 17th March, 1831, what the real Prussian system is with regard to civic liberties. There are no such liberties. The new municipal order, after raising considerably both the burgess qualification and the elective franchise, and fixing a high (moneyed) standard of eligibility, proceeds to detail how town deputies shall be chosen by the people, and the burgomaster by the town deputies; how the election of the burgomaster is not valid until it receive the royal confirmation; and how, after he has been confirmed by government, he remains in power for twelve years as the paid and pensionable servant of the state, answerable to the government immediately, not to the citizens, for his public conduct, and liable to be suspended and removed by a wink from the same authority. The town councillors, or real representatives of the burgesses, play altogether a very subordinate and secondary part in the management of the city affairs. They elect out of their number, along with the burgomaster, some three or more, who form the college of the "magistracy," the members of which college are, like the burgomaster, mostly the paid servants of the state, and act practically as a standing executive committee and "lords of the articles," possessing the initiative in all things, and the exclusive power of decision in matters of importance. The burgomaster is, by the necessity of government confirmation, by the length of his tenure of office, by the influence of his state-paid salary and prospective pension, in all points more an organ of government than a representative of the burgesses. To

him, therefore, the government consistently commits the most extraordinary powers; as for instance, in the § 108, 6. of the art. where we read "the burgomaster may, on his own responsibility, suspend any resolution of the magistracy that he may deem illegal or pernicious, and report to the government thereupon." By § 109 we learn also that, except in some few towns where there is a special board of police, the first magistrate is *ex officio* "head of the police, and, in this capacity, dependent altogether not on the burgesses, but exclusively on the government." This is perfectly consistent, and of a piece with the whole administrative organization of Prussia; an organization in which we behold the most thorough carrying out of the principles of absolute monarchy among a civilized people that the present system of Europe presents. Let it be studied, acknowledged, and by the lovers of absolutism admired as such; but let us hear no more of liberal principles, and popular control, and public opinion, and dangerous democracy in connection with Prussia. The German people are, in fact, the least democratic of all European people; they are sober, steady, rational, and systematic; but they stand in need of a political education, they require to be trained to public business, and to be taught like children the art of standing on their own legs. This grand business, the education of a long degraded people to self-activity and self-respect, was begun hopefully by Stein in 1808, and is still the formula—though, alas! but the formula!—to which Prussia publicly swears. It is time, however, now to throw off the mask, and be honest; all the world has seen, from the active part taken by Prussia in 1832, towards the suppression of the political liberties of the south-western states of Germany, that Berlin liberalism means the liberalism of Vienna, nothing else; and plain people do not understand the transcendental principle of political pedagogy, according to which a lad with weak hams is taught to march by cutting off one of his legs and giving him a crutch.

So much for the popular principles which limit, or have been held forth as limiting, the absoluteness of monarchical power in Prussia. The states are nothing; the nobility is nothing; the church is nothing; the municipal corporations are nothing; the only power which we have been able to recognize as strongly tempering the despotic principle in that country is the might of intelligence, and the vigour of free thought in the Protestant universities. We are now arrived at that point where we may see plainly what the real governing power is in Prussia, and how grandly and freely it can exert itself in all directions. This power lies, as in so absolute a monarchy it must lie, in two gigantic incarnations or organs of the royal omnipotence; the

bureaucracy, which is the heart-blood and the brain of the supreme power; the standing army and the police, which are both bone and muscle. These things are the sole government in Prussia; and a fearful might they are. Consider, in the first place, the bureaucracy; this is exactly to the King of Prussia what the Jesuits in the 16th century were to the Roman Pope—a closely-banded, widely-extended, keenly-watching, deeply-scheming army of intelligence. The Jesuits were intelligent—therein lay their power: the Prussian bureaucracy (thanks to Protestantism and the universities) is intelligent—therein also, and therein only, is its power. The Jesuits were dishonest—therein lay their weakness, thereby came their fall. If the Prussian bureaucracy is destined to fall, their want of honesty, manifested in a hollow play with liberal phrases, will not be the least potent energy that works their ruin. Meanwhile, however, all looks marvellously fair; and as there is no church even now better organized externally than the Romish, so there is no government which, by virtue of an all-insinuating bureaucracy,* is more complete in its machinery and more strong physically in its frame-work than the Prussian. We may say of these eight strangely aggregated provinces, indeed, adapting a Shakspearian phrase, that they are almost damned in a good government. Everything is done for them so well and so completely that they never dream of doing anything for themselves. They are ridden about in coaches till they forget that walking is the most natural, the most pleasant, and the most healthy of all exercises; while we, with our political meetings and public dinners, and continual actings and agitations, by virtue of which a single act of parliament gives the most profitable employment to thousands of brains for two or three years (sometimes two or three score), are constrained to wonder how the good people in Berlin and Königsberg "get through the twelve hours." But in Germany they feel otherwise on this head. What with Kant and Hegel, and the last new opera, and the last lucubrations of Henry Heine on Ludwig Börne, another puff of the Knaster, and another swig of Stettiner, they have quite enough to do; and their marvel only is how we English, with governing elements so weak, and elements to be governed so wild, contrive to exist politically at all. Our bureaucracy in Britain, say they, is a thing scattered about in boards and commissions, without order or system, awake to-day and asleep to-morrow; and even when it has any proper organization, effecting nothing great, from the malignant pricking of opposition, and the distracting clamour of party strife by which it is harassed. Is it

* What Hansemann calls "die Eindringung des Beamten-elements."

not ludicrous, they urge, to see that which should be a steady, stable, and permanent force, pattering here and there behind bushes like detachments of volunteer riflemen, throwing squibs and crackers about like idle and mischievous boys, while not a hand will move in earnest to bore the hard granite of some new social foundation, or sweep away the heaped rubbish of ancient abuse? Look again at our Prussian government, and see how regularly, how systematically, how scientifically every minute as well as mighty interest is ordered and arranged! Our bureaucratists are no political adventurers, no bold bungling dilettantes in the most serious of all arts, the art of legislating—they are scientific men, trained from their youthful years to know and to apply the most difficult of all knowledge. Our bureaucracy in Prussia is like a well-rigged ship with a favourable gale, with top-gallants and studding-sails, and flying jibs grandly bellied, and where all the crew are regular-bred sailors, and no freshmen. The passengers, that is the people, keep quietly below, especially in rough weather; for, coming up, they do but create confusion and assist the storm, as French and English revolutionary histories abundantly testify. Such is the true Prussian theory of government; such are the ideas of many, perhaps, of the majority of political thinkers in and about Berlin.

"Let others chase phantoms which they cannot reach," said the President of the Brandenburg Provincial States, in 1831, "WE HAVE OUR CONSTITUTION." We are perfectly contented with the system as it is, that the government should be everything and the people nothing; we consider self-government in the social state as a delusion and a lie; having such a father as Frederick William, may he never see majority. And indeed it is not to be denied, that to all people, and to easy idle people especially, there is a great comfort in being provided for; besides the consideration, which English thinkers are apt to overlook, that the Prussian bureaucracy is to the Prussian people a sort of Parliament and House of Commons; a most democratic thing in fact (speaking with De Tocqueville) where the lowest may rise highest, and where, within certain impassable limits, there is the most free and fair field for every sort of talent. This, indeed, is a favourite theme with the laudators of Prussian despotism. His Majesty of Berlin certainly is a most impartial rewarder of merit and promoter of talent; and may indeed reasonably be so; not because he is remarkably generous, and above all party, but because there is only one party in the state, the other party being *de jure*, by the first principle of the government, put beyond the pale of society, and *de facto*, when it might exist, having been rudely quashed or violently expelled. It is

exactly the case of the Romish church, with which we are anxious throughout to compare the Prussian monarchy, for this is in secular government precisely what that is in ecclesiastical, with the one exception, that the influence of the aristocracy, or high clergy, in the Romish church, is strong, whereas the Prussian aristocracy merely seem to fill up the scene, like the gay and gilded supernumeraries in plays of spectacle. Nevertheless, the parallel holds practically in the matter of preferment; we see the poorest monks raised to the Popedom; and the Prussian bureaucracy, from the "high ministry" of the different departments of public business in Berlin, to the lowest clerk of a Landrath in the provincial "circles," is an essentially popular thing. We see the same phenomenon in Russia, and in all despotisms. It is their strong point: that by which they stand; whereas, in most constitutional countries, as in Hungary and Great Britain, aristocracy is strong—strong to conserve and to defend, but strong also to obstruct and to prevent. In the Prussian bureaucracy the intelligence of the people is represented; in the multifarious state offices, metropolitan and provincial, the Demos appears—only tame; the famous renowner of Halle and Jena, at the first sight of red tape, cuts his long hair and his lofty speculations short with a single snip—having this comfort, that if he will wait patiently, and watch the occasion, and wear golden chains, and wink with eyes that see and see not now, he may, on some future occasion, be honoured by Providence to become a Stein and a Hardenberg in his way. Thus the Prussian universally, by force of circumstances, holds Canning's doctrine, that no man can serve his country except in office; and a long training of strict subordination and absolute dependence is the tax which he pays for the possibility of wielding a might in the supreme council of state, in respect of which, for good as for evil, the influence possessed by the greatest minister England ever had is a mere bagatelle. And that the Prussian bureaucracy is for the general a benignant as well as an intelligent power, no one can deny. That men scientifically trained to government as a profession will govern better in many things than the sort of amateur and voluntary governors who lead half, and half are led in England and America, seems equally clear. They assure us that out of every 4,000*l.* borrowed for public purposes by the American States, 3,000*l.* are misspent and utterly wasted. Such blind work will seldom be made in Prussia. But for this grand privilege of being governed by a scientific bureaucracy the Prussians make a sad sacrifice; they sacrifice the independence, the energy, the enterprise, of the great mass of the people. The governors govern well, but the governed, by overmuch cherishing, are made weak; they are mere clods; political nullities; children certainly in every sense,

for that the paternal system implies; and they pay heavy taxes also, that no man may be allowed to walk without a drill-serjeant at his side, nor to be hungry save when the state-doctor commands.

Nothing can be more beautiful than the systematic completeness of the administrative machinery of Prussia. First, as supreme deliberative board, there is the council of state, consisting of the ministers of the different branches of the government, the crown prince, the field-marshals, privy-cabinet councillors, supreme judges, master of the post, and some others—the *élite* of the bureaucracy and the army. Then there is the supreme executive board, the ministry of state, composed of the usual members of whom ministries are composed in all the civilized countries of Europe; more complete, however, in some important branches than our English ministry, and in these branches more fitly to be compared to France, where the same system of centralization prevails. There is, for instance, a minister of justice, and a minister of educational, medicinal, and ecclesiastical affairs —supreme supervisor of soul and body, the real, corporeal, and spiritual Pope of Prussia. There is no prime minister, no Metternich; a singular thing; but every minister is supreme in his own department, communicating directly with the king, and limited only by the necessity of consulting with the council of state in introducing new measures of general importance to the central administration in Berlin; but as Prussia is an aggregation of the most unlike parts, there is a necessity for a repetition, so to speak, of the administrative machinery in every one of the eight provinces. Each province has a repetition of majesty in the "High-president," and a repetition of the ministry of state in the administrative colleges which control the several "governments," or departments (regierungsbezirke) into which the provinces are divided. There are twenty-five such departments in Prussia, each with its administrative college, at the head of which is a president. The members of this college consult together in plenary meetings, and form general resolutions for the administration of the departments by a majority of votes: in the routine of business, however, the principle of the division of labour naturally operates, and the college resolves itself into the separate branches of administration of which the supreme ministry of state which it represents is composed. The departments again are subdivided into circles, of which there are 335 in the whole monarchy; each of these circles is under the superintendence of a Landrath, a person performing pretty much the same functions as the sub-prefect of the *arrondissements* in France. The Landrath is elected nominally by the people; but as these have never been trained to independent political action, and the appointment,

as in the case of the burgomasters, requires the royal confirmation, this lowest official, the Landrath, is as completely an instrument in the hand of government as any director of police in Prussia. We do not possess a complete list of all the placemen in the monarchy; but if the reader will consider that Prussia is a poor country, counting by dollars where we count by pounds, and numbering only 13,000,000 inhabitants, he will see at once that this system of governing by provinces and colleges must create and maintain a most expensive and a most influential bureaucracy. The principle being, as we have stated, that the people shall be allowed to do nothing for themselves, it follows as a necessary consequence, that a vast multitude of men must be paid at the public expense for doing that which in other countries nature is allowed to do spontaneously, as the rain falls and the wind blows. It follows also, what Hansemann has sufficiently proved by a detailed comparison with France—that the Prussian government, if it be the best and the most enlightened in Europe—according to the so frequent boast—is also the most constrained, the most cumbrous, and the most burdensome; and it follows further, that in no country, notwithstanding the parade of popular forms, is self-government less practised than in Prussia, is spontaneity and nature in public life more utterly strange; in no country of equal civilization is the political mind of the many less ripe at the present moment, more to be dreaded when the urgency of some unforeseen necessity, and the pain of long-subdued constraint, shall teach it to exert its untutored energies.

On the military power of Prussia our limits do not permit us to enlarge. The amount of the army is stated by Zedlitz* as follows:—

Standing army	121,916
War reserve, and militia of the first summons .	230,000
Militia of the second summons . . .	180,000
	531,916

Along with which we may take the statement of Hansemann, that in the standing army and the war reserve there are in service, of the male population, from 20 to 25 years of age, about 40 per cent.; in the militia, of the male population, from 26 to 39 years, about 56 per cent. This is a genuine arming of the whole people, and is an institution that has been often and prominently brought forward by the laudators of Prussian liberty. There can be no doubt that an army of this sort is a very different thing from the band of hirelings by whose aid the great Elector, in the 17th century, annihilated the liberties of the East Prussian States; but in praising such an institution as this we

* Staatskräfte der Preussichen Monarchie, iii, Band. p. 36. 1830.

must bear in mind, in the first place, that it impoverishes and oppresses the country fearfully; and that, taken in connexion with the submission and servility which the bureaucratic supremacy everywhere brings along with it, the military drilling of the whole people at stated periods, has a much more powerful influence in keeping down than in raising the spirit of freedom. We must bear in mind also, that the numerous regular army of Prussia is always ready and immediately effective: the militia requires to be called out. The immense machinery of soldiership which so poor a country maintains, if it be a security, is a hard one.* The only good it can effect is to ensure the peace of Europe by presenting a close-serried square of nationality to the conquering mania which still seems to possess restless France; as a base of liberal institutions, as a guarantee of popular freedom, it is altogether naught. As a legacy, however, of the ever-memorable days that followed the battle of Jena, it may in the extreme distance act as a check on the wantonness of pure absolutism; teaching habitually, by its mere existence, a lesson which the Prussian government in its present temper can only imperfectly understand, that a battle, to be well fought, must be fought by a nation for national ends; and that the real strength of a standing army consists not in the number of its guns and bayonets, but in the popular sympathies which it shares, and the popular enthusiasm by which it is inspired.

Of the police, the third great governing power in Prussia, we shall say nothing. To understand that properly an Englishman must feel it. Touching its operation on the department of the post-office, Dr Kombst (Deutscher Bundestag, p. 61,) mentions some very characteristic details which are not to be found in the 'Conversations Lexicon,' *voce* NAGLER.

There remain yet two very important matters, and very characteristic of the Prussian system, concerning which, since we have said so much, it would be unpardonable not to say a little. We mean, the administration of justice and the matter of taxation.

The criminal procedure of a country is, as a test of civic liberty, the most speaking thing in it; and accordingly we find in Prussia, where no civic liberty exists, a system of judicial machinery in criminal matters so thoroughly autocratic in principle and practice, that the free-born Englishman recoils from it suddenly with a mixed instinct of aversion and incredulity. The characteristic feature of the Prussian code of criminal procedure, as delineated at considerable length by Herr Venedey, himself a Rhenish

* According to newspaper reports (which in Germany it is well known originate with government to serve certain purposes) the present king intends to make a considerable reduction in the standing army, with a view to lessen the public expenditure of the military department, which in Prussia amounts nearly to half the whole revenue.

lawyer, and in this matter worthy of all credit,* is this, that there is no separation of the legislative, the executive, and the judicial functions; the king is everywhere, not nominally merely, executor of the law and dispenser of grace, but with active interference and partisanship; the accused is under the strict control of the judge; the judges under the strict control of the minister of justice. Here, if anywhere in the Prussian system, we find the incarnation of the grand Prussian principle, that, except in office, no man is anything, or shall be accounted anything in the state. Hence there is no bar, and, what is the *ne plus ultra* of absolutism, no prosecutor; the bench prosecutes, defends, and pronounces sentence. A sort of defence, indeed, there is, within very narrow limits, and under the continual control and supervision of the judge-prosecutor; but that there is no free and independent defence appears sufficiently from this fact, that there is no order of barristers, no necessity indeed, no possibility for them in the Prussian system of procedure, which they very significantly call, not a trial, but an inquisition. As for juries, we are not to expect for a moment that such a wild old shoot of Teutonic liberty should flourish in a region where the more orderly independence of the lawyer class has ceased to be known. The late conduct of the government with regard to jury-trial in Rhenish Prussia is very characteristic here. The Rhenish Germans, with a heavy property-tax, inherit also, from French dominion, publicity of proceeding in legal matters, trial by jury, and an independent order of barristers. Against these free and French institutions the autocratic jealousy of the Berlin legislators has been constantly directed. Right gladly, if they could, they would root up the whole offence in the sweeping style of tough old Stein; but this, in a new and not over-well affectioned province, were dangerous; therefore they proceed cautiously, and secretly suck the blood of the victim whom they dare not stab. They have passed several statutes, the clear drift of which is to make the jurisprudential privileges of the Rhenish provinces, while they nominally remain, practically inoperative. They have declared that in

* We have been scrupulous throughout this article to borrow nothing from Herr Venedey without special mention and acknowledgment, because he is so bitter against Prussia that he is often not a competent, and in all cases a very partial witness. He has one good quality, however; he never deals in vague assertions, but quotes the law book by title and section, which the student can verify at leisure. In all the grand features of the Prussian system, the present writer has been careful to take his facts directly from the 'Land-recht,' which speaks loud enough for itself, without the necessity of a commentary. In the present instance, however, not possessing a copy of the 'Criminal Gerichts Ordnung,' he depends altogether on the accuracy of Herr Venedey. It is but just to mention, at the same time, that in all the main charges which he brings against the Prussian government, this writer is fully borne out by the impartial testimony of the moderate and judicious Hansemann. The defect of his book lies more in rabid one-sidedness of view, than in misrepresentation of fact.

all trials for political offences, the Prussian, not the Rhenish law, shall be the rule, that is to say, that instead of a free jury of his fellow-citizens, the poor Rhenish Liberal "suspected of being suspected," shall be tried by the king himself, through his minister of justice, passing sentence on all crimes committed against himself. Very Prussian! And another trick Herr Venedey also mentions, which we cannot pass. According to the French process the mere formal part of the defence in criminal cases is committed to a person called an *avoué,* while the advocate conducts the material defences in all points of fact and law. The *avoués* rank by the code as state officers, and as such are subordinate to the procurator of state. The advocates, on the other hand, form an independent body, acknowledging a subjection of discipline only to their own freely elected *batonier.* Such an institution, our author truly remarks, is a crying anomaly in Prussia—a thing in no wise to be tolerated. Therefore a law is passed annihilating the independent bar, and elevating the poor privates by an act of special grace into the dignity of public servants or *avoués.* Thus the offence of an order of freemen—a society not under the control and supervisorship of the state (supra p.)—is removed, and the bureaucracy is all in all.

In order to give the reader a clear idea what a cumbrous machinery the pragmatical government of Prussia employs to subject the *meum* and *tuum* between man and man, we shall mention two simple statistical facts from the valuable work of Herr Hansemann. The first is, that in the department of Minden, containing a population of only 396,325 souls, there are no less than 336 legal placemen; while in a corresponding district of Rhenish Prussia, where the French law prevails, 154 persons do the same business.* The other fact is what appears almost incredible, that the judicial establishment of poor Prussia with its 13,000,000 of inhabitants, costs within a few thousand pounds as much as the judicial establishment of France with its 32,000,000, viz., six millions of dollars! *Ex uno disce omnes.* The rage of governing in Berlin is like the rage of fighting in Paris; but a man must pay for his hobby, here or there.

We must not imagine, however, as the tenor of our observations up to this point might lead one to suspect, that every institution is perfectly regular, and of a piece, even in Prussia. It looks indeed like enough, for the most part, as if his Prussian Majesty considered government as a game at chess, and the members of society merely figures to be played

* Hansemann, § 241.—We have subtracted the advocates (or attornies, as we ought rather to translate the German advocate) who are connected with the courts, but form no part of the legal bureaucracy—at least disturb the comparison which the reader will naturally institute here with the Scottish county jurisdictions.

with; Robert Owen, with his social, and the Puseyites with their episcopal parallelograms, seem to have been anticipated in Berlin. But nature will out, and the voluntary principle shows its front sometimes, even in Prussia; whereof we have a most remarkable instance in one of the judicial institutions of Prussia very recently introduced. Not that the people, even in one solitary instance, have been allowed to originate any scheme of reform; everything in Prussia originates with the government; but the scheme that has been set on foot contains the very strange and anti-Prussian principle that the mass of the people may be safely intrusted with the *bona fide* election of certain functionaries, and that these functionaries may safely perform their functions without state-pay and supervision. We allude to the institution of districtual arbiters acting without remuneration (*schiedsrichter*), men unskilled in the technicalities of the law, and untrained to bureaucratic subserviency, natural heads of the people, popularly chosen to perform, by the aid of their own good sense alone, the important office of judging and making peace between man and man. To what wise and liberal head in the department of justice this truly popular measure belongs we do not possess the means of knowing;* the ordinance establishing the umpires in the province of Prussia is dated 17th September, 1827; and in this province it was found to work so well, that, on the petition of the respective States, it was introduced into Brandenburg and Silesia in 1832, and into Pomerania and Rugen in 1834. The great excellence of this system manifestly is, that where it can be made to work steadily, it acts at once as a cheap and speedy means of adjusting questions of right between plain men on common-sense principles, and as a check on that which is undoubtedly one of the greatest of social evils, the frequency of law-suits. The popular arbiters of Prussia, though they determine differences, and thus practically bring about the result of a law-suit, are preventers of legal strife rather than fosterers; peacemakers, *schiedsrichter*, as the German word significantly expresses, men whose business and whose interest it is to *part* the parties, not to set them by the ears, a business and duty which (unlike professional lawyers) they have every motive and interest substantially to perform. To a rational, peaceable people, like the Germans, such an institution seems peculiarly appropriate, and we rejoice heartily at the success of so notable an experiment. We shall be glad to hear that the future fruits answer the present promise; meanwhile, we must content ourselves with referring those more immediately interested in the

* Since writing the above we have been informed by an intelligent Prussian that the author of this measure was Count Danckelmann, in the year 1827, Minister of Justice in Prussia.

matter for further details to the sources of our own information.*

We conclude with the matter of taxation. This Herr Hansemann has handled in a most able and thorough style, and the results which he brings out are exactly such as might have been expected. In the outset it is characteristic that the actual burdens borne by the Prussian people, according to this author's minute and searching calculations, amount to not less than twenty-six millions of dollars more than the lump official statement which goes current in the common statistical works, being 77 millions rx. according to the one statement, and 51 millions according to the other. In estimating the proportionate amount of taxation which Prussia bears, Herr Hansemann has very properly chosen France as the fittest contrast, both these countries having been revolutionized on the same principles, and presenting the same preponderance of agricultural over city population. The result is, that Prussia, in almost every branch of public income, is taxed much more heavily than France, and that in the Rhenish provinces particularly the public burdens have waxed enormously since they were committed to the paternal sway of Prussia. It is indeed the necessary result of the principle of governing so much beyond what is necessary, that much more than is necessary must be paid. Prussia is a heavily taxed country, and must be so, while the present pragmatical mania continues. It is a great mistake also to suppose, as some English writers seem to take for granted, that the taxes in Prussia are imposed on a more equal and just principle than among ourselves. In such a country as Prussia, a property-tax must always form a considerable item; but it is small in proportion to the magnitude of the agricultural interests, amounting only to eleven millions out of the seventy-seven. The fact is, that notwithstanding the liberal and equal principles of taxation announced by Stein in 1811, a considerable proportion of the landed property in Brandenburg, Saxony, and other parts of Prussia still remains exempt from public burdens; the revolution has not not been allowed to do its perfect work; a remnant of privileged nobility still remains in respectable lustihood. On the other hand, to keep up the cumbrous machinery of supererogatory administration, a bread tax and a flesh tax have been imposed, which are complained of as pressing only and severely on the poorest classes, not to mention trade patents, income tax, and others, which, either in their own nature, or according to the scale by which they are adjusted, press more heavily on the lower orders. Besides these personal inequalities, there are local ine-

* 'Allgemeine Gerichts Ordnung für die Preussisthen Staaten.' (Law of Civil Procedure for the Prussian States). Von A. T. Mannkoff. Berlin, 1837. Th. I, Tit. 2, ed. § 176.

qualities of the most glaring kind particularly affecting Rhenish Prussia, which province the Berlinese teach to bear all the burdens, as Ireland to us was long only a footstool. The property tax in Berlin, for instance, is only four per cent. of the net rental; in the Rhine provinces it is twenty-one per cent.! No wonder that there are murmurs in that region, making themselves audible even within the ear-circuit of a Prussian police. Altogether, the taxation seems one of the most awkward things about the Prussian system; as the tailor's bill of a man of fashion, who will have a new suit every month, is not the most pleasant page in his diary.

We have said nothing in the above observations of the increasing prosperity of Prussian manufactures, because there is nothing particular either in Berlin iron or Elberfeld cloth by which the character of the Prussian despotism may be determined. All despotisms agree in this, that they incline to cherish and to protect on the one side the merely material, on the other the merely ornamental interests of humanity; and it were a strange thing indeed if Prussia, an intelligent and a rising country, during twenty-five years of peace, should not have made one or two points in the matter of mechanical dexterity sufficient to throw into a commercial fever some foolish wits who had vainly dreamt of a sempiternal British monopoly in this department. We have purposely abstained also from saying anything about the famous commercial league which has made so much noise lately. This is a matter affecting more the balance of power among the States of the German Confederation than the internal administration of Prussia. It is notable, however, as a public European proof of the intelligence, dexterity, and perseverance of the Prussian bureaucracy. It has also had a tendency to regain to Prussia some portion of that German sympathy which her servile attachment to Austrian absolutism has hitherto withheld. A commercial freedom and a commercial unity are at least, when realized, one approach to that grand ideal of "Fatherland" for which the patriots of 1813 drew the sword. Whether that ideal ever shall walk forth in complete embodiment God only knows; but a strong Prussia, as the wise men at Vienna in 1815 knew partly, and might have known wholly, is the first and indispensable postulate of a strong Germany.

It is possible, we may remark, in concluding, that the Prussian system may appear to many in the present paper represented under a very one-sided and partial aspect. We confess honestly that we had no intention to exhibit in strong relief the favourable side of the Prussian system. This has been done already by various parties, both in England and on the continent; to do it again here were *actum agere*, and altogether out of season. We have not the least intention, however, to deny in any point the general excellence of the Prussian government; we admire it

rather in a way as we admire a well-formed crystal; it has a mathematical beauty beyond the vulgar. It possesses in an eminent degree all the excellencies which a highly civilized and thoroughly defeudalized despotism can possess; but it possesses also, in full measure, all the deformities which are wont to cling to despotism as bigotry does to a churchman. 'Tis a perfect "paradise of beauty and delight," politically, we are assured; but as in many a political paradise beyond the seas, which interested jobbers have beslubbered with deceitful praise, there are sad lacks behind unmentioned, and not a few torments. There is a grand artificial architecture; no fine natural vegetation. There is a bland and benign atmosphere of paternity, but mosquitos swarm there plentifully and bite assiduously—a hundred-handed bureaucracy that ever intermeddles, and a hundred-eyed police that never intermits. Against this our British instinct rebels.

J. S. B.

*** This is a subject to which we must endeavour to return, when an opportunity occurs for instituting a comparison between the actual working of a Prussian and English government, in the details of administration. We suspect that in many things the comparison would not be favourable to this country. We doubt, for example, whether in any branch of Prussian administration there would be found such extravagant and costly abuses and local jobbing as have long been permitted to flourish, almost unheeded, in the Corporation of London. An intelligent Prussian once said to us, "Of what avail is it that your constitutional theory is more perfect, if your practical checks are not better than ours? Honestly, I would not exchange the system by which in Prussia we fill up all appointments, at least with educated men, for the demoralizing practices encouraged at your last general election in the name of representation." He denied, further, that the English system was one of less centralization than the Prussian;—the House of Commons engrossing all the local business of the country, so that a bridge, he observed, could not be built, or a road made, without an express act of Parliament. On the subject of imprisonment for political offences, he assured us that for some years there had been fewer persons imprisoned at Spandau for offences of that class, than we had at the present moment, either in our gaols or penal colonies, for the Chartist riots at Bristol, Newport, and Birmingham. It had been otherwise, but never worse, in Prussia than in England under Lord Castlereagh.

We were glad to learn, in our last trip up the Rhine, that Arndt has received pecuniary compensation for his losses from the present King, and has been made Rector of the University of Bonn. It is more generally known that other celebrated men of letters have been invited to Berlin. The present King has also to a considerable extent relieved the press from its shackles;—newspapers are now allowed to publish the discussions of the Provincial Diets, including even the discussions which have taken place upon the propriety of petitioning for a Constitution. We think there is some probability that a legisla-

tive assembly will ultimately be formed, consisting of deputies from the Provincial Diets. The present King has, however, some unfavourable points of character: his ideas belong too much to the middle ages. His great object is to strengthen the aristocracy, by restoring the law of primogeniture in those States where it has been abolished. One of his projects is to found an university exclusively for the sons of the nobility. In a recent case of murder he allowed the barbarous punishment of breaking on the wheel to be carried into effect, although it had remained for a century a dead letter in the statute book. It is fortunate for Prussia that the intelligent men, who form what in the preceding article is styled "the beaurocracy," possess sufficient power to prevent the King having entirely his own way. Without copying its faults, we think many useful hints might be taken from the Prussian system for adoption in this country, where the principle of the division of labour has never been understood by Government.—Ed.

ART. VII.—CABINET CHANGES.—(1754 to 1841.)—*A brief retrospect of the state of Parties since the accession of George III, may be useful on the eve of another Session; we propose, therefore, to devote a few pages to the various changes of Cabinets during the last ninety years, confining ourselves to a summary of the facts.*

WHEN George III came to the throne, he found a powerful and respectable ministry. The Duke of Newcastle was First Lord of the Treasury, but Mr Pitt was the virtual leader. This administration was formed on the death of Mr Pelham, in 1754.

The Duke of Newcastle retired in November, 1756, making way for the Duke of Devonshire as Premier, and Mr Pitt as Secretary of State. George III's dislike of Mr Pitt produced that minister's dismissal in April in the following year (1757), but the Cabinet could not stand against his opposition and popularity.

In June (1757) the Duke of Newcastle was again Premier, and Mr Pitt, as the phrase went at the time, took the Cabinet by storm, and made himself Secretary of State.

In 1760 this arrangement was in full force. Mr Legge was Chancellor of the Exchequer; Earl Grenville, President of the Council; Duke of Devonshire, Lord Chamberlain; Earl Temple, a Cabinet Minister; Lord Northington, Lord Chancellor; and Lord Anson at the Admiralty.

The first change was made in March, 1761, by the substitution of Lord Bute for Lord Holdernesse as Secretary of State; this was the commencement of the "King's party," as it was afterwards called.

In September (1761) Mr Pitt proposed in Council to declare war against Spain; and, with Lord Temple, committed his advice to writing. The Council rejected the proposition. Mr Pitt and Lord Temple, in consequence, resigned on the 5th of October.

In May (1762) the Duke of Newcastle went out of office, and was succeeded by Lord Bute.

In October in the same year, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord George Grenville, and Lord Besborough seceded from Lord Bute's government. The peace with France and Spain very much weakened the Cabinet; and the Cider Tax, although carried in the Commons through six divisions, and in the Lords by eighty-three to forty-nine, was odious to the nation. Lord Bute resigned in consequence in April, 1763, and was replaced by Mr George Grenville.

An unsuccessful overture was made to Mr Pitt in the August ensuing.

In September the Bedford-Grenville ministry was formed.

This ministry fell to pieces in May, 1765, and after a long negotiation with Mr Pitt, which terminated abruptly, Lord Rockingham and the Whigs came into office, 10th July, 1765.

They were ungraciously dismissed 30th July, 1766.

The Duke of Grafton as Premier, Charles Townshend as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Camden as Lord Chancellor, and Mr Pitt (who was created Earl of Chatham) as Lord Privy Seal, succeeded.

Mr Charles Townshend died the 4th of September, 1767, and was succeeded by Lord North as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Lord Chatham's illness occasioned the remodelling of the Cabinet in January, 1768, when the Duke of Grafton's administration commenced.

Lord Chatham himself resigned the Privy Seal on the 15th of October (1768). At the meeting of Parliament on the 9th of January, 1770, he opposed the Address, but his amendment was negatived without a division. A similar amendment by Mr Dowdeswell, in the Commons, was lost by 254 to 138.

The Duke of Grafton did not think it prudent to encounter the strong opposition now organized against him; Lord North consequently became First Lord of the Treasury on the 28th of January, 1770.

Lord North's government remained unshaken till the autumn of 1781. On the 12th of December (1781), Sir John Lowther's motion against the colonial war was lost by 220 against 179, giving Ministers a majority of only forty-one.

On the 23rd of February, 1782, General Conway's motion for an address to the King, to procure a peace, was lost by 194 to 193; and on the 27th of the same month, a motion, condemnatory of the ministerial policy regarding America, was carried by

234 to 215. On the 19th of March, Lord North announced the dissolution of his Cabinet.

At the end of the month the Marquis of Rockingham's ministry was formed.

On the death of that nobleman (1st of July, 1782), Lord Shelburne became First Lord of the Treasury, and Mr Pitt Chancellor of the Exchequer, vice Lord John Cavendish, who, with Mr Fox and several other leading Whigs, declined office.

On the 23rd of January, 1783, at half-past seven o'clock in the morning, two amendments to the address on the treaty of peace were carried against ministers by 224 to 208. This was the first "*achievement*" of the coalition between the Fox and North parties. On the 21st of February, a series of resolutions, moved by Lord John Cavendish, censuring the government for the manner in which the peace had been concluded, were carried by 207 to 190; next day Lord Shelburne resigned.

On the 2nd of April (1783), the Duke of Portland's administration, including Mr Fox, Lord North, Lord John Cavendish, &c., was completed.

Mr Fox introduced his famous bill for vesting the government of India in seven commissioners, to be *nominated* by Parliament, on the 18th of November (1783); the second reading was carried in the Commons, by 217 to 103, on the 7th of December; but the Lords *rejected* the entire measure on the 17th, by 95 to 76.

On the 11th, Earl Temple, in an audience with the King, explained the tendency of the bill, and was authorized to state that his Majesty considered it highly impolitic and dangerous; on the 18th the ministers were commanded to resign the seals of their respective offices; and a few days afterwards Mr Pitt, as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, formed his administration.

As is well known, his government was severely censured by several majorities of the Commons, until the dissolution of Parliament 24th of March, 1784.

About 1800, a difference between the King and Mr Pitt, and several other principal members of the Cabinet, arose on the question of the Catholic claims; it was understood that the Irish Union had been partly carried in consequence of a pledge from Mr Pitt in favour of the Catholics.

In March, 1801, Mr Addington succeeded Mr Pitt at the Treasury and the Exchequer, and formed the "Addington administration."

At the commencement of 1804, the ministry were evidently tottering; Mr Fox's motion on national defence, on the 23rd of April, was lost by only 52 votes—256 to 204; and a motion

made by Mr York, Secretary of State, on the 28th, relative to the army, was carried by only 240 to 203.

Mr Addington resigned on the 30th, and Mr Pitt received unlimited powers to form a new Cabinet, the Catholic question and the introduction of Mr Fox alone excepted.

Mr Pitt's death, on the 23rd of June, 1806, introduced Lord Grenville, Mr Fox, and the Whigs.

Mr Fox died on the 13th of September in the same year, but his party struggled on till March, 1807, when a difference with the King on the Catholic disabilities caused their dismissal.

The Duke of Portland succeeded as the ostensible head of the Cabinet, but Mr Percival, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was the virtual leader.

Mr Percival found himself compelled to strengthen his government in September, 1809, and, among other changes, added the Premiership to the office he already held; the Cabinet was now spoken of as the "Percival administration."

On the assassination of Mr Percival on the 11th of May, 1812, after an unsuccessful negotiation with Lords Grey and Grenville, as the leaders of the Whig party, Lord Liverpool was placed at the head of the Cabinet, and commenced that career of power which was only terminated by his fatal illness in 1827.

Mr Canning was sent for by the King on the 28th of March, 1827, and commissioned to form a Cabinet. After much negotiation, and many difficulties, the Canning administration was Gazetted on the 27th of April (1827).

On the 8th of August Mr Canning died, and Lord Goderich succeeded him as First Lord of the Treasury, and Mr Herries as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The appointment of Mr Herries is supposed to have precipitated the fate of Lord Goderich's government.

On the 11th of January, 1828, the Duke of Wellington was Prime Minister. The death of George IV (25th of June, 1830), and the subsequent elections, very much weakened the ministry. Sir Henry Parnell's motion for a committee on the civil list was carried by 233 to 204 on the 15th of November, 1830; and next day the dissolution of the Cabinet was announced in both Houses.

The accession of Earl Grey and the Reformers immediately followed.

It is not necessary to narrate the temporary ministerial changes which took place before June, 1834; a difference in the Cabinet about that time, led to the resignation of Earl Grey, and the nomination of Lord Melbourne as his successor.

Towards the end of the year (10th of November, 1834), Earl Spencer's death occasioned the removal of Lord Althorp to the

House of Lords. The King, on the 14th, intimated to the Premier that he considered the Cabinet dissolved.

Sir Robert Peel came into office on the 9th of December, but was defeated on the first day of the House meeting, February the 19th, 1835; Mr Abercromby being elected Speaker by 316 to 306. On the 4th of April, Lord John Russell's resolution regarding the Irish Church, was carried by 322 to 289. On the 6th the Appropriation Clause, moved by Lord John, was carried by 262 to 237; and on the 7th, a second resolution, affirming the appropriation principle, was carried by 285 to 258.

On the 8th of April Sir Robert Peel resigned, and Lord Melbourne was again at the head of the Treasury.

On the 9th of April, 1839, Mr Labouchere introduced a bill for suspending the Constitution of the island of Jamaica; the second reading was allowed to pass *pro formâ*, but on the motion that the Speaker do now leave the chair, a long and warm debate arose, which terminated (6th of May) in a division of 294 to 289 in favour of the motion, giving the ministers a narrow majority of five. Next day they announced their resignation.

Sir Robert Peel attempted to form a Cabinet, but failed in consequence, partly, of a difference with the Queen on the subject of the appointments of the Ladies of the Household. Lord Melbourne was recalled, and both parties explained in Parliament on the 13th (May).

On the 30th of April, 1841, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr Baring) opened his budget for the year; he pointed out the deficiency in the revenue, and proposed to act to some extent upon free-trade principles, by reducing the duties on corn, sugar, and timber. On the 7th of May, Lord John Russell moved the adoption of the budget proposition relative to the sugar duties; Lord Sandon moved an amendment to the effect that, under existing circumstances, no alteration was required: after eight nights' debate, the House divided on the 17th, and carried the amendment by 317 to 281; majority against ministers, 36.

On the 27th May, Sir Robert Peel moved a direct vote of Want of Confidence in the existing government. On the 4th of June, after five nights' debate, it was carried by 312 to 311.

The Cabinet thought proper to appeal from the House of Commons to the nation, and dissolved Parliament as soon as the public business would permit (22nd of June).

The new Parliament assembled on the 19th of August; on the 24th, Mr S. Wortley moved an amendment to the Address, expressing want of confidence in the present ministers of the Crown; the House divided on the 27th:—360 to 269 in favour of the amendment; majority against ministers, 91.

A similar amendment, moved by the Earl of Ripon, had been carried in the House of Lords on the 24th, by 168 to 96; majority against ministers, 72.

On the 30th, Lord John Russell in the Commons, and Lord Melbourne in the Lords, announced the dissolution of the Whig government.

Sir Robert Peel was commissioned to form a new Cabinet with all convenient dispatch: in the beginning of September all the appointments were completed.*

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* We subjoin the following notes to the above :—

SECRETARIES OF STATE.

Before the end of the reign of Henry VIII, there was only one Secretary of State; the number was then increased to two. At the union with Scotland, a third secretaryship was created for "Scotch Affairs." It continued from 1708, when it was held by the Duke of Queensbury, to January, 1746, when it was resigned by the Marquis of Tweeddale. From that time to 1768 there were "Two Principal Secretaries of State." In 1768, in consequence of the increase of business from the American colonies, a "Secretary of State for the Colonies" was appointed in the person of Lord Hillsborough. This office continued until 1782, when, together with several others, it was abolished by Mr Burke's bill (22 Geo. 3, cap. 82); Mr Welbore Ellis was the occupant at that time. From about 1789 the two Secretaries began to be distinguished as "Home" and "Foreign." In 1794, the war occasioned the appointment of Mr Henry Dundas (Lord Melville) as "Secretary of State for War." In 1801, the business connected with the colonies was transferred to the Secretary at War, who was then called "Secretary of State for War and Colonies." In 1816 (3rd of April), a motion was made by Mr Tierney to abolish the third secretaryship, because the war which occasioned its creation was at an end; the motion was resisted by government, on the ground that the importance of the colonies was such as to require a minister for their especial superintendence: Mr Tierney's motion was lost by 182 to 100. The "two principal Secretaries" were sometimes distinguished as acting for the "northern" and "southern departments;" the northern department comprehended Germany and the north of Europe, &c.; the southern, France and the rest of the Continent not included in the former office, &c.

PARLIAMENTS.

OPENED.

19 May	1761	18 May	1784
10 "	1768	25 November	1790
29 November	1774	12 July	1796
31 October	1780		

First Imperial Parliament.

31 August	1802	23 April	1820
25 November	1806	14 November	1826
27 "	1807	26 October	1830
24 "	1812	14 June	1831
4 August	1818		

First Reformed Parliament.

29 January	1833	29 August	1837
29 February	1835	19 August	1841

Art. VIII.—*History of the Great Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in Germany, Switzerland, &c.* By J. H. Merlè D'Aubigné, President of the Theological School of Geneva, &c. 3 vols. D. Walther, Piccadilly. 1841.

THE 'History of the Reformation' is well adapted to serve two important objects. Being a history of opinions, it exhibits to the student the mental operations of human beings, while at the same time it enables him to estimate the value of opinions in their influence on society.

The author takes a proper and Catholic view of this important portion of our world's annals. "'The History of the Reformation,'" he observes, "is wholly distinct from the history of Protestantism. In the former, all bears the character of a regeneration of human nature,—a religious and social transformation emanating from God himself. In the latter we see too often a glaring depravation of first principles—the conflict of parties—a sectarian spirit,—and the operation of private interests. The history of Protestantism might claim the attention of Protestants. 'The History of the Reformation' is a book for all Christians, or rather for all mankind."

The present work opens with a rapid sketch of the corruptions which had crept into the Church, and the state of Christianity at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as exhibited in the lives of the principal actors in the drama.

The Church was in the beginning a simple community of brethren; but a power soon arose, and gradually extended itself, not only alien, but hostile to the simplicity of the gospel.

The Bishop of Rome, surrounded by the prestige that for ages had hallowed the political and military power of the seven-hilled city, formed the ambitious project of rendering the authority of the Romish Church the universal law throughout Christendom.

The Bishops of the West favoured this encroachment, either through jealousy of their Eastern brethren, or because they preferred to bend before a spiritual rather than a temporal power; whilst each of the various theological sects which distracted the East strove to conciliate the Roman Pontiff, in the hope, by his aid, of triumphing over its opponents.

The doctrine of the visible unity of the Church, led to the notion that some outward representative of that unity was needful. A primacy of St Peter was invented, and men pro-

ceeded to acknowledge in that Apostle, and in his pretended successor, the head of the whole Church.

The constitution of the Patriarchate tended still farther to the exaltation of the Papacy. Rome at first shared the rank of Patriarchate with Alexandria and Antioch; but when the invasion of Mahomet swept away the Bishopricks of Alexandria and Antioch, when that of Constantinople separated itself from the West, Rome remained without a rival. Ignorance and superstition took possession of the Church, and delivered it up to Rome blindfold and manacled.

From this period the power of the Hierarchy in the ascending scale, and the rapid declension of the Imperial power, accelerated their twofold destiny. The irruption of the northern barbarians, who, in the end, bowed the knee to the Roman Pontiff, forms another step in the usurpation of the Papacy. Leo III, in 800, placed the crown of the Roman emperors on the brow of the grandson of Pepin, and from the period of this union with the Franks his connexion with the East terminated. The disunion that weakened the civil power on the demise of Charlemagne,* was embraced by Rome as a means of still further exalting the power and securing the independence of the Popedom. The *famous decretals* imputed to Isidorus appeared, and as early as 865, Nicholas I was not ashamed to avail himself of this hierarchical arsenal for weapons to attack princes and bishops. But the disgraceful and scandalous profligacy of the Papacy suspended for a time the object of the decretals. The Emperor of Germany, aroused to indignation by the enormities of the Papacy, at length purified Rome by the sword, and in 1047 a German bishop, Leo IX, possessed himself of the pontifical throne. Four Popes, all Germans, and chosen by the Emperor, succeeded; but the power thus acquired was soon directed against the Emperor himself. The Papacy arose from its humility, and trampled under foot the princes of the earth. In the monk Hildebrand, the *protegé* of Leo IX, who reigned under the name of Gregory VII, we behold the Roman Pontificate in its strength and its glory.

His legates passed through the provinces depriving the pastors of their legal partners, and everywhere exciting the popu-

* Charlemagne ranks high as a *warrior*, and the Church bestowed on him the title of *Saint*, an indelible disgrace, since it was acquired by the murder of heretics. He appointed the punishment of death for the following *crimes*:—The refusing to be baptized; the false pretence of being baptized; a relapse into idolatry; the murder of a bishop or priest—the murder of any other human being was but a *venial crime*; human sacrifices; eating meat during Lent.

lace against the married clergy. He snapt asunder the ancient ties which connected the churches and their pastors with the royal authority, in order to bind them more firmly to the pontifical throne. *Woe* to the civil rulers who should resist her claim! Interdicts and excommunications released their subjects from their allegiance, and the earth refused even the peace and shelter of the tomb to the dead, at the command of the proud Pontiff. Yet Gregory VII was humbled in his turn—Rome was taken, and he died in exile at Salerno. His successors threw themselves as conquerors on the churches of Spain, which, with those of Prussia, fell into the embrace of the crowned priest. The crusades, about this period, spread far and wide, and threw a halo of military glory around the champions of the Church—pious pilgrims entering humbly and barefooted within the walls of Jerusalem, burned alive the Jews in their synagogues, and the soldiers of the Cross shed the blood of tens of thousands of Saracens, in the name of a peaceful and self-denying master, and thus revived in the East the nearly forgotten name of the Pope; while the kingdoms of Christendom, already subject to the spiritual empire of Rome, became her serfs and her tributaries.

The author next takes a view of the state of the Papacy from this period, the internal divisions which had crept into the Church, its carnality, and the employment of theocratic forms as instruments of worldly schemes.

The general progression of intelligence, the study of philosophy, the revival of letters, and the invention of printing, all had their share in preparing the way for the Reformation.

In the twelfth century many sects arose, the most eminent of which was the Waldenses; a crusade was proclaimed against those heretics, which involved the French provinces in all the horrors of a civil war.

Two centuries later the celebrated John Wickliffe appeared in England. He was one of the first heralds of the Reformation, and translated the New Testament into the vulgar tongue, for which his heretical bones were exhumed, and burnt for the honour of the Church. The light shed by Wickliffe illumed other countries, and especially Germany, after his death. The most eminent of his foreign disciples was John Huss, who perished at the stake in 1415. But the burning of heretics is not always the death-blow to heresy. Jerome of Prague appeared; but the power which proved too strong for Huss seized hold of Jerome, who underwent the same fate. Other influences were at work, and other pioneers of the Reformation

started forth in different countries and amongst different ranks of society.

Amongst the most conspicuous of those was Martin Luther. Born in Saxony of humble parentage, and reared amidst hardships and privations of every kind, he successively became a monk of the Augustine order, and Professor of Divinity in the Academy of Wittemberg. Learned, eloquent, and intrepid, he was well fitted to act a part in a mighty revolution. His early career,—his profession as a monk in the Monastery of St Augustine,—his ascetic life—his mental struggles—his appointment as Professor at the University of Wittemberg, and the effect produced by his lectures and preaching, are all fully detailed.

A difference having arisen between seven convents of his order and the vicar-general, Luther's labours were interrupted, and he was dispatched on a mission to Rome.

"At last, after a fatiguing journey under the burning sun of Italy, he approached the seven-hilled city. His heart was moved within him. His eyes longed to behold the queen of the earth and of the Church! As soon as he discovered from a distance the Eternal City,—the city of St Peter and St Paul, the metropolis of the Catholic World, he threw himself on the earth, exclaiming, 'Holy Rome, I salute thee!'

"Luther was now in Rome; the professor of Wittemberg was in the midst of the eloquent ruins of the Rome of Consuls and of Emperors, the Rome of Confessors of Christ and of Martyrs. *There* had lived Plautus and Virgil, whose works he had carried with him into his cloister; and all those great men whose history had so often stirred his heart. He beheld their statues, and the ruined monuments which still attested their glory. But all this glory and power had passed away. He trod under foot the dust of them. He called to mind, at every step he took, the melancholy presentiments of Scipio, when, shedding tears over the ruins of Carthage, its palaces in flames, and its walls broken down, he exclaimed: '*It will one day be thus with Rome!*' 'And truly,' said Luther, 'the Rome of Scipios and Cæsars is but a corpse. There are such heaps of ruin that the foundations of the houses rest at this hour where once their roofs were. *There*,' said he, turning a melancholy look on its ruins, '*there* were once the riches and treasures of this world!'* All these fragments of wreck which his foot encountered whispered to Luther, within Rome herself, that what is strongest in the sight of men may be destroyed by the breath of the Lord.

"But with these profaner ruins were mixed holy ashes: the thought of this came to his mind. The burial places of the martyrs are hard

* L. Opp. (W.) xxii, 2374, 2377.

by those of Roman generals and conquerors. Christian Rome, and her trials, had more power over the heart of the Saxon monk than Pagan Rome with all her glory. In this very place arrived that epistle wherein Paul wrote, '*the just shall live by faith.*' He is not far from the forum of Appius and the Three Taverns. In that spot was the house of Narcissus; here stood the palace of Cæsar, where the Lord delivered the Apostle from the jaws of the lion. Oh, how did these recollections strengthen the heart of the monk of Wittemberg!"

Luther was at this period still a pious Catholic, and deeply was he shocked at the levity of the Romish clergy, who, on their part, laughed at his simplicity. "One day when he was officiating, he found that at the altar they had read seven masses, while he was reading one." "Quick! quick!" said one of the priests, "send *our Lady* her son back speedily,"—thus alluding to the transubstantiation of the bread into the body and blood of Christ. On another occasion they laughingly related how, when saying mass at the altar, instead of the sacramental words which were to transform the elements into the body and blood of the Saviour, they pronounced over the bread and wine these sarcastic words:—"Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remain; wine thou art, and wine thou shalt remain.—*Panis es, et panis manebis; vinum es, et vinum manebis.*"

This journey was in more respects than one important to the future Reformer. One day ascending on his knees *Pilate's Staircase*, he thought he heard a voice like thunder speaking from the depths of his heart,—"*The just shall live by faith.*" Twice before they had resounded on his ear; he started up in terror, struck with shame at the degradation to which superstition had debased him. This text was a creative word for the Reformer and the Reformation;—it was as if God had said,—"Let there be light, and there was light."

On his return to Wittemberg, the Church lost hold on him in proportion as this text gained ground in his heart; it put God in the place of the priest.

In 1512 Luther was made Licentiate of Theology, and took an oath to defend the truth of the Gospel with all his strength.

Wittemberg, changed by his preaching, became the focus of a light which was soon to illuminate Germany, and spread over the whole church. A visit of inspection made by Luther in 1516, aroused many a drowsy spirit, and has been aptly termed "the Morning Star of the Reformation."

In 1517 Luther exposed the shameful traffic in indulgences, which raised a storm that in the end shook the papal throne to its foundation. John Diezel, or Tetzel, a Dominican monk,

had long filled the office of agent for the sale of indulgences, and at this period made a progress through the country, which excited a lively sensation.

Did space allow, we might extract a graphic description of those *holy fairs*, but for this we must refer to the work itself.

On the feast of All-Saints, 1517, Luther affixed to the Church ninety-five theses against the sale of indulgences, declaring himself ready to defend them next day at the University.

The reception and effects of these theses were tremendous; they kindled a light in many a cabin and even palace. Tetzel took up the gauntlet, but with a feeble hand: the reply of Luther, and the discussions which followed, only spread wider the doctrines of the Reformer. Leo X, roused by the cry of the theologians and monks, cited Luther to Rome; but moved by the intercession of the University and the friends of the Reformer, he remitted the case to his legate, De Vio. Luther had now to contend face to face with the power of Rome; and our author ably contrasts the sophisms and wily conduct of the churchman with the bold and fearless bearing of the Reformer.

After appealing to Leo X, Luther left Augsburg and returned to Wittemberg, where he busied himself in drawing up a report of the conference at Augsburg. Being in daily expectation of the malediction of the Pope, he prepared again to become a wanderer.

The second volume commences with the Leipsic discussion in 1519. The Pope was urged on all sides to give the finishing blow to the champion of Reform, when Leo suddenly changed his tactics. Charles Miltitz was sent into Saxony to confer with Luther. By gentleness and address, he prevailed on the Reformer to make many concessions, and even to write to the Pope, acknowledging that he had gone too far. The friends of the Reformation blushed to see its sturdy advocate yield before the politic courtier.

But the cloud was quickly dispersed; a quarrel ensued between Luther and a Romanist, which led to his re-assertion of the new doctrines with greater energy than before.

Our author gives a luminous summary of the doctrines discussed, and the important results which extended far and wide the cause of the Reformation.

The election of a successor to tbe Emperor Maximilian, and its effects on the progress of the Reformation, form the not least interesting portion of the present volume.

In 1520, everything being prepared, Leo was about to launch the thunder of the Vatican against Luther, who evaded the blow by withdrawing himself from the See of Rome. On leaving

Worms, Luther was seized by the orders of the Elector of Saxony, and lodged in safety from all his enemies in his Castle of Wartberg. Whilst Luther laboured in the Reformed cause in Saxony, Ulric Zwingle, a man more bold than Melancthon; more mild and enlightened than Luther, threw off the Papal yoke in Switzerland. The people of Glaris chose Zwingle for their pastor, and in 1526, he read his first mass on St Michael's day, at Wildhaus, in presence of his relations and their friends, and at the close of the year reached Glaris.

The following passage marks the different manner in which Luther and Zwingle attained to the same conviction in regard to the Papacy —

"Zwingle's advance was slow and progressive. He did not arrive at truth, as Luther had done, by those tempest-shocks which compel the soul hastily to seek a refuge; he reached it by the gentle influence of Scripture—a power which gradually subdues the heart of man. Luther attained the wished-for shore after struggling with the storms of ocean;—Zwingle by steering cautiously and slowly along the shore."

Great was the influence exercised over Zwingle by the celebrated Erasmus. The charm of his society banished Zwingle's timidity, and the power of his intellect impressed him with reverence. Rome sought to intimidate Luther by solemn judgments, and to win Zwingle by her favours. Neither method was successful; those champions of the Reformation were not to be won either by threats or flattery.

In 1518 a barefooted Carmelite arrived on the heights of St Gothard. This Italian monk was commissioned to sell Papal indulgences to the good Christians of the Helvetic League. "*I am empowered to remit all sins!*" proclaimed this Tetzel of Switzerland, "and to dispose of Christ's merits to whoever will purchase them."

Zwingle's zeal was kindled, and he preached vehemently against the unholy impostor. The adherents of the Swiss Reformer rapidly multiplied. The post of preacher to the College of Canons at Zurich became vacant about this period; and, after a violent contest, Zwingle was elected by a large majority. The admonition given to the preacher on his admission is a curious specimen of priestly morals at that period.

Though unable to follow the progress of the Italian monk, his meeting with, and repulse from, Bullinger, the Dean of Bremgarten, and Zwingle's continued and powerful opposition to the indulgences, we cannot refrain from giving the following graphic extract:—

Samson arrived at Zug in 1518, and from thence journeyed

to Berne, and spread out his stall in St Vinçent's Church, where he began to cry up his wares more loudly than ever.

"'Here,' said he to the rich, 'are indulgences on parchment, for one crown!—There,' addressing himself to the poor, 'are absolutions on common paper, for two batz only!' One day, a knight of high name, Jacob von Stein, presented himself before him, mounted on a prancing dapple-gray charger. 'Give me,' said the knight, 'an indulgence for myself; for my troop, which is five hundred strong; for all the vassals on my domain of Belp; and for all my ancestors; and I will give you in return this dapple-gray horse of mine.' It was a high price to ask for a *horse*. Nevertheless, the charger pleased the barefooted Carmelite. The bargain was struck, the beast was led into the monk's stable, and all those souls were duly declared to have been delivered for ever from the pains of hell!* On another occasion, a burgher obtained from him for thirteen florins an indulgence, by virtue of which his confessor was authorized to absolve him, among other things, from every kind of perjury.† Samson was held in such reverence, that the counsellor, Von May, an old man of enlightened mind, having dropped some expressions against him, was obliged to ask pardon of the haughty monk on his knees.

"The last day of his stay had now arrived. A deafening clamour of bells gave warning to the inhabitants of Berne that the monk was about to take his departure. Samson was in the church, standing on the steps of the high altar. The canon, Henry Lupulus, Zwingle's former master, officiated as his interpreter. 'When the wolf and the fox come abroad together,' said the canon Anselm, addressing the Schultheiss von Watteville, 'the wisest plan for you, worshipful Sir, is to gather your sheep and your geese with all speed into a place of safety.' But the monk cared little for such remarks as these, which, moreover, seldom reached his ears. 'Fall on your knees,' said he to the superstitious crowd; 'repeat three *pater nosters* and three *ave Marias*, and your souls will instantly be as pure as they were at the moment of your baptism.' The multitude fell on their knees forthwith. Then determined to outdo himself, Samson cried out, 'I deliver from the torments of purgatory and hell the souls of all the people of Berne who have departed this life, whatsoever may have been the manner or the place of their death.' These mountebanks, like those who perform at fairs, always reserved their most astounding feat for the last."

The monk at length departed. "A cart drawn by three horses, and loaded with coin obtained from the poor and needy, rolled before him over those steep roads of the St Gothard, along which he had passed, eight months before, indigent, un-

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* "Um einem Kurtgrowen Hengst. (Anshelm, V. 335: J. J. Hotting. Helv. K. Gesch. iii. 29.)"

† "A quovis perjurio. (Muller's Reliq. iv, 403.)"

attended, and encumbered by no burden save those said indulgences."*

While the Reformation was fast progressing in Switzerland, Luther remained safe from his enemies in the Castle of Wartberg. But this period of seclusion was not spent in idleness; his Tracts from the Wartberg, his Letters, his Theses on Celibacy and Monastic Vows, issued from his prison.

The sale of indulgences was resumed under the authority of the Archbishop and Elector of Mentz; but Luther was alive! and his letter to the elector on the subject greatly alarmed his friends; but the pusillanimous Albert quailed before the reproof of the sturdy Reformer. It was at this period that he formed, and partly executed, the design of translating the Bible; when circumstances, and especially the appearance of pretended prophets, induced him to leave the castle of Wartberg, and return secretly to Wittemberg. The effects of his presence and his preaching are all detailed.

The fame of the poor monk of Wittemberg had reached to England, and even provoked the indignation of Henry VIII. He gave orders, on the arrival of the Decree of Worms, that the Pope's bull against the writings of Luther should be carried into execution, which was accordingly done in May, 1521, at St Paul's cathedral, in presence of a vast concourse of spectators, with all the pomp and pageantry of sacerdotal grandeur.

Henry then laid aside his royal dignity, and entered the arena of theological disputation. His 'Defence of the Seven Sacraments,' &c., against Luther, was lauded by his parasites and courtiers; and when his work was presented to the Pope by the Dean of Windsor, Leo replied, that it could only have been composed by the aid of the Holy Spirit, and conferred on Henry the title of the *Defender of the Faith.*

Luther read the book with a smile of mingled disdain and impatience. In vain Melancthon and his other friends essayed to appease his wrath; his reply was couched in terms of violence and scurrility, which even the provocation he had received can scarcely excuse.

"I won't be gentle towards the King of England," he replied; "I will turn upon my pursuers—I will provoke and exasperate my adversary until he falls and is annihilated."

"If this heretic does not retract, he must be burnt," said his royal adversary in his turn; and by such weapons did the champions of the meek and self-denying Galilean essay to for-

* Und führt mit ihm ein threspendiger Schatz an gelt den er armen lüthen abgelogen hat. (Bullinger, MS.)

ward his cause. The slogan of Henry was "Custom! custom! —Ordinances! ordinances!—Fathers! fathers!" The war-cry of Luther, "The Gospel, the Gospel!—Christ! Christ!" He then proceeds, in a strain of fervid eloquence and a complete knowledge of the subject, to refute, one by one, the arguments of the royal theologian; but, towards the conclusion, he again relapses into the violence and scurrility we have already reprobated.

Great was the sensation produced at the court of Henry by the arrival of Luther's reply. The Bishop of Rochester lost not a moment in repelling the attack. The following passage affords a good idea of the age and the Church:—

"'Take us the little foxes that spoil the vines, says Christ in Solomon's Song; from this we learn,' said Fisher, 'that we ought to lay hands upon heretics, *before they grow big*. Luther is become a large fox, so old, so cunning, so mischievous, that it is very difficult to catch him. What do I say, a fox? He is a mad dog, a ravening wolf, a cruel she-bear; or rather, all these put together, for the monster includes many beasts within him.'"*

Thomas More also entered the arena against the monk of Wittemberg, and was not behind him of Rochester in scurrility and fanaticism.†

Henry now threw aside the pen of the theologian, and resorted to diplomacy. In reply to the letters he addressed to the Elector and the Duke of Saxony, he was referred to the approaching Council; and thus found himself as far as ever from his object.

Meanwhile the Reformation continued to spread, and daily to gain new adherents. The monastic orders were among the first to burst their fetters, and to propagate the new doctrines throughout the Western Church; the Franciscans soon followed their example. For several years past the public mind in Germany had been in a state of incessant agitation. A force had been at work, which had gradually unloosened the connexion which had for ages bound the whole fabric of society to the Romish Church. The supremacy of its Pontiff had been generally regarded as a fundamental principle of revealed religion, yet this was the very principle against which the Reformers first directed their attacks. The school which Frederic

* "Canem dixissem rabidum, imo lupum rapacissimum, aut sævissimam quamdam ursam. (Cochlæus, p. 60.)"

† At a later period, More himself was executed by this reforming king. "At his death," says a late eloquent writer, "science wept, and humanity shuddered; but was consoled by recollecting that Sir Thomas was himself a persecutor, and a friend of persecution."

had formed, and into which Luther introduced the word of life, became the centre of that wide-spreading revolution which regenerated the Church. The progressive movement in Germany,—the influence exercised by the wars between the reigning Potentates,—the policy of Adrian,—and the effect of his briefs, are all minutely detailed

The efforts of Duke George to stimulate the Elector and Duke John to persecute the new faith, afford a curious instance of the ignorance and bigotry of the times.

Failing in his object, Duke George persecuted all within his reach; but it was in the Low Countries, under the immediate sway of Charles V, that persecution broke out in all its virulence.

The martyrdom of the three young Augustine monks at Brussels, on the 1st of July, 1523, occasioned fearful anticipations amongst the Reformers. At the stake they displayed a fortitude which created equal sympathy and admiration. Luther composed a hymn commemorative of this priestly murder; and from the ashes of those intrepid youths a noble harvest sprung up:

> "And Piety had learned to burn
> With holier transport o'er their urn!"

Adrian would doubtless have persisted in this sanguinary policy, had not death cut short his career in 1523. The Romans themselves rejoiced at being rid of this stern German, and suspended a crown of flowers over the door of his physician, with the inscription—"*To the Saviour of his Country.*"

Julio de Medicis (Clement VII) succeeded, and during his pontificate thought only of maintaining the privileges of the Papal see, and employing its resources for his own aggrandisement.

Space would not permit, were we even inclined, to follow our author, step by step, in his account of the progress of the Reformation. Suffice it to say, that into whatever country it penetrated, it was pursued by the anathemas of the Romish priesthood, and oft baptised with the baptism of blood.

The effects produced on the progress of the Reformation by the discussions at the Diet of Nuremberg in 1525.—the intrigues of Cardinal Campeggio, the legate of Clement VII, the noblest prelate of his court,—and the Ratisbon League, all pass under review.

"From that hour," says our author, "the cause of Luther was no longer of a nature purely religious; and the contest with the monk of Wittemberg ranked amongst the political events of Europe."

We would only observe, in conclusion, that the facts and arguments seem to us to be candidly stated, and that M. D'Aubigné displays less bigotry in speaking of the Roman Catholic actors in the great drama of the Reformation than is observable in some other chroniclers of those times. This history is, moreover, valuable as being drawn from original sources, with which his long residence in Germany, the Low Countries, and Switzerland rendered him familiar.

Not having seen the original, we cannot speak of the fidelity of the translation; but, on the whole, we think the present work may be regarded as an important acquisition to our ecclesiastical literature. One of more striking interest for the general reader has rarely been published. C. H.

ART. IX.—1. *Address of the House of Commons to the Queen*, on the 10th of June, 1841.

2. *Answer of her Majesty to the House of Commons*, on the 21st of June. Printed in the Votes and Proceedings of the House of Commons, 21st June, 1841.

WE should have to apologize to our readers if it were our intention merely to discuss the almost threadbare subject of the Danish claims, but these having been favourably decided by the Legislature, the case of those claimants is now changed into a perfectly new case, involving a constitutional question which concerns the community at large, and as such we now purpose to examine it.

A noble lord, a former Chancellor of the Exchequer,* observed in the House of Lords, that the whole science (*qu. art?*) of government is a perpetual struggle with difficulties. One of the principal struggles made by governments appears to be against the payment of their just debts. The object of each succeeding Chancellor of the Exchequer is, by every shift and expedient he can devise, to stave off for the hour or the day the most pressing of the creditors that beset him; paying those that are men "of good friends," and have interest enough to back their claims—shutting the door in the face of those who have not. The abstract justice or injustice of the demand is nothing. Nay, more, it would even seem now that it is nothing, although the justice of the claim is guaranteed and supported by repeated majorities of the votes of the House of Commons. This last fact is curious, and appears to involve an important constitutional question.

* The Earl of Ripon, Oct. 4th, 1841.

The staving off system is founded on a calculation that petitioners for relief will be worn out by the delays, difficulties, and hardships to which they are exposed; that—to borrow an official phrase—they will be "killed off." It would, however, redound more to the honour of our salaried officials if, instead of mis-spending their time in concerting means to evade the claims of justice, and thus lowering the character of an administration by dishonest shuffling,—it would be more creditable if the ability which is presumed to exist, where so large a salary is paid, were directed to the furtherance of those measures which would relieve the industrious classes from the monopolies which paralyze their exertions, and by so doing relieve at the same time their own financial anxieties. But one wrong begets another. A monopoly enjoyed by one individual or one class, besides the money that it takes directly out of the pockets of other individuals and other classes, prevents a certain quantity of revenue from going into the coffers of the Government, and thus renders it more difficult for that Government to pay its debts, and thus indirectly again injures those other individuals and other classes. Thus seeing no hope of being able to meet their liabilities honestly and openly, it is upon the staving off system that the right honourable "guardians of the public purse" count. They trust that, the patience of their friends and supporters being at last worn out, the poor remains of these unfortunate claimants will share the fate that has already befallen many of their brethren in suffering,—retire to some obscure corner and die, leaving their lost heritage not to their children, but to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his successors for ever. It might be thought that such a picture belonged to a state of things that had long passed away; that instead of our own comparatively just, humane, and enlightened age, we were speaking of the time when for the redress of a wrong for which the ordinary courts of justice afforded no remedy, instead of appealing to the wisdom and justice of Parliament, the miserable suitor had to lay his humble suit at the feet of some pampered, idle, insolent, court menial, ignorant of everything which, as an English statesman, it was as well his interest as his duty to know,—some creature to the last degree imbecile, or vicious,—knowing no higher impulse than the low sordid passions of a savage or a brute, and to whom, consequently, there is no appeal but through some of those sordid passions. But it is not so—it is not of that age that we are speaking, but of our own, the present, the very time that now is. And yet when we contemplate the weight of accumulated injury, the years of hope deferred—of fruitless petition—of unheeded prayer, which it is still the fate of many British citizens to undergo,

we might well suppose that their case belonged to the most dark, cruel, and tyrannous time of our country's history.

The foregoing remarks have been suggested by a case of oppression and suffering which has already been so long in some shape before the public, that were not a generous disposition to take part with the weak and oppressed a characteristic of the English people, it might be necessary to offer an apology for adverting to it here.

When the wife and children of Sir Walter Raleigh implored King James on their knees to spare the remnant of their fortunes, that they might have out of their inheritance at least wherewithal to keep them from starving, King James's only reply was, "I maun ha' the land—I maun ha' it for Carr" (one of his base minions).

It is a melancholy proof how slowly governments learn to be just—in other words, how slow is the progress of mankind in the science of government, that about two hundred years after the application of Raleigh's children, when certain British subjects, who had been plundered of their property solely through the instrumentality of their own Government, applied for redress and compensation out of double the amount of property which their Government had got in lieu of that which they (the applicants) had lost, they were told, as Lady Raleigh had been told, that their claim might be reasonable enough, but that it was not convenient to satisfy it, inasmuch as the funds for doing so had been appropriated to other purposes. The reply to these claimants, however, was not quite so frank and straightforward as that of King James. It was not, "We maun ha' the siller—we maun ha' it for Buckingham Palace." On the contrary, the Minister of the Crown declared that—

"Out of the proceeds arising from the Danish prizes, 348,000*l.* had already been applied to the public service. This was done in consequence of a determination to apply the whole of the proceeds thence arising to the service of the public, after satisfying the claimants and captors. The motives by which they were then actuated arose out of the circumstances of there being various merchants, who looked for a remuneration of the losses they had sustained, from the manner in which the war broke out, from those proceeds."*

Whether the whole of these proceeds were so applied, there is no further evidence.

In 1807, the British Government became possessed of a very

* Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.—*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, May 30, 1810.

large sum of money, 1,379,000*l.*, derived from the seizure of Danish private property before any declaration of war, or any circumstances that might be construed into the forerunners thereof. By way of reprisal, the Danish Government seized British property amounting in all to something less than half the amount of Danish property seized by Great Britain. After twenty-seven years of uninterrupted but fruitless application to their own Government from the British subjects whose property had been thus sacrificed in the way of reprisals for the Danish property sacrificed by the unprovoked and unexpected attack of the British Government, Parliament in 1834 agreed to the general principle of compensating claims for losses by the Danes in 1807, and Commissioners were appointed to examine and report on them. These Commissioners, in their report to the Treasury, divided the claims into three classes:—

1. Those for book debts.
2. Those for goods seized on shore.
3. Those for ships and cargoes seized.

And the Treasury, in their Minute of November, 1834 (and we particularly request attention to the fact), *distinctly referred it to the decision of Parliament*, "whether any or all of the classes were to be admitted to compensation."

In 1835 and 1836 the Chancellor of the Exchequer paid the classes 1 and 2, but refused to pay class 3, stating in his place in the House that he resisted the demand of those claimants, not upon his own authority but that of the Crown lawyers, who, when applied to as to how far these injuries were justified by the laws of war and of nations, replied, "That all ships and cargoes, whether in port or on the high seas, might be seized and confiscated, even though the two nations were not actually at war at the moment."

Notwithstanding this, these claimants brought their claim before the House of Commons, and on the 24th of May, 1838, carried it by a majority of thirty-four, on the grounds (amongst others, such as funds derived by the British Government from their aggression, the anomalous and unprecedented nature of the aggression itself, and the withdrawal of protection) that their case was a case of reprisals, and not of war; and that, according to Vattel, at present the highest authority on questions of international law, "IN CASES OF REPRISALS THE SOVEREIGN IS TO COMPENSATE THOSE OF HIS SUBJECTS ON WHOM THE REPRISALS FALL; IT IS A DEBT OF THE STATE OR NATION; OF WHICH EACH CITIZEN OUGHT ONLY TO PAY HIS QUOTA."*

* Vattel's 'Law of Nations,' b. ii, ch. xviii, § 345.

Instead of complying with the sense of the House of Commons thus unequivocally expressed, Mr Spring Rice, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, directed the Commissioners to make an illusory report. The words of Mr Cresswell's motion, which had been carried, as we have said, by a majority of 34, were—

"That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions to the Commissioners to whom it was referred to examine the claims of certain British subjects for losses sustained on account of book-debts and other property confiscated by the Government of Denmark in the year 1807, that they shall examine the claims for losses sustained on account of seizures of ships and cargoes by the said Government in the said year, and that the said Commissioners shall report on such claims to the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury."

Now, whatever construction might be put upon the precise words of this motion, Mr Cresswell's speech on making it, and the debate on the occasion, rendered it perfectly clear that the object of the mover, and the object of the large majority who voted with him, was a *judicial* examination of the claims individually, and the payment of such as should be found just. Instead of this, these Commissioners merely gave a list of the claims sent in, saying that they "had not felt themselves warranted by their instructions in proceeding to a judicial determination of any of the cases which had been laid before them."*

The claimants finding that, notwithstanding this solemn decision of the House of Commons, justice was still refused to them, Mr Cresswell, on the 18th of June, 1839, moved the following address:—

"That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that she will be graciously pleased to direct the Commissioners to whom it was referred to examine the claims of certain British subjects, in respect of losses sustained by the seizure of ships and cargoes by the Danish Government in 1807, to proceed to adjudicate upon the claims which they have received, and upon which they have made a report to the Lords of her Majesty's Treasury."

This motion, after a debate in which many members joined, was carried by a majority of sixty-three. And on the 12th of May, 1840, the Commissioners, in conformity with the terms of the above address, sent in a *judicial* report to the Treasury, in which they make the following statement:—

"The schedule which accompanied our report of the 6th of Feb-

* Report of the Commissioners for investigating the claims of the sufferers by seizure of ships and goods by the Danes in 1807. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 1st of March, 1839.

ruary, 1839, contained ninety claims, which amounted to 524,747*l.* 18s. 11d.

"Many of these claims have since been disallowed in part; many have been subdivided into separate cases; and the result of the whole investigation is, that we report 116 claims to be supported by proof, amounting to 225,126*l.* 9s. 10d.

"The remaining cases have been rejected for deficiency of proof.

"In the judicial investigation of these claims, our object has been to ascertain the actual loss sustained, without taking into consideration any mercantile profit which might have been realized if the seizures and confiscations made by the Danish Government had never taken place."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer having signified his intention still to resist the payment of the money, the House of Commons, on the 16th of February, 1841, again decided—

"That it would resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of an address to her Majesty, praying that her Majesty would be graciously pleased to advance to the claimants the amount ascertained by the Commissioners to be due, and to assure her Majesty that the House would make good the same."

On the 9th of June, 1841, Mr Cresswell moved, that the House do resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to address her Majesty on the subject of the Danish claims. On this occasion the Solicitor-General, Sir Thomas Wilde, in an elaborate and very able speech, attempted to overthrow the main arguments that had been used on former occasions on behalf of those claims; and with this view the honourable and learned gentleman directed his chief efforts to show that this was not a case of reprisals, but a case of war, and consequently was not an exceptional case, but a case falling under the general rule as to captures made in time of war. The Chancellor of the Exchequer consented to the appointment of a committee, reserving his opposition to the bringing up of the report. Accordingly, on the 16th the report having been brought up, and the resolution read a first time,—on the question that it be read a second time, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr F. Baring, opposed it, and was supported by the Solicitor-General in another long and ingenious speech.* But notwithstanding this powerful opposition, the following resolution was carried:—

* Although it is unnecessary now to re-argue this part of the question after the solemn and definitive decision of the House of Commons in favour of the claimants, yet, as the statements of the Solicitor-General, particularly those which were directed to show that this was not a case of reprisals, were thought to have misled some honourable members, we shall here make one or two observations upon them. In his speech on the 10th of June (1841), the hon. and learned gentleman referred to certain documents. One of these, on which the hon. and learned gentleman relied

"That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to take into consideration the report, bearing date 12th May, 1840, made by the Commis-

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much, was a paper which was, in fact, nothing more than an ordinance (that is the name in the original, though it is called a "proclamation" in the 'Annual Register' and by the Solicitor-General) for the provisional detention of British property, but was quoted by the Solicitor-General as a regular and formal declaration of war. A declaration of war is attended with certain formalities.* Now it is to be observed, that this so-called declaration of war is not produced from the Foreign Office, as having been sent to the British Government, but is extracted from the 'Annual Register:' it does not emanate from the seat of the Danish Government, but is a local notification that Danish subjects are to be prepared, if required, to repel certain hostilities which have been announced on the part of Great Britain, and that British property is to be *put under sequester*, with the view of being kept possession of by way of REPRISAL,—1st, as a PLEDGE, till it shall appear whether ample satisfaction is to be obtained; 2nd, when all other satisfaction appears hopeless, to be confiscated and applied by way of satisfaction as far as it will go. But, independently of other considerations on this head, the British Government is completely estopped by its own act from pleading any document of this or a much later date, in proof that Great Britain and Denmark were in a state of actual war. It appears from Acton's 'Admiralty Reports,' that the Danish ship "Orion," taken the 10*th October*, 1807, on a voyage from Archangel to Leghorn, was declared to have *been taken prior "to the declaration of hostilities."*†

The Solicitor-General further said:—"On the 9th September the decree was issued which gave rise to the claims for compensation, namely, that respecting the confiscation." The hon. and learned gentleman is here completely in error. The decree of the 9th September only orders, on the part of the Danish Government, the seizure and *detention* of British property. The decree ordering *condemnation* is dated the 24th December. This is of material importance, because the parties only claim for seizures *prior* to the 24th December, and within the Baltic, and the principal claims are for seizures between the 15th November and the middle of December, after the British ships of war had been prematurely withdrawn from the Baltic in the middle of November.

The Solicitor-General said, that the knowledge that the British fleet had arrived off the coast of Denmark was abundant intimation to British merchants that they could not remain in safety in that neighbourhood. We ask, why not? It was not known then what was the destination of this powerful British fleet. Mr Canning, in his speech on the 3rd February, 1808, says, in answer to the charge why they did not pass by Copenhagen in order to attack Cronstadt,—"We had the right to attack Russia, but had we no interest in forbearing to exercise that right? There were at the time in the ports of Russia 500 British ships and 6,000 British seamen, and gentlemen would perceive these formed too important an object to be hazarded for the sake of the few hulks that might be obtained at Cronstadt." On the 7th September the capitulation of Copenhagen was signed, with an armistice for six weeks. During this period, namely, from the 14th September to the 24th October, no less than 257 British ships cleared at the Danish port of Elsinore, in to as well as out of the Baltic. In contradistinction to the conduct of the British Government in regard to the trade

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* Vattel, b. iii, ch. ix, § 55. † Acton's 'Rep.,' 205.

sioners to whom it was referred to examine and adjudicate upon the claims of certain British subjects for losses sustained by the seizure and confiscation of their ships and cargoes by the Government of Den-

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to-Holstein, from whence all British merchantmen had been warned before the 16th August, and whither, on the 2nd September, all shipments had been prohibited, licences were granted and convoys provided for ships bound to the Baltic during the whole period, from July up to the middle of November. The continuance of the Baltic trade, notwithstanding the hostilities against Denmark, was thus sanctioned by the Government at home, and no warning was given by the Admiral. On the contrary, protection for the return voyage was promised, but not kept, as may be seen by Mr Stainforth's (M.P.) letter to the ship-owners of Hull, dated 15th December, 1807, and by the answer of the Admiralty to the Russian merchants of London about the same time. In contrast with this desertion of the ships in the Baltic in November and December, 1807, it appears, from Lloyd's list of 1806, that in the latter year the following convoys sailed from the Baltic in the month of December, &c. :—

Elsinore on the	9th	December, 1806,	the	"Ariel," S.W. and convoy.
...	13th	ditto,	do.	"Flamer," G.B. and convoy.
...	19th	ditto,	do.	"Railleur," G.B. and convoy.
...	21st	ditto,	do.	"Alert," S.W. and convoy.
...	22nd	ditto,	do.	"Hebe," S.W. and convoy.
...	29th	ditto,	do.	Another convoy.
...	1st	January, 1807,	the	"Astrea," F. arrived.
...	3rd	ditto,	do.	"Swift," arrived and
...	on 20th	ditto,	do.	sailed with convoy.

On the 24th August the Danish Government issued a state paper complaining to the other powers of Europe of the aggressions of the British Government. This the Solicitor-General calls "in very hostile terms"—but it is no more than the local papers of the 16th August—a declaration of war, and no other was issued by the Danish Government until the decree of the 24th December. On the 16th August an order was also issued at Copenhagen, directing British property and ships to be sequestered; but by the capitulation of Copenhagen, that sequester was withdrawn, and the Hamburg Lloyd's List contains the following letter from Elsinore, 8th November: "On Thursday one of the two English brigs which had been detained previous to the capitulation of Copenhagen, and which, in accordance with that capitulation, were to be restored, was taken over to Helsingborg (on the Swedish coast) for that purpose, along with her cargo of tallow, hemp, and iron."

And on the 27th November, 1807 (see Hamburg Lloyd's Lists), the Crown Prince replied to the memorial of the Copenhagen merchants, requesting "that the condemnation of the sequestered and captured British property be suspended until England, by the condemnation of Danish property, gives the example;" and says—"That in general no modification of the decrees of 9th and 14th September (for sequester) can be granted; but that, in respect to the above particular request, his Majesty the King has taken as much as possible paternal consideration for the welfare of those subjects whose property fell into the enemy's power, not to provoke its condemnation; and for that reason, the enemy's property within his Majesty's territories and dominions has only as yet been put under sequester, however little expectation there may be that such conduct will be reciprocated by so treacherous an enemy." But while the Danish Government abstained from other than defensive and precautionary measures, the

mark in the year 1807; and that her Majesty will be pleased to advance to such claimants the amount of their respective losses, as ascertained by the said Commissioners; and assuring her Majesty that the House will make good the same."

British Government thought proper, on the 4th November, to issue a declaration of war, and to direct the condemnation of Danish property to be commenced. Thus every step in hostility was first taken by England, and this last in contradiction to the usual practice as laid down by Sir W. Scott (see Robinson's 'Reports,' vol i, p. 64), namely—"At the breaking out of a war it is the constant practice of this country to condemn property seized before the war, if the enemy condemns, and to restore if the enemy restores. It is a principle sanctioned by that great foundation of the law of England, Magna Charta itself, which prescribes that, at the commencement of a war, the enemy's merchants shall be kept, and treated as our merchants are treated in their country."

Now the Danish Government, seeing no other chance of obtaining redress for British hostilities, did, in November, call on its merchants to seek for it by reprisals; and, from about the middle of November, the principal seizures of British property and ships in the Baltic were made as reprisals up to the 24th December, when, by the decree of condemnation, according to Vattel, book ii, ch. 18,* the period of reprisals expired, and actual hostilities on the part of Denmark commenced. The Solicitor-General, in a later part of his speech, seems to give up his so-called declaration of war of the 18th August, for he takes the date of 4th November, when England declared war, as the period of actual war, after which captures were no longer reprisals. But this cannot affect the case, for this act of the British Government only gives the stronger claim: like the first act of aggression, it was one part of the cause of their subjects' losses; for, after all, the withdrawing of the accustomed and promised protection from the Baltic was the immediate cause of the loss. All the various circumstances have been sifted by the Commissioners in their rigid examination, and have been discussed over and over again in Parliament; and Parliament, to whom it was referred by Ministers in the Treasury minute, November, 1834, have decided in favour of the claims, and undertaken to provide the amounted award. But to return to the period of Danish sequester. In Lord Sidmouth's speech it is stated to be the 9th September. That is the date of the Government decree directed to the whole country from the then seat of the Government, and was never contradicted in any of the debates during the time, namely, 1808. It is the date referred to and acknowledged in all the Danish docu-

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* Vattel's words are—"The effects thus seized on (*i.e.* by way of reprisals) are preserved while there is any hope of obtaining satisfaction or justice. *As soon as that hope disappears, they are confiscated, and then the reprisals are accomplished.*"—'Law of Nations,' b. ii, ch. xviii, § 342. The following is a translation of the words of the original Royal Proclamation concerning the confiscation of English property, dated Rendsborg, 24th December, 1807:—

"We, Christian the Seventh, by the grace of God, King of Denmark and Norway, of the Vandals and Goths, Duke of Sleswick, Holstein, Stormarn, Ditmarschen, and Oldenburg, hereby make known, that the proceedings of the British Government against us and our subjects, compel us to declare as confiscated all English property which, in pursuance of our ordinance of 9th September this year, has been or may afterwards be detained in our territories. We therefore command as follows: &c. &c."

To this address the following answer was returned to the House on the 21st of June:—

"VICTORIA R.

"It must at all times be my earnest desire to attend to the wishes of the House of Commons, and I shall be ready to give effect to them in this instance, whenever the means shall have been provided by Parliament."

Now, a natural question is, why did not her Majesty in this instance, as in others, at once comply with the request of the House, and pay the money?

The answer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to this question is—

"Because there is no legal power in the Crown to do so. If a Treasury warrant, signed by her Majesty, and counter-signed by himself, were issued, and he were to take it to the Exchequer, the answer would be, that there was no legal means by which it could be paid; that her Majesty had no power to issue such a warrant; that they could not pay any sum of money, unless they were directed to do so by a bill passed by that House, and concurred in by the rest of the Legislature."*

Now, according to Mr F. Baring, Chancellor of the Exchequer, the House of Commons has been requesting the Crown to commit, and the Crown has been committing, acts which are against the law for a great many years. The following grants, which are extracted from the Annual Appropriation Acts, were made by Parliament, "To make good to his Majesty the like sums issued in pursuance of the addresses of the House of Commons."

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ments upon which compensation has all along been granted; they all expressly state that the confiscation took place in consequence of the decree of sequester, 9th September, 1807, and decree of condemnation, 24th December, 1807. Even supposing this prior order for sequester to have existed in Holstein, it does not appear to have been named as being a declaration of war (not even in the Treasury manifesto published in the 'Morning Chronicle') until the Solicitor-General, on the 10th June, chose to designate it as such. Whether the translation in the 'Annual Register' is accurate is also a question; for it is not an official document. But it must be evident that the Danish Government did not, on the 16th August, intend to declare war against the British Government. The laying embargo, the putting under sequester, the preparations and precautions for defence in the case of a threatened attack, are never considered a state of actual war, or a declaration of war. Again, to draw a line that captures in the Baltic after a declaration of war are to be excluded from compensation, is making British subjects suffer from the acts of their own Government. The proper line to draw is the 24th December; and in the Baltic, up to this last period, the seizures on the part of the Danes were strictly reprisals.

* Debate, June 10th, 1841.

	£.		£.
1774 - - - -	10,100	Brought forward -	547,606
1775 - - - -	12,576	1796 - - - -	29,921
1776 - - - -	7,406	1797 - - - -	28,263
1777 - - - -	13,060	1798 - - - -	10,043
1778 - - - -	19,100	1799 - - - -	9,337
1779 - - - -	32,968	1800 - - - -	26,203
1780 - - - -	15,700	1801 - - - -	21,808
1781 - - - -	22,222	" - - - -	10,895
1782 - - - -	8,908	1802 - - - -	14,049
1783 - - - -	11,236	1803 - - - -	27,474
1784 - - - -	36,841	1804 - - - -	15,321
1785 - -	7,066	1805 - - - -	14,403
1786 - - - -	12,259	1806 - - - -	54,170
1787 - - - -	12,138	1807 - - - -	5,388
1788 - - - -	17,496	1808 - - - -	27,288
1789 - - - -	34,370	1809 - - - -	22,166
1790 - - - -	48,424	1810 - - - -	15,165
1791 - - - -	67,948	1811 - - - -	11,632
1792 - - - -	26,043	1812 - - - -	22,316
1793 - - - -	37,657	1813 - - - -	14,715
1794 - - - -	46,619	1814 - - - -	40,021
1795 - - - -	47,469	1815 - - - -	26,790
Carried forward	547,606		£. 994,974

Now, are all these precedents against law? Or is a Chancellor of the Exchequer empowered to call whatever suits his convenience law?* The address and the answer, on this occasion, were exactly the same as in the case of Mr Palmer, 1811. The answer in that case appears to have served as a precedent for framing the answer in the present case. How did the House view the answer on that occasion? Mr Whitbread said:—

"The answer conveyed the greatest possible insult on the House, going as it did to express a doubt of the inclination or of the ability to make good any sums which his Royal Highness might order to be issued, in consequence of an address of that House."

Mr Charles Wynn added:—

"In the present instance the privileges of the House were attacked. Though against the principle of address on such occasions, yet when done, it must be carried into effect, and was entitled to all the weight and authority the House could give to its proceedings. It was a notorious fact, that the address of the House of Commons, or their vote, was always considered as decisive on money questions. Did the Exchequer ever wait for anything else? Did they ever wait for an act of appropriation?"

* Can any instance be adduced of an "address" not being complied with? In Palmer's case, though there was a delay, the money was paid.

Mr William Lamb (now Lord Melbourne) observed:—

"The right honourable gentleman (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) would have acted more wisely if he had lent a furthering hand to the decision of the House of Commons when they had agreed that the money ought to be granted, instead of giving, as he had done, every possible opposition to its effect. If such a principle were to be acted upon it would come to this, that the votes of the House would be considered as omnipotent when they were given in support of the minister, and of no effect whatever when given against him."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied:—

"Had not the Crown full authority to pause before it complied with that or any address? That was all that had been done in this instance. The right of refusal was not under consideration. It had not been done. What was the answer complained of? Why, the answer expressed the readiness of the Prince Regent to comply with the wish of the House, but desired some little time for consideration."—*Hansard's Debates*, 30th May, 1811.

These remarks of Mr Charles Wynn and Lord Melbourne place the question in its true light, and they are applicable in every particular to the case which we are now considering. If a minister may treat in this manner with impunity the votes of the House of Commons, it is clear that the House of Commons is a mere name, and that the minister of the Crown may adopt the words of Louis the Fourteenth, with the substitution of "Parliament" for "*l'état*," and say, "The Parliament! *c'est moi!*" For, as Mr Charles Wynn observed, it is notorious that the address of the House of Commons, or their vote, was always considered as decisive in money questions. In other words, by the fundamental principles of the Constitution, the House of Commons, though only a limb of the Parliament or Sovereign in other questions, is in money questions the Sovereign itself—in other words, represents the whole Parliament. Its vote, therefore, deliberately given and recorded, has in such questions the force of law.

But observe what any opposition on the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer (of whatever party) to carrying into effect the measure contemplated in the Queen's answer, as quoted above, would amount to. That answer is in effect the answer of the Queen's ministers, specifically the answer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Now what name would belong to the conduct of an individual who should solemnly assent to the performance of a certain act, and then use every effort in his power to hinder that act from being accomplished? Yet this would be precisely the conduct of any Chancellor of her Majesty's Exchequer, who, after this address and this answer, should offer any opposition to the House of Commons making good its deliberately given and solemnly recorded resolution.

It is a maxim of the English law that there is no wrong with-

out a remedy. It was made one of the articles of Lord Somers's impeachment, that in his argument in the *Bankers' Case* he appeared to throw a doubt upon this principle—that he seemed to argue for the position that there might be, that there were, cases in which the subject might have a right without a remedy, unless by petition to the person of the King; a doctrine, certainly, which appears quite incompatible with the existence of a free and constitutional Government—a doctrine which was overthrown by the final and solemn decision of the House of Lords, which reversed Lord Somers's judgment in the *Bankers' Case*, and affirmed that of the barons of the Exchequer and the majority of the judges.* In the case before us the plaintiffs had suffered a grievous wrong, and they adopted and strictly followed the course marked out by the constitution and laws of their country in seeking a remedy. They submitted their case to the decision of that court, viz., the High Court of Parliament (for it is almost unnecessary to repeat the observation of Mr C. Wynn, a very high authority on that point, that on money questions the House of Commons represents the High Court of Parliament), to which their adversary expressly referred them.† That court solemnly and deliberately gave judgment in their favour. It was not a judgment obtained, as some are in that tribunal, by fraud, by trick, by haste, by negligence, by oversight on the part of those opposed to it. The question was repeatedly and deliberately argued, and in everything that was done respecting it the strictest regard was had to all the forms of the House; and the opposite side in the cause, viz., the Chancellor of the Exchequer, strained every nerve to obtain a judgment in his own favour. Nevertheless, as we have said, judgment was recorded in favour of the plaintiffs. The Queen's gracious answer to the address of the House was, that her Majesty would pay the money as soon as Parliament should provide the means. Now, it was clearly the duty of those who prepared the estimates next after the receipt of this answer by the House to include in them the sum of money which the Queen had here given a clear and distinct "*promise to pay.*" As ministers did not think fit, however, to make any provision for enabling their Royal mistress to redeem her promise thus solemnly given, it is only a natural inference therefrom that it is not their intention ever to do so, and it now remains for these claimants to see whether the laws of their country have provided no remedy for such wrongs as theirs. I. B.

* See the Bankers' Case, or *Rex v. Hornby*, Hargrave's 'State Trials,' vol. xi, p. 136; Howell's 'State Trials,' vol. xiv, p. 1. See also 1 Freem., 331; 5 Mod., 29; 1 T. R., 172; Skinn., 601.

† Treasury Minute of 4th November, 1834.

ART. X.—*Gatherings from Grave-yards, particularly those of London, &c.* By G. A. Walker, Surgeon. Longman. 1839. pp. 258.

WHAT a mass of unimaginative, unthinking beings, forms the genus man. Fill the mouths of thieves and paupers with wheaten bread, the whiteness of which does not quite rival that on the Queen's table, but which is exceedingly wholesome and nutritious, and very much better than that which is eaten by the greater part of the self-sustaining labourers of all Europe, and both Houses of Parliament are in throes of humane agony at the wrongs of the poor. The difference of colour can be seen with mortal eyes; it is a subject of most obvious comparison. Fill, however, the lungs of thieves and paupers—fill their prisons and poor-houses—fill the Sunday-schools of the young, and the churches and chapels of the virtuous, and the workshops and pent-up dwellings of the industrious—fill the lordly mansions of the rich, and the very palace of royalty itself, with the deadly poisonous emanations of burial-grounds and charnel-houses; let these pestiferous gases saturate the air where crowds of coroneted worshippers are assembled in our churches, or where multitudes of little children get their Sabbath-day's brief dole of learning; let half a city be corrupted with human putrescence, and so long as these matters do not seize violently and continuously by the nose the people of quality, no public commotion is raised, no Parliament is petitioned, no sound is heard about the neglected health of the community. The chief reason of this is, that to convince the judgment, thought and consideration are needful—to prove that such evils exist, and that they are unwholesome, facts must be collected, experiments performed, and conclusions carefully deduced; all which are matters of some trouble and difficulty. The simplest biped that walks, will not, with his eyes open, jump into a break-neck hole, or run straight upon pointed spikes; and yet men, the great and the learned even, are so blind, that they surround themselves, by day and by night, with equally certain although more slow instruments of death. It is only educated men,—it is only a highly-instructed class, who take rational care of their health. When ill, people in general take physic to be sure, and they get well or die; but they do not know nor consider that the preservation of their health, and the defence against disease, are very much in their own power, and that when tolerably put together by nature, it is in general only by a violation of some of her laws that they become diseased. Had it not been for the neglect of this most

useful knowledge, the cities of England, and particularly the metropolis, would not have remained up to the present time without sanatory regulations, especially respecting the burial of the dead, the neglect of which are among the most certain causes of unwholesomeness. In this country, the Government rarely takes the initiative; improvements are effected only when the people clamour for them, but it is a tedious and difficult thing to educate a people up to the appreciation of new and wholesome regulations. In other countries, as in France, the Government *moves:* here it is moved; there it is sufficient for a few instructed men to show the need and usefulness of a law, and it is likely to be introduced.

The unwholesomeness of inhumation in cities, especially when densely peopled, caused governments in ancient times to prohibit its practice. "Plato, in his republic, did not even permit inhumation in fields fit for tillage; he reserved for that purpose dry and sandy ground, which could be employed for no other use." Indeed, the practice was little known or scarcely allowed in Europe until after the Christian era. Wealthy and pious persons sometimes, as an especial favour granted by the ecclesiastical authorities, were buried within churches, or in chapels contiguous to them; by degrees the exception became the general rule: "the prerogative, originally reserved for emperors, became the portion of the lowest class of citizens, and that which at first was a distinction, became at last a right common to every one."

Much curious matter has been collected by Mr Walker respecting the funeral rites of people in different ages, and in different parts of the world. He cites the practice of the Jews, the laws of the ancient Greeks, Romans, and Carthaginians, all of whom strictly prohibited interment within their cities. Many extracts are given in Mr Walker's book from Orders in Council, and letters of bishops and others, against the renewal of this pernicious practice in later times, which practice had gradually increased, "until the churches had become almost cemeteries." The French have nearly abolished the practice, not without difficulty in some of the provincial towns, where superstition and private interest have arrayed themselves against measures of the most obvious utility.

"The Parliament of Paris, in 1765, required the cemeteries in that capital to be closed against future burials, and their present contents to be removed (with great labour and cost) to the well-known catacombs, excavations which extend under a great portion of the southern faubourgs. These immense caverns (deserted stone quarries) were consecrated in 1786, and the removal of the bodies

commenced; the bones were conveyed by torchlight in funeral cars, followed by priests chanting the service of the dead. It is certain that the remains of more than three millions of human beings are entombed here—some writers have estimated them at six millions! In 1790, the National Assembly passed a law, commanding all towns and villages to discontinue the use of the old burial-places, and to form others at a distance from their habitations. This has been completely carried into effect in Paris by the formation of four large cemeteries without the barrières, including Père-la-chaise."

All that belongs, however, to the history of the subject, either ancient or modern, is rather curious than useful, except in as far as too many persons are influenced, rather by authority than evidence, and they prefer to know that the institution they are urged to adopt formerly existed, and has only fallen into abeyance, rather than to take up with something quite new, or with an innovation, which, however useful, is supported merely on the ground of recent experiments and demonstration. People are inclined to do that which others do, or which others have done, rather than to do that which is strictly but merely useful.

It is one of the conditions of health, that atmospheric air should be in a certain degree of purity; its component parts of oxygen, nitrogen, with a little carbonaceous and aqueous matter, must be in definite ratios, and without further commixtures, to be salubrious. Air in motion is more salubrious than air at rest; human lungs deteriorate the air, which is more readily relieved of its corruptions by being moved about, for it then mingles with the purer masses which are in the upper and surrounding atmosphere, and becomes infinitely diluted. Low and moist places, by sending forth their peculiar gaseous products, injure the air for the purposes of animal life. Even the process of tillage, with the manure that is used, and the vital and chemical influences of vegetable growth, as well as vegetable and animal decomposition, injure the air; certain soils even, by their chemical and physical properties, alter the salubrity of the air. Some localities are eminently healthy, where there is the exact adaptation of soil, heat, wind, and dryness, and freedom from excessive cultivation. An examination was made some time since, respecting the comparative salubrity of certain districts, and the most healthy were found to be those where there is little tillage; upland tilled lands were found more healthy than low verdant flats; but of all places, densely-peopled towns were found to be the most unhealthy. The mere aggregation of multitudes of people, causes a rapid deterioration of the air. Although London is but a small speck in the vast aerial ocean above and around it, and although it occupies but a few feet of vertical elevation in an

atmosphere which is said to rise many miles, yet it is found practically that flowing through its sinuous streets, and pent up in the countless little cells where its myriads toil like clusters of coral-insects at the bottom of the sea, the air, by constant inspiration, as well as other causes, is polluted and deteriorated faster than it can be purified, by commixture with the circumambient mass. It is found that some parts of London are less healthy than others, and that those kinds of fever which are produced by corrupt air, abound more in those parts where there is the greatest aggregation of human beings, in narrow streets, and in blind courts and alleys. It is not possible, chemically, to measure the relative insalubrity of the air; though it will vary from being the means of certain and speedy death, as in the instance of the black hole at Calcutta, up to a scarcely appreciable tenuity of degradation, as in the metropolitan parks, where the air is *comparatively* good, but not nearly as salubrious as that which wafts to our noses the delicious perfume of the wild flowers on Hayes-Common or Chislehurst. The very presence of the living crowds of the metropolis is cause enough of corruption of the air, even although all the inhabitants should be the best ordered and the most cleanly. It is, therefore, the supreme duty of a municipality to be strenuously vigilant that there be no other agents to taint the air but those which are inseparable from the circumstance of crowds of living beings constantly using it. The most trifling addition to the causes of such deterioration is worthy of attention. The mere straightness and the direction of streets have much to do with the purity of the air. Streets should be continuous, and not terminated at short distances by other streets blocking up the ends by passing at right angles. Compare the New road with York street, which runs parallel to it at the distance of a few yards. The former is continuous, and open at either extremity, while the latter is crossed by houses at both ends. The air in the one will be clear, and the sun bright, at the same moment the other is filled with smoke and fog. No buildings should on any account be constructed without efficient sewers, and closed places for the reception of offal; no exposed surface of decomposing matter should be suffered to eliminate its gases into the air, which the next moment will be imbibed by human lungs; no houses should be built to which there is not a constant supply of good water; nor should dwellings (not even workhouses or prisons) be placed, under any circumstances, in a locality of known and unquestionable unwholesomeness. We remember walking with a surgeon in a country town, for its size one of the most unhealthy in England, when, pointing to a row of houses then in the course of erection, he said, "Those houses are

being built without hollow foundations, or any kind of drainage, on the clay land near to the river—plump upon the wet earth; and I shall have plenty to do when they are occupied, for the inhabitants will have fever in abundance." People are not now allowed by law to abide in out-houses and shambles, nor should they be permitted to reside in dwellings unwholesome to themselves, and prejudicial to the public health; or rather, the law should not allow builders to erect any but such dwellings as are wholesome, as far as present knowledge and art will admit. There would then be fewer houses in the metropolis, and fewer families, but they would be much more healthy, and consequently more happy. The salubrity of London, in addition to those agents which have been mentioned, is impaired by its being built on a clay sub-soil, occupying a portion of the broad and moist valley of the Thames. Its coal-fires too, emitting a mass of smoke, which, sustained by the heat of the city below, and condensed by cold at a variable elevation above, stretched and hovering over its whole extent (from Greenwich even beyond Hammersmith), lies like a huge pall, which confines and represses the unhealthy emanations from beneath, and keeps the air well nigh saturated with them. The burial-ground is the most decided place of maleficent influence. To the necessary degradation of the air by the living, is wantonly and unnecessarily added, the decomposition of the dead, whose gaseous products in the open country would be directly neutralized by mixing immediately with the surrounding atmosphere, or they would be seized and fixed in the processes of vegetable action, and become less unhealthy and much more agreeable, which in a city lie accumulating and lurking at the base of the walls which confine them, rise slowly into the upper air, or rather disperse themselves horizontally into the streets, alleys, houses, and finally into the lungs of the people. In the city there is no living laboratory of vegetable organism to convert the poison of the dead into the healthy tissues of life, but it floats about freely, and becomes to animal life, when combined with it, the cause of disease, decrepitude, and death.

The process of decomposition is so minute, and is carried on so secretly, in the molecules of the body, that its rationale is not very well understood. "On peut assurer que leur histoire est encore à faire malgré les travaux isolés dont ils ont été l'objet," says a French chemist. Its ultimate results are, however, obvious enough.

"The chemical constitution of the soil seems to have little influence in retarding or accelerating decomposition, the two most active agents in hastening this process are air and moisture. Accordingly

we find that the greater the depth from the surface at which a body is interred, the longer it resists putrefaction, and it will remain unchanged for a considerable period if enclosed in a leaden coffin, so as altogether to exclude the air. The action of the earth depends in a great measure on its power of absorbing and retaining moisture: thus, in sandy soils, through which the water drains quickly, decomposition goes on slowly, and is sometimes altogether prevented, as in cases where people have perished in deserts, and have been overwhelmed by the drifting sands, in which their bodies have been found long after, dry and shrivelled, but without any sign of having undergone putrefaction. In clayey soils, which retain water, putrefaction readily takes place, and quickly proceeds, to the destruction of all the soft parts, unless transformation into *adipoçire* takes place, which stops decomposition. Bodies may change in three ways, as the result of decomposition; first, the putrefactive process may go on uninterruptedly till the soft parts are destroyed, and only the skeleton remains; secondly, the flesh may be converted into adipocire; thirdly, the body may become dried, and preserve its form, and be converted into a sort of natural mummy. This last change sometimes takes place in very dry and elevated situations, but more frequently in dry vaults and caves."—('Penny Cyclopædia,' Art. 'Interment.')

The gaseous products of decomposition diffused through the atmosphere are not, it is true, appreciable by chemical tests, for even air collected on the tops of mountains, and in the foulest corners of a town, shows the same proportion of oxygen and nitrogen, yet this only proves that our tests are not sufficiently delicate. The living human heart and lungs are a much more delicate test than any inanimate matter, and when these are rendered abnormally susceptible by disease or other causes, the very slightest change of air is detected by them. That remarkable being, Caspar Hauser, whose organization was very much more susceptible than that of other persons, and who afforded a test much more delicate than an air thermometer or a torsion balance, affords a striking exposition of the effects of corrupted air. "It is related in his life, that when he passed on one occasion, in the autumn of 1828, near St. John's Churchyard, in the vicinity of Nuremberg, the smell of the dead bodies, of which his companions had no perception, affected him so powerfully that he was seized with an ague, and began to shudder. The ague was soon succeeded by a feverish heat, which at length caused a violent perspiration, by which his linen was thoroughly wetted. When he returned towards the city gate, he said he felt better, yet he complained that his sight was obscured. What would have been the effect produced upon this being, of so delicate a nervous susceptibility, had he

passed by the crowded burial-places in the most densely-peopled districts of London? Although these violent effects are not produced upon people in general, yet the same gases are eliminated in greater abundance from the thousands of dead bodies in London, which become mixed with the air, and are breathed by the people, incorporated with their blood, and thus the very putrefactions of the dead become parts of the living. In the case of Caspar Hauser, a living chemical test was applied, of such exquisite sensibility, that the presence and noxious qualities of these agents were manifested. The difference between the effects produced upon him and upon other human beings, is one rather of degree than of kind; the emanations are equally poisonous and destructive to health, but most persons are better able, being less sensitive, to withstand them.

The pestiferous effects of decomposition have been demonstrated by "Dr Majendie, who has shown, by experiment, that this decomposition produces a poison which, when concentrated, produces instant death by a single exhalation; and that even when diluted by the atmosphere, and spread over a large extent of country, it is the fruitful source of disease and death. By cold and other agents he condensed some of this poison, and found that by applying it to an animal previously in good health, he destroyed life, with the most intense symptoms of malignant fever. Ten or twelve drops of water containing this matter, were injected into the jugular vein of a dog; in a short time it was seized with acute fever, the action of the heart was inordinately excited, the respiration accelerated, the heat of the surface increased, the prostration of strength extreme, the muscular power so exhausted that the animal lay on the ground unable to make the slightest movement; after a period it was seized with the black vomit, so characteristic of yellow fever; and what is still more remarkable is the fact, that by varying the dose of the poison, he could produce fever of almost any type. When diffused in the atmosphere, this poison taken into the lungs, or absorbed by the larger surface of the skin, enters the blood, and produces diseases of varying malignity, modified by the producing causes, as they are of animal or vegetable origin. Thus, when the poison from marshes, or decayed vegetable matters, is employed, intermittent fevers, as ague, and remittent fevers, are produced; but when the poison from decomposing animal matter is employed, typhus, and the class of fevers which are marked by a diminution of power in all the functions of the body, and a general disposition to putrescency, both in the solids and fluids, invariably follow."

Dr Armstrong observes, "I believe that putrid matter, introduced into the blood, produces an affection so exactly resembling typhus fever, that I should think no individual could confidently pronounce that it differed from typhus fever."

Dr Mead, speaking of Grand Cairo, says, "This city is crowded

with vast numbers of inhabitants, who live not only poorly, but nâstily; the streets are narrow and close; the city is situated in a sandy plain at the foot of a mountain, which keeps off the winds that might refresh the air; a great canal passes through the city, which, at the overflowing of the Nile, is full of water; on the decrease of the river, this canal is gradually dried up, and the people throw into it all manner of filth, offal, &c. &c. The stench which arises from this and the mud together is intolerable, and from this source the plague every year preys upon the inhabitants, and is stopped only by the return of the Nile, the overflowing of which washes away this load of filth. In Ethiopia the swarms of locusts breed a famine by devouring the fruits of the earth, and when they die, create a pestilence by the stench of their putrefying bodies. The Egyptians of old were so sensible how much the putrefaction of dead bodies contributed towards breeding the plague, that they worshipped the bird Ibis for the services it did in devouring great numbers of serpents, which, they had observed, injured by their stench when dead as much as by their bite when alive."

Mr Walker adduces the following cases in illustration of the effects produced by the gases generated during the *first periods* of decomposition:—

"In the month of June, 1825, a woman died of typhus fever in the upper part of a house in Drury lane. The body, which was buried on the fourth day, was brought down a narrow staircase. In order that the coffin might pass the more easily into the street, it was placed for a few minutes in the doorway of a room on the second floor, inhabited by Lewis Swalthey, a shoe-maker, who was sensible of a most disgusting odour, which proceeded from the coffin. He complained almost immediately of a peculiar coppery taste, which he described as being seated at the root of the tongue and the back of the throat: in a few hours afterwards he had, at irregular intervals, slight sensations of chilliness, which before the next sunset had merged into repeated shiverings of considerable intensity; that evening he was confined to his bed; he passed through a most severe form of typhus fever; at the expiration of the third week, he was removed to the fever hospital, and recovered. This man had been in excellent health up to the time he was exposed to this malaria.

"A patient of mine was exposed some years since to a similar influence. A stout muscular man died in his house in the month of June, after a short illness. On bringing the body down stairs, a disgustingly fetid sanies escaped from the coffin; Mr M. was immediately affected with giddiness, prostration of strength, and extreme lassitude; he had a peculiar metallic taste in his mouth, which continued some days; he believes that his health has been deranged from this cause.

"I offer the following proofs of the effects of the gases produced

by the extreme degree of putrefaction:—My pupil, Mr J. H. Sutton, accompanied by an individual for many years occasionally employed in the office of burying the dead, entered the vaults of St. —— Church; a coffin 'cruelly bloated,' as one of the grave-diggers expressed it, was chosen for the purpose of obtaining a portion of its gaseous contents. The body had, by an inscription on the plate, been buried upwards of eight years; the instant the small instrument employed had entered the coffin, a most horribly offensive gas issued forth in large quantities. Mr Sutton, who respired a portion of this vapour, would have fallen, but for the support afforded by a pillar in the vault. He was instantly seized with a suffocating difficulty of breathing, giddiness, trembling, and extreme prostration of strength; in attempting to leave the vault he fell, from debility; on reaching the external air, he had nausea, vomiting, accompanied with frequent flatulent eructations highly fetid, and having the same character as the gas inspired. He reached home with difficulty, and was confined to his bed during seven days, and for many days his gait was very vacillating. The man who accompanied him was affected in a precisely similar way, and was incapacitated for work for some days; his symptoms were, prostration of strength, pains in the head, giddiness, and general involuntary action of the muscles, particularly of the upper limbs: these symptoms had been experienced by this person on many previous occasions. I myself have suffered from the same cause, and have been compelled to keep my room upwards of a week."

"New Bunhill fields, in the New Kent road, is a private speculation, and belongs to a Mr Martin, an undertaker. At its entrance is a chapel, arched with strong brick-work, containing one thousand eight hundred coffins, and not more than twelve, I believe, are of lead. Iron gratings are placed on each side of the vault. A strong ammoniacal odour pervades it, not so offensive as in most other depositories of this description, which I attribute to the constant transmission of the noxious vapours through the open gratings to the circumambient atmosphere," that atmosphere which is the food as it were of the passengers, and inhabitants of the many houses that surround it.

In what state of neglect are the municipal regulations of London, when burial-places are under no official control, and when any private speculator may prepare a cellar for the packing away of dead bodies (the burial-place just described is only a cellar), and let off the gaseous decomposition into the streets? If a dye-house, chemical or gas works, were to let off matters into the streets much less prejudicial, but visible, the law would soon stop the nuisance.

It seems that even the lordly and royal inhabitants of Westminster are not less infested with ill-conditioned burial-grounds than their poorer subjects, for *close upon Buckingham Palace*

is a chapel, the vaults and grounds of which send forth in abundance pestiferous exhalations to mix with the air, and lurk over the dainty viands of the rich and luxurious, the royal and the noble. A poor shepherd on Salisbury Plain, sitting beside a hill, eats a morsel of bread permeated by no such offensive particles as those which penetrate the food of the royal palace.

One of the most striking examples is afforded by the death of two men (one a grave-digger) in the church-yard of St Botolph's, Aldgate, September, 1838, who were seized with instant death in a grave about twenty feet deep. It was a pauper's grave,—commonly kept open until there are seventeen or eighteen bodies interred. "It was not the custom," said one of the witnesses, "to put any earth between the coffins in such graves, except in cases where persons die of contagious diseases: grave-diggers could not sometimes go down, owing to the foulness of the air; they are then in the habit of burning straw, and using other means to dispel the impure air." Such is the stench arising from this burial-ground, that in hot weather the inhabitants are obliged to keep their windows closed, thus *shutting in, and again and again breathing air, poisoned by their own lungs, that they may escape a stronger and more malignant poison lurking outside their windows, emitted from the rottenness of a crammed-full ground in the very heart of the city*, and within the jurisdiction of the Corporation of London.

The condition of Enon Chapel is hardly fit for publication; yet how else can sufficient disgust be excited in the mind of the public, so indifferent as yet about its best interests? "This burial-place is surrounded on all sides by houses, crowded principally by poor inhabitants. The upper part of the building is used as a chapel,—the lower part as a burying-place, separated from the upper by a boarded floor, and is crowded at one end even to the ceiling with dead. The rafters supporting the floor are not even covered with the usual defence of lath and plaster. Vast numbers of bodies have been placed here in pits dug for the purpose, the uppermost of which were covered only by a few inches of earth; a sewer runs angularly across this burying place. Soon after interments, a long, narrow, black fly is observed to crawl out of many of the coffins; this insect, a product of the putrefaction of the bodies, is observed on the following season to be succeeded by another, which has the appearance of a common bug with wings. The children attending the Sunday-school held in this chapel, in which these insects were to be seen crawling and flying in vast numbers during the summer months, called them 'body-bugs.' The stench was frequently intolerable: one of my informants states, that he had a peculiar taste in his

mouth during the time of worship, and that his handkerchief was so offensive that immediately on his return home, it used to be placed in water. Some months since, handbills were circulated, 'requesting parents and others to send the children of the district to the Sunday-school,' *held immediately over the masses of putrefaction in the vaults beneath.* Residents about this spot in warm and damp weather have been much annoyed with a peculiarly disgusting smell; and occasionally, when the fire was lighted in a house abutting upon this building, an intolerable stench arose, which it was believed did not arise from a drain. Vast numbers of rats infest the houses! and meat exposed to the atmosphere after a few hours becomes putrid!"

Affectionate relatives consign their dead to burial-places (to be devoured, in all probability, by rats), who would be excited to riots and violence by interested men, were it proposed by government to remove the dead from this shameful place—known among undertakers as the "dust-hole"—to a place of decent security.

"The effluvia proceeding from the burial-ground in Portugal street, known as the Green-ground, is so offensive, that persons living at the back of Clement's lane are compelled to keep their windows closed; the walls even of the ground which adjoins the yards of those houses, are frequently seen reeking with fluid, which diffuses a most offensive smell. Who can wonder that fever is here so prevalent and triumphant?"

It is really extraordinary, if no other persons had been disposed to take up the matter, that the clergy of the metropolis, and especially that vigorous prelate, the Bishop of London, should have allowed these appalling practices to exist; it is to be feared that they will not interfere till they are constrained to remove the evil from another cause, for their churches and chapels are likely to be deserted as places of worship by timid people who take much care of their health, when it is fully known that the most deadly agents are there present in all their virulence.

In as far as Mr Walker has executed a nauseous task for the public good, he deserves the highest honour; nor would it have been just, either to him or to the public, to have suppressed his evidence because it might appal the sensitive; but it must be reiterated, and added to, until public clamour calls for the extirpation of the evil, and until the sluggish legislature shall stir itself to action, and the clergy—too exclusively occupied with the spiritual health of the people—shall cease to offer opposition.

The remarks of Mr Walker on the "management," as it is called, of burial-grounds, show that decent regard to the remains of the dead,—respect for the coffins, with their emblematic gar-

niture,—all those outward and tangible signs of respect which have been bestowed at so much cost (oftentimes ill afforded), are violated and set at nought equally with the public health itself. The claims of the public health, with respect to sepulture, are hardly less strong than are the claims of surviving friends and relations to decent regard for the remains of the deceased. "Men pay funeral dues, under an implied assurance that the dead shall be respected. The grave is still insecure; grounds accustomed to be held sacred are unceremoniously cleared under official superintendence, and that, too, with such ruthless indifference and wanton publicity, that even passers-by complain of the indecent profanation." Mr Walker quotes several communications to newspapers from persons who have witnessed the conduct and practices of the managers and their agents.

"In this 'management,' former occupancy is disregarded, coffins are remorselessly broken through, and their contents heaped together. On one occasion two men and a boy were observed exhuming the bodies in one part of the burial-ground of Globe-fields Chapel, and hurling them in a most indecent manner and indiscriminately into a deep hole which they had previously made. The police interfered, and as they were about to enter the ground they met a lad with a bag of bones and a quantity of nails: proceeding to an obscure corner, they found a great number of bodies packed one upon another in a very deep grave; the uppermost coffin was not more than seven or eight inches at the utmost from the surface; the breastplate and nails were removed from the lid, so that they could at once remove the latter; and from the appearance of the body as well as of the coffin, it appeared to be the remains of a person above the middle rank of life, and to have been interred about a month or six weeks. The ground was the property of an undertaker, and owing to the low rate of fees, and protection afforded against resurrection-men (being surrounded by high walls), a great number of burials took place; but as few would select the remote corner as a place of rest for their friends or relations, it was used for the purpose of receiving the disinterred bodies of those buried in the better and more crowded part of the ground, to make room for others. The officers said, that the dreadful stench emitted from the half-decomposed bodies placed in the hole before mentioned, was sufficient to engender disease in the neighbourhood; upon which, the men immediately set about covering them.

"In making a grave in a burying-ground in Southwark, a body partly decomposed was dug up and placed on the surface, at the side slightly covered with earth; a mourner stepped upon it, the loosened skin peeled off, he slipped forward, and had nearly fallen into the grave. At another place, amongst a heap of rubbish, a young woman recognised the finger of her mother, who had been buried there a short time previously. On another occasion the workmen,

digging a grave, broke in upon a common sewer, and deposited the coffin there. The more endurable parts of the human fabric are 'managed' away by sending them on shipboard to the north, where many tons of bones are crushed in mills constructed for the purpose, and used as manure."

A superficial observer might suppose that so soon as such a public nuisance had been exposed, the Government would have taken immediate steps for its abolition. The British Government, however, has other fish to fry, and so it has had for many a long year past; its members are, and have ever been, men of aristocratic habits, who have large salaries to spend in the purchase of various pleasures, and who spend their energies, which ought to be devoted to the public service, in sustaining themselves against their political enemies. The British people have constantly the shameful spectacle before them of public men, who ought to be counselling together for their good, exhausting themselves in a scandalous war for the places of power, and for the profits of place. The evil expounded by Mr Walker, like a multitude of others, will therefore continue, unless some active men shall be urged by a sense of public duty to neglect their own private business, and, by a great expenditure of time and money, stir up the public clamour, and thus enforce a sluggish administration to do that which ought to be undertaken by its own promptings. Were not the profession and the practice of the Corporation of London known now to be widely different, it might be a matter of surprise that a body so immensely rich (expending altogether, for ostensibly local purposes, 540,000*l.* per annum) should have allowed the catastrophe in Aldgate church-yard to have passed without making some attempt to stop the burial of the dead within their city. Mr Deputy Tyars and Sir John Cowan, however, in the true spirit of corporators, merely started a joint-stock cemetery for the north-eastern end of London, by which no doubt some pecuniary advantage was expected.

Any proposed improvement, without some caution, will receive much opposition from the metropolitan clergy. Let, however, the value of their fees* be secured, and there is little

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* The following article appeared in the 'Examiner' a few months ago, and indicates the preliminary measures that must be taken to stop powerful opposition:—

"Influence of Clerical Fees on Health.—At a late meeting of the Geographical Society it was stated, that 'among the diseases of the Indians in South America, the small pox was the most prevalent, and destructive, and out of a population of 240,000 souls no less than 30,000 fell victims in four months. This prevalence is attributed to the circumstance that the clergy will not encourage vaccination, because great part of their revenue is derivable from burial fees.' The influence of clerical fees is also very per-

doubt that the support may be obtained of that astute and vigorous prelate, the Bishop of London, who does not gratuitously resist the improvement of society, although he resolutely supports the interests of the clergy under all circumstances.

The metropolis is of so vast and progressively increasing an extent, that suburban cemeteries, such as those at Paris, will not comport with complete salubrity. We do not quite agree in the unqualified praises bestowed by Mr Walker on the projectors of joint-stock cemeteries; several of those already formed are too near the homes of the living, and they will soon be enfolded within the extending rows of dwellings. They are objectionable also because they occupy some of the most high and beautiful localities, which, where there is so scant an allowance of room, should be appropriated to the habitations of men, or rather set apart for the relaxation of the living, and not walled in as places of sepulture. Had the health and comfort of the dense population of London and its environs been protected by intelligent and honourable municipal bodies, such beautiful spots as Norwood, Highgate, and Kensal green would never have been seized by projectors, and for their profit have been devoted to the worm of corruption;—private cupidity has misappropriated for the dead places which should have been sacredly preserved for the living.

There are now four or five railways diverging from various parts of London: some of them pass through, or are contiguous to, districts admirably adapted for burial-grounds. The Government should take advantage of this fact, and construct at least four cemeteries on a magnificent scale, some eight or ten miles from the centre of the metropolis. The Southampton railway passes through a great extent of almost worthless land, some of which at Wimbledon, or even beyond Kingston, is admirably suited for the proposed purpose. Funeral carriages duly prepared, should start at fixed hours and days, by slow trains. The cost of transit and of inhumation should be fixed, and at a very low price; indeed, so important is it that the actual cost of the burial of the dead should be of small amount, and that all excuse should be removed for persisting in the use of any, even suburban cemeteries, that we think it desirable that it should be paid for by the state, allowing families to expend any sum they please additionally, for the purposes of taste or splen-

nicious on the public health in London, where the horrid and pestiferous practice of burying the dead in the most crowded districts is persevered in, to perpetuate their burial fees. Future ages will discover some singular examples of the civilization of the nineteenth century in several parts of the world.

dour; but the removal of the dead body itself should be a matter of police or of state regulation. All the burial-grounds in and about the metropolis should be cleared of their contents in a decent manner, and the present horrid nuisance of sepulture be abolished for ever. Let reasonable compensation be given to all parties,—shareholders, grave-diggers, clergymen; but the *salus populi* demands, *at any cost*, the *immediate* adoption of some such plan as is proposed.

Interested and misguided persons may raise a cry about the sacredness of sepulture which the proposed plan would outrage. That sacredness is already violated, and in the most disgusting manner,—which violation it is proposed to abolish, and instead of the indecencies committed under "management," to make the needful removal once and for ever, and that in a solemn manner, under the control of clergymen and proper officers. Surely, all the emotions of piety and affection, all the steady, lingering remembrances with which we regard the grave—the last home of our mother, our wife, our child—are now sadly offended, when the place to which we have consigned the remains of those who in recollection still continue part of our own being, is in a back yard of some miserable street, or among workshops, smithies, laundries, brewhouses, bakehouses, butchers' shambles (see p. 149), close upon taverns, down in some cellar, abutting upon our stores of various merchandize, or in the midst of the clatter of omnibuses, carts, and drays, and in the very densest throng of thousands of pedestrians.* A metropolitan burial-ground is as offensive to our most delicate sentiments as it is to our bodily health. Martin Van Butchel exhibited a poetic refinement when he embalmed his wife, dressed her neatly, placed her in a smart coffin with a glass plate in front, and kept her in quietness in an attic of his house,—compared with the citizen who deposits his spouse in such a back yard as has been described, whence she is likely to be ejected after a few weeks or months of tenancy, cast about the ground to be mutilated or trodden upon, or pitched into a corner, or carted away as rubbish; her coffin chopped up for fire-wood, its cloth and garniture sold for the profit of grave-diggers. It is proposed to stop this horrid desecration of the dead, and to serve at the same time some of the highest objects of

* An advertisement appeared some time since in the 'Morning Chronicle,' stating that the church of St Bartholomew will be taken down, and that the governor and company of the Bank have proposed to erect a mausoleum on a part of the consecrated ground. How poetic must be the imagination of the Bank directors! Erect a mausoleum at the corner of Threadneedle street!

public utility; and yet against all this, no doubt, loud clamour will be raised.

Mr Walker is one of the few useful men who have performed an investigation where little or no glory can be obtained, and where the rewards are few, other than those derived from the consciousness of doing good. Speculative reformers, the bold and abstract schemers for new-modelling society, may display a grandiloquence that will fill the public ear, and bring much glory to themselves. Those who, like our author, would destroy a tangible evil or remove a local nuisance, will get little or no public approbation, but will raise up a host of determined and unflinching enemies, whose interests are assailed, and who will be much more resolute to defend and sustain the wrong done to the public, than the public is resolute to rid itself of the wrong. Every man takes care of himself, no matter at what price to the public. The public has neither time nor inclination to look after matters which are, however, really and truly its own business, as, for example, the protection of the public health and comfort.

The subject has been well opened, and it ought not now to be dropped. Some member of Parliament (who more fitting than Mr C. Buller or Mr Hawes?) should move the appointment of a committee or commission of inquiry, and bring forth an additional body of evidence that should shame into silence the superstitious and the mercenary. If the Government forget its duty, the intelligent and honest members of Parliament should do theirs, and show to the world where the neglect lies, and for what small services the public money is expended in princely salaries.

J. H. E.

ART. XI.—*The Seventh Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners.* 1841.

2. *The New Moral World.* By Robert Owen. Pallmall. 1841.

3. *The Anti-Socialist Gazette.* Nisbett. 1841.

4. *The Journal of the Working Classes.* Painter. 1841.

IT would neither harmonize with our tastes or opinions to make any long profession of our attachment to the working classes. The principles upon which our work was established, and on which it has been conducted, are a sufficient guarantee to the public mind that we cannot but sympathize with those who form the basis of society in this country, and whose welfare, both moral and physical, is indispensable to the happiness and progress of the whole nation.

Nor do we think it necessary to defend ourselves, in the course we are taking, from the vain and idle charges which will be brought against us by the apologists for existing wrongs, and by the advocates of old and hereditary errors. They will doubtless accuse us of exciting the public mind, of agitating society, of throwing impediments in the way of the Government of Sir Robert Peel, and of casting new and inflammable matter into the volcano which is groaning beneath us, and threatening to throw out lava, fire, and death. We have no such objects to accomplish, no such end to desire. The distinctions of society we acknowledge and respect. The rich man must have his mansion, the poor man his cottage. The industrious, prudent, and intelligent labourer should, in all well-regulated communities, be able to rise, to accumulate his gains, to appropriate them according to his taste or judgment, to enjoy that appropriation, and to ascend in the scale of material as well as of intellectual improvement. But there are *two* ways in which he should be able thus to ascend. *First*, from the absence of all laws acting as impediments to him, and preventing his advance; and *second*, from the existence of such a physical or material state of things as will admit of his doing so. We will illustrate these propositions.

The Duke of Wellington asserted, in his seat in the House of Lords, during the last short Session of Parliament, that he had travelled in many lands, and observed the condition of the labouring classes in all of them, and that he *must* declare, that in no country were those classes so free to labour, and to dispose of their labour, to make the most of their labour, and to rise from one class or order to another class or order, until they reached the highest class, as in the British dominions. That is to say, that in no country which the Duke has visited is there so perfect an absence of all laws and impediments in the way of the advancement of the working man as in Great Britain. There is always a difficulty and a want of earnestness and truthfulness in these *comparative* propositions, because it is rarely the case that those to whom they were addressed are able to enter at once into the correctness of the statements. Nor is much proved by them, even where they are true, since they only amount to this, that in a cell of condemned felons one may differ from another in the deeper and darker shades of their still all-deplorable and guilty characters. In this case, however, we are willing to admit that the principles of a constitutional monarchy must be more favourable to the development and reward of genius and industry than those of an absolute and despotic government, though the Duke would be not so willing to make a

rule-of-three sum of his proposition, and say, If a constitutional monarchy secures a certain amount of protection and advantage to a working man, how much would be secured by a more popular and representative Government? But should we grant his Grace all the benefit he can derive from an admission of the truth of his proposition, it would not enable him to show the existence of the other necessary element for the progress and improvement of the working man, viz., of such a physical or material state of things as will allow him to avail himself of the benefit of the laws which admit of that improvement, and of that progress. We can imagine the Duke saying to a Leeds operative, in the Holbeck ward, where there are 259 families, consisting of 912 individuals, wholly unemployed, that there is no country like England for the labouring classes, and that there is nothing to prevent him from becoming as wealthy and as influential as himself. This would be heartless and cruel irony: for would not the man reply, "I have no work, I have no wages, I have no clothing, I have no means of existence; my health and constitution are fast sinking; and but for the bread and the water of the charitable, I should ere this have expired." It is not enough for the Leeds operative to know that the laws of the country do not make him a slave, if those laws have made him a beggar; that the laws of the country do not prevent him from disposing of his free labour, if they have directly or indirectly deprived him of the means of existence. To tell a man who has surplus income arising from his labour, after having fed, lodged, clothed, and instructed himself, his wife, and his children, that he should think himself happy in being born in a country where he can appropriate the produce of his free labour as he shall think fit, might be unnecessary, but would not be either a foolish or a cruel act; but to tell a man who has *no income at all*, and who never knows, when he crouches on his straw at night, where he shall procure the dry crust and the sorry and single meal of the morrow, that he has the happiness of belonging to a country where labour is free, is a cold and heartless insult offered to the miseries and woes of thousands. We do not accuse the Duke of Wellington of having any such intention. He speaks from the impulse of the moment. He has read man and society backwards. The basis of *his* society is wealth, not industry; the privileged, not the working classes. All the *rights* possessed by the mass, few though they be, he looks upon in the light of concessions made by the former to the latter classes, and is surprised that men should not be happy and contented, when the laws do not directly and positively inflict on them the name of slaves.

There is a mighty evil connected with the condition of the working classes in this country which has to be met, exposed, and overcome. That evil is the following:—The upper and even the middling classes have been so long habituated to the knowledge of the existence of misery, want, and privation, that they ask, with indolent or vapid indifference, when pressed upon to consider the whole question, "What is there *new*, then, that we have not heard of? Is there anything *particular* to which you refer?" Tell them that an agricultural labourer, who toils twelve, and sometimes fourteen, hours per day in cold, rain, frost, sun, fog—alternately frozen, bleached, and drenched—earns for his week's labour, for the support of himself, his wife, and four young children, none of them able to leave the hut in which they reside without their mother accompanying them, the wretched pittance of TWELVE SHILLINGS;—and they will answer, "Oh! that has been the price for a long time past—is that all?" No—it is not all; for these men shall hear how these twelve shillings are expended; and then when they look on their own purple and fine linen, their own tables groaning with luxuries, and see their own eyes stand out with fatness, let the bill of fare of the insufficiently paid labourer stare them in the face:—

	s.	*d.*
Rent	2	0
Flour	5	0
Cheese	0	7
Tea	0	7
Potatoes	0	10
Sugar	0	7
Bacon	0	8
Candles and Soap	0	7
Wood or Coals	1	2
	12	0

No butter—no milk—no meat—no red herrings even—no clothing—no medicine for the children—no shoes or boots—no provision put by for the times when the husband may be unable to work from sickness or accident;—and yet the twelve shillings are GONE! Yes, gone;—and in what? In insufficient food for the body.

We visited lately fifty of such cases. There are 500,000 more to be looked to, and 500,000 more beyond *them*. So here is a population—and in England too, and in some of our best districts—existing on bread, potatoes, with no meat, beer, milk, from year's end to year's end, but two ounces of tea and a pound of moist sugar for husband, and wife, and four children, for a whole week; and this normal state is viewed not only without horror, but even with a sort of complacency, by those who

inquire, "Is there anything *new?*" Yes—it *is new* in the history of the world that an enlightened, industrious, indefatigable peasantry should exist on such fare, and should brook such a state of being.

When the attention of the privileged classes is directed to the condition of the *unemployed*—to those who cannot get work, though willing, as at PAISLEY—to labour at so reduced a price of wages as only to earn *six shillings per week* as a compensation for fourteen hours of indefatigable occupation on the part of an intelligent and industrious weaver, they will occasionally stop for a moment in their restless pursuit of wealth, pleasure, or fame, and bestow a donation to the famishing, or an exclamation of surprise and pity. They "fear commotion;" they express "a sincere hope that the public peace will not be disturbed," and have "*no doubt* that Sir Robert will take active measures to prevent riots!" But tell these same men, as we do now, that the constant, the perpetual state, during some years past, of the English agricultural poor, is disgraceful to the name and character of the British nation, and they will turn on their heels with the heartless exclamation of, "Oh! how much better they are off than the *Irish* peasantry." This is consolation with a vengeance.

What are the natural and just demands of an active and honest labourer? A home—food—firing—clothing—education; and a provision, saved by himself, against old age. A home, wind and water proof;—firing of turf, or wood, or coal, by no means large or extravagant; food,—meat, potatoes, bread, tea, milk, and water or beer; clothing, simple, plain, but sound and whole; education for his children—to read, write, and cast accounts; and a provision for old age of at least 30*l.* per annum. Is this excessive? Let us ask those whose incomes amount in *one day* to a sum more than sufficient to maintain *one hundred such families for a year*, whether *they* think such demands excessive? They will perhaps reply, "The condition of the agricultural classes in England is no worse than they are in other countries; for example, in France, Switzerland, or Belgium." We deny this allegation, and upon this subject we will join issue.

In France, if not everywhere, at least very generally, an agricultural labourer will earn 18 francs—often more—*per week*. How does he spend it?

	fr.	*sous.*
Rent	1	0
Flour	3	0
Meat	3	0
Coffee	1	0
Milk	0	16

	fr.	sous.
Sugar	0	16
Beer, or Wine, or Cider, three bottles	0	18
Candles and Soap	0	15
Wood	1	0
Butter	1	0
Clothing	2	10
Cheese	0	15
Extras and Savings Bank	1	10
francs	18	0

Now, this man has bread, meat, butter, cheese, wine or beer, candles and soap, coffee, milk, and sugar, as well as clothing, extras, and something for the Savings Bank, out of his eighteen francs, or fourteen shillings and sixpence per week. How is this? Examine three of the items of the account, and we shall see.

The Englishman pays for rent, 2s.	The Frenchman pays for rent, 1 franc or 10d.
The Englishman pays for bread or flour, 5s.	The Frenchman pays for bread or flour, of the same quality and quantity, 3 francs, or 2s. 6d.
The Englishman receives for wages, 12s.	The Frenchman receives for wages, 14s. 6d.

Thus on these *three* items of wages, rent, and bread, the Frenchman has the advantage over the Englishman of SIX SHILLINGS AND TWO-PENCE! No wonder, then, that the bill of fare of the French labourer is so much more inviting and satisfactory than that of our own farming population.

"But are the agricultural poor in France satisfied with *their* condition?" asks Colonel Sibthorp, or some other thick and thin Tory. We answer unhesitatingly, that they are *not* satisfied. But what then? If this reply can serve the Sibthorpians, we have no objection to their having the benefit of our answer, but *we* think it has quite another signification. If the working farmer in France is *not* satisfied with 18 francs per week, and with the many little comforts he enjoys, is it astonishing that the same class in England would be made more dissatisfied still? But the labouring agriculturist in France we do not condemn. He complains of the low rate of his wages, of the extravagance of the Government, of the little attention paid to the education of the children of the poor, of the taxation of the necessaries of life, of the little security given to him by the laws for his individual liberty, and of those taxes which press in an especial manner on the poor man. It is no matter of surprise to us that he is not satisfied;—but then how greatly are we borne out in our feeling of surprise at the great submission of our own farming population to their far worse state of subjection and misery.

In Switzerland, that is in the principal and leading Cantons,

labour is still better paid, and provisions are yet cheaper. In some Cantons the peasantry might be subjects of envy on the part of our middling classes; and though in a few their condition is less strikingly advantageous, it is a fact that such Cantons are those where the Governments, though nominally popular, are priest-ridden or despotic. A Swiss peasant has three substantial meals per diem. He drinks good wine, eats excellent beef, has a large supply of fruit and vegetables, and is clothed not only warmly, but gaily and cheerily.

And who has travelled over the Low Countries, whether landing at Ostend and pursuing his course to Aix La Chapelle, or landing at Antwerp and crossing the country to the north of France, and has not observed with delight the comparative ease and comfort of the agricultural poor? Their houses are well warmed; their kitchens are not the guard-rooms of cold heavy bread and suet puddings, with bad potatoes and cold water, but of meat, vegetables, and excellent soup and beer. They can afford it.

And we are not to be sneered or balked out of these facts by the idle and vain boastings about "our matchless Constitution," or "our wooden walls." We can appreciate national pride, and estimate national grandeur; but the labouring man can no more feed on patriotism than can those persons whose names constitute the long and sad list of our public pensioners. It is then *wholly* incorrect to assert that our English agricultural labourers are in a condition at all parallel to those of France, Belgium, or Switzerland.

There is not a step, but simply a hair's breadth, between the condition of our agricultural labourers and pauperism; for, although the labour of our parish stone-yards and Unions is more dependent and less remunerated, than that of the free labour of those who keep themselves aloof from the parish, yet such is the actual condition of the farming men of this country, to say nothing of Ireland, that if only sickness during a few weeks assail them, or they lose employment for the same length of time, they have nothing to fall back upon but the large district receptacles for the sick, the famishing, and the infirm.

And when we have taken as our basis of calculation twelve shillings per week as the rate of agricultural labour, we have adopted a *maximum* which it would be impossible for us to sustain. We know that threshers seldom earn less, and often more; but we also know that the wages of ploughmen and waggoners are very often much inferior, and that if English agricultural labour could now be averaged, it would *not* amount to more than ten shillings and sixpence per family, *i.e.*, for the support of a man,

his wife, and three or four small children. Nor is it any reply to our statement to say, that when sons grow up to the age of from thirteen to eighteen or twenty, before they leave the paternal roof altogether, they also contribute their lesser wages to the general stock. They do so, we admit; but then five shillings' worth of flour and bread will not suffice for *their* large appetites. Cheese, tea, potatoes, sugar, soap, must all be augmented; and the extra wages only supply a larger quantity of the same cold and inadequate nutriment.

We take then our stand, with reference to the agricultural labourers of this country, on this ground:—1st. Their wages are too low. 2nd. Their provisions are too dear. 3rd. Their food and mode of life are little removed from pauperism.

We are now pleading the case of the *employed* poor. It is not enough for us to hear that such and such a man is employed;—we ask, how many hours does he labour? what are his wages? what his family? what the cost of provisions? and *how* does he live, as well as whether he *does* live?

There are some persons who, while they profess to care *for* and love the poor, are quite in high spirits when they hear that in such and such a district there are not vast numbers of workmen *wholly unemployed;* and that there are not a great many Boltons, Leeds, Paisleys, and Spitalfields in this country. The *Times* is in a state of joyous agony because at *Sheffield* there is not the same amount of unemployed misery as at *Paisley*, and because at *Birmingham* the pressing distresses of the starving and houseless are less multiplied and severe, in comparison with the amount of their relative populations, than at Leeds. But instead of wasting its energies in a hopeless attempt to convince the miserable that they are happy, how much more worthy and dignified would have been its conduct had it sought to grapple with the difficulties under which the working classes are labouring, and to point out remedies for evils which are little short of insupportable.

It does not occur to those persons who are so easily satisfied with the present state of things, provided there be not an enormous amount of surplus *unemployed* labour, that the constant, *permanent* condition of the working classes is one of a most lamentable character. If the agricultural poor complain, they are reminded either that there are poor in all countries and have been in all times, that these distinctions in society are natural and unavoidable, or that their condition is not worse, nor yet so painful as that of the *manufacturing* poor. They are reminded that the air *they* breathe is good, that their few square feet gardens supply them with some potatoes or vegetables, and that

they are not infected with the malaria of large towns and cities. The agricultural poor reply, "But of what use is *pure air*, if we have not sufficient food to satisfy our hunger? and of what use are our little gardens, when our natures are gradually sinking and our health declining for want of an adequate amount of nutritious food? Potatoes do not contain much more than *one third* of the nutritive matter that exists in bread, and yet our principal hope of being enabled to meet our unavoidable expenditure for supporting life is by substituting potatoes for bread. Without we do this, the debt we already owe to the country shop will increase, credit will be refused us any longer, we shall get in arrear with our landlord and lose our goods, and then be thrown upon the parish." This is the language of all those who complain.

If the agricultural poor do *not* complain, if—from their scattered and isolated position, they do *not* unite, as the manufacturing and mercantile classes do, either to examine their position or devise means for its improvement, the privileged classes declare "that they are happy and contented, and that the poor have occasional helps, as well as some irregular sources of income, which enable them 'to make both ends meet,' and to shuffle on from year to year until better times and wages shall improve their condition." How often have we been told this by the landed squirearchy of England! Yet how fallacious is the statement. Ask the holders of mortgages on country cottages what *they* think of their securities; ask the landlords of the same cottages what deductions *they* would make from the prime cost of those cottages, if they could but find purchasers; ask country auctioneers what sums are bidden for this description of property when submitted to sale; and all will concur in stating, that every year the value diminishes, and that small freeholds which once were sought for as bringing in low but certain rents, are now refused at any price, since the expense of repairs and the outlay for taxes are not covered by the receipts for rents. Ask country solicitors and conveyancers if any of their clients are disposed to advance money on small freehold cottages inhabited by the poor; and they will reply, that already they would have received orders to foreclose many mortgages not paid off, but that the expense would not be covered either by the purchase monies of the properties if sold, or by the accumulation of the rents, which are next to uncollectable. Ask the receivers of rents and agents for proprietors of small rural property, whether freehold or leasehold, and they will reply, that never in their recollection was such sort of property so depreciated, and that this depreciation goes on with fearful progress every year. And

why? Because the rents are *not paid*. And why? Because agricultural wages are so low that the labourers cannot pay the rents, and because those who purchase property are convinced that this evil is extending. Add to this, that the holders of country shops are *compelled*, in self-defence, to diminish both in number and amount the credit they once gave to the labourer, which credit enabled the labourer to stand well with his landlord; but which credit being now refused compels the labourer to postpone the rent collector, and ultimately not to pay him, since the daily exigencies of his stomach compel the poor man to buy bread, that he may not perish. This also supplies the true and only reason why an agricultural labourer's wife will spend on a Saturday night the *whole* of the twelve shillings received by her husband in articles of fuel, food, light, and cleanliness, leaving *nothing* for rent, clothing, medicine, and sundries.

"How can the poor woman spend the whole of her husband's wages on a Saturday night with you, and leave nothing for her landlord, for shoes, boots, hats, linen, clothes, the doctor, and a hundred other little things?" was a question we lately put in a large agricultural county to a variety of country shopkeepers who sell everything but clothes and medicine to the agricultural poor; and everywhere the answer was the same, if not in words, in effect. It was this:—

"Really we know not how they manage. Two or three years ago we used to give them credit, and then they *paid* their rent; but now times are so bad, and look so gloomy, that we cannot give *any credit at all*. The labourers are therefore obliged to pay for all their food and firing, candles and soap, with their ready money, and trust to Providence for the rest."

"And what is to be the end of all this?" we asked of those practical people. To which they replied, "They were sure they could not tell, for small tradesmen, such as shoemakers, linen-drapers, and factors, were getting worse off every day; and that, as to the rents of the cottages, they would very soon not be paid at all."

It must be borne in mind that in the observations we are now making relative to the condition of the working classes in agricultural districts, we are not instituting or contemplating any comparison between their condition and that of the *manufacturing* or *commercial* poor. Misery exists everywhere—vast and incalculable misery; but it is more obvious, condensed, palpitating, and fuller of interest to a mere casual observer in the great towns and cities than in the fields, moors, fens, and mountains of our land. Misery in the country is less obvious to the passer by, to the votary of pleasure and dissipation, and even to

the man of leisure and reflection; but it is not the less real. The cottagers of England, once so cheerful and gay, are melancholy and mournful. The voice of singing is never heard within their walls. Their unhappy inmates vegetate on potatoes and hard dumplings, and keep themselves warm with hot water poured over one small teaspoonful of tea, which barely colours the water, and which is administered to the fretful children by their anxious and impoverished parents. We have not taken these statements for granted; we have not fallen into the cry of "Bad times for the agricultural poor" without knowing them to be so; and we are now as well acquainted with the farming labourers' repasts as we are with their miseries. They are ground down by iron and searching poverty, and their meals are neither nutritive in quality nor adequate in solid amount.

If we wanted any additional evidence of the growing privations of the people, we might take it from the reports of the Registrar-General, exhibiting the increasing rate of mortality, and confirm that by the returns from the last Census, showing that population in some counties is decreasing, and that nowhere is it increasing in the ratio observed when the former Census was taken. Mr Porter estimated the rate of mortality in 1830 as 1 in 58; it is now 1 in 45.56. The deaths in 1839-40 exceed those of the preceding year by 19,094. Of these 11,052 were deaths of children under five years of age,*—a striking fact; for in times when the pinch of want is unusually severe, children of tender age are naturally the first to suffer. The want of proper warmth and clothing through a long and dreary winter is death to them, though the parents may live through it. How many sickly children have perished from the inability of the mother to purchase for them a pair of shoes that in cold and damp weather would have kept their feet dry!

Emigration is proposed. It may meet for the moment many pressing evils, but it is an expedient, not a cure. The evil lies deep in the very heart of our present state of social regulations and institutions, and no palliatives will be permanently beneficial. Our object will be accomplished if by the preceding observations we shall have roused the attention of the public to the state of our agricultural poor, and to the facts connected generally with the misery and the woes of the working classes.

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* See No. 3 of a very useful sixpenny periodical, sold by Hooper, entitled 'Facts and Figures.'

CRITICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

CHANCERY REFORM.

THE NEW ORDERS FOR THE REGULATION OF THE PRACTICE AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE COURT OF CHANCERY, ISSUED BY THE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR 26 AUGUST, 1841.

THE NEW ORDERS, &c., WITH REMARKS ON THEIR EFFECT ON THE PRESENT PRACTICE OF THE COURT; AND SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR REFORMING THE SAID COURT. By John Sidney Smith, of the Six Clerks' Office.

PRACTICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE NEW ORDERS, &c. By Edmund Robert Daniell, F.R.S., Barrister-at-law.

ORDER OF NOVEMBER 19, 1841, FOR SUSPENDING THE FIRST FIVE ORDERS OF AUGUST.

NEW ORDER IN CHANCERY RELATING TO DISTRINGAS ON STOCK. November 17, 1841.

NEW ORDER IN CHANCERY FOR DIVISION OF THE JUDICIAL BUSINESS. November, 1841.

To the late Lord Chancellor belongs the honour of having declaimed less and done more on the subject of equity reform than any one of his predecessors. The evidence which he brought out in the Lords' Committee two years ago—the bill for abolishing the equity Exchequer, and appointing two new equity judges, which he all but carried through, and the orders of August last, which he left behind him, have been most important measures with reference to improvements in the business of the court. Lord Cottenham was yet not, in our view, by nature fitted for a reformer of the law. His talents are judicial rather than legislative. While in the business of a judge—in the downward application of general rules to particular cases—in the *art* of procedure, he is out of all denial one of the greatest men who ever sat upon the bench, we cannot but think that in more legislative exercises, in the upward process, from the individual case and its hardships, to the general rule as it should exist, by which process alone any science of procedure can be worked out, he must have felt himself far less at home. To this we attribute the great slowness and caution with which he proceeded in his equity reforms, and the little progress he made in them. They were all, however, real, and of the true sort.

It would be out of place here to go into any minute criticism on the orders. We will attempt to give such an account of them as will enable our unlearned readers to understand their general scope.

The first five orders are evidently fragmentary. They betoken much more than they say. The continued existence of the Six Clerks' Office is one of the great abominations of the court. The officers there are the porters of the Court of Chancery. Every suitor is not only obliged to pay them heavy admittance fees before he may enter the dreaded gates of the court, but is

also obliged to fee them further every term in which his cause is moved on the smallest jot. The five orders pointed to the death of this office. They pointed to it, but did not accomplish it; and it is to complete the work here denoted, therefore, as we trust, that the Lord Chancellor and his subordinate judges, on the 19th November, made an order suspending the five orders. The order of suspension implies a more extensive change. It recites, that

"It is expedient that further orders should be made for the better administration of justice in the Court of Chancery, with reference to the matters to which the 1st, 2nd, 3d, 4th, and 5th orders of the 26th August last apply, and that in the meantime the operation of the same orders should be suspended."

And it then suspends them till April next.

From Lord Langdale's known opinions on the subject of the processes of the courts of equity, and especially from his evidence before the Chancery Commission in 1820, we are led to attribute the next ten orders chiefly to him. They are directed to shortening and simplifying the introductory and other forms of the court.

The dominion of the Court of Chancery was originally no doubt usurped. It did not, therefore, like the courts of law, give only one notice to a defendant to appear and defend himself, and on his default, at once proceed to adjudge the case in his absence; but it repeated notice upon notice, process upon process, each more urgent than its predecessor, until the default of the defendant became so gross that it could be considered in reality, as well as technically, a contempt of the court, and that no rival court could for shame protest against the Chancery Court, whatever after it might do to the contumacious defendant. The usurped dominion has now long become an universally recognized authority. The processes, however, have survived till now. They are now by these orders almost all destroyed, and the plaintiff may proceed from the first to the last at one step, instead of, as heretofore, *misurando a passi tardi, e lenti*, crawling slowly on, almost hopeless of end.

The next seven orders are directed to the shortening of pleadings: the succeeding ten orders to dispensing with the necessity of having so many formal parties (trustees, &c.) made parties in suits. There are subsequent orders for other important objects, too technical to be readily explained; and at the conclusion are two valuable orders for giving creditors who are paid through the medium of the Court of Chancery, interest on their debts; and also the expenses of proving them.

The principal defects of these orders, are that they are not sufficiently radical in their scope, and, as to some of them, not drawn up or supervised by parties practically acquainted with the workings of the subjects on which they bear. Every change in the administration of the law causes much evil. It introduces new elements of uncertainty, and thus creates not only great additional expense, but great additional insecurity also. But these consequences of change are consequences which follow as much on a small change as on the most radical one; and the slightest departure from things as they were creates the evils in question. It follows, therefore, that we should be *conservative* on coming to a determination to alter; *radical* when we have determined to alter: that every change, when positively resolved on, should go as far as foresight and investigation can support it—that having resolved upon change it is mere superstition to be afraid of the extent to which such particular change shall be carried, provided of course, that the extent is not more than commensurable with the evil to be redressed. Now the orders under review, though in

our minds the best directed and best intentioned orders yet on the files of the court, are, as we consider, obnoxious to this censure. Though many needless, and therefore mischievous, processes are abolished, *all* are not abolished which might be; and a process of one kind is ordered for one purpose while it is abolished for another. For instance: If a defendant does not answer when he is ordered, the processes are to be—1st, attachment—2nd, sequestration; the intermediate process of sergeant-at-arms being abolished. But if a party omits to do any other act he is ordered to do, then the attachment is abolished, and the sergeant-at-arms (a terrible gentleman with a bag wig and sword) is to go out against him to enforce obedience.

The publications of Mr Daniel and Mr J. Sidney Smith are intended as very searching and very severe criticisms on these orders. They are not the criticisms of friends. While the smallness of their objections amply justifies us in the praise we have given, their number and correctness (and they by no means hit all the blots) establish our statement that the orders have not been properly submitted to practical men. We regret this. Working out the truths of a noble science;—dealing with these great subjects, to be actuated by the littlenesses of authorship, would, in our eyes, be extremely contemptible. We feel sure this could not be the occasion of the closeness and secrecy observed in the concoction of these orders. If it arose from a contempt of the opinions and views of the rest of the profession, then we think the motive to secrecy still more unjustifiable. If, as we suppose, from carelessness, we regret it much. The legislature has conferred on the equity judges legislative powers for five years; but it never meant that those powers should be exercised in careful secrecy, and that the profession of the law should be presented with ready made acts of parliament, with a careful prior concealment of what was about to be done.

Our objection, however, to the want of radicalness in these orders goes further. If there be anything of an inductive nature in the science of procedure, the judges should go beyond their own court, and the immediate practitioners there, for the experience requisite to enable them properly to legislate on these matters. For instance, as to process. If they meant to proceed scientifically, they should have carefully examined the processes of the common law courts and their working—they should have ascertained the time these take—the cost they engender—the effect they produce. They should have consulted, not merely the judges of those courts, but the practitioners there—and even from these practitioners they should not have been satisfied with empirical and hasty conclusions. But they should have led them to work upwards from the facts there to be observed, to the scientific rules capable of being deduced from those facts; and they should have caused a well-digested set of observations to be taken in that court, so as to show exactly the results desired to be ascertained. We doubt greatly if they even did so much in their own court. They saw a palpable evil, and without probing its extent or carefully examining the effects of another regimen, they applied, off-hand, a remedy which we fear will turn out somewhat hasty and ill-digested.

Some other rules which have been issued this term as to the writ of distringas afford a strong confirmation of the above criticisms. This writ in effect, is only a method whereby the Bank of England makes an entry in its books that an interest is claimed by one party in stock standing in the name of another (generally a trustee). Now this process was pronounced by the judges improper, and fraught with danger. *We can admit of no proof of this impropriety except experience.* There have been 600 of these writs

issued yearly for perhaps the last century. We have heard that there are two or three millions of stock affected by them, and yet we never heard it alleged that there had been a single instance of abuse, while the existence of the practice has been of importance to thousands. A reversionary interest in stock is unsaleable without this writ. One morning, however, the profession was surprised by seeing in the newspapers, orders which practically abolished this writ.—Is not this, we would ask, a method of reform which might bring all reform into discredit? Does not this state of things call loudly for observation? It is poor philosophy to argue against the right use of things from their abuse; still poorer so to argue from some supposed *liability* to abuse, which all the facts known absolutely disprove.

These remarks are dictated under the greatest respect for the distinguished lawyers at present engaged on the work of equity reform, but with the feeling that it is our duty here to judge with the utmost freedom even judges themselves, and to own allegiance to none but Truth.

There is one other subject touched upon in some of the orders mentioned at the head of this article, on which we must say a few words. Should business, as it goes into the court, be taken to the judges by rotation as a pack of cards is dealt out, or should the plaintiff be allowed, as heretofore, to choose his own court? The *Times* newspaper has thought this a subject so popular in its nature as to deserve some long articles. It espouses the plan of a rota. Now, in our view, this question is one of considerable constitutional importance. The immediate object of providing every court with work can be better effected by waiting till one court has exhausted its paper, if ever such a case arises (which after twelve months we don't believe will be the case), and then turning over some business to it from the most loaded court.* But, besides arguing for a rota to equalize business, the *Times* contends that the plaintiff ought not to choose his court any more than the defendant. This principle, if adopted, should be applied to common law also, and every third cause should be turned over to the monopolist serjeants of the Common Pleas. But the power of deserting to a considerable extent a judge's court, is the only check the public has on the judges. Every judge has his fault and his excellence also, and he is plainly told of both by the silent course of business. Where there is a barrier interposed, there the current will not flow. On the other hand, aptitude in a judge for a particular class of business leads, and with great public advantage, the business to that judge. The Vice Chancellor of England (Sir L. Shadwell) is highly esteemed for his great skill and learning in the construction of wills and other instruments, and the public greatly benefit by taking these to him. Inaccuracy of judgment is not to be cured by a lottery. The only and *proper* cure is a quick, cheap, ready, good appeal.

But there is another reason why the plaintiff should choose his court. Rules must be for the mass of cases, not for the exception. In the mass of cases the plaintiff is out of possession, and the defendant in possession; and possession, as the saying goes, is nine points of the law. The plaintiff is the party wanting a decision, the defendant wants to postpone it. The plaintiff, therefore, should be left, as he has been left, to find the shortest

* Inequality of business in the courts, and a certain degree of rivalry between them, are very important. The first enables parties in very pressing cases always to have an early decision, the other applies a motive which that eminent man, Mr Justice Story estimated so highly that he grounded on it a very decided opinion against the abolition, of the Equity Exchequer.—(See a letter from him published, about a year ago, in the *Legal Observer.*)

course. The convenience of the solicitor and of the junior counsel is greatly consulted by the right of choosing a court. They can secure much more the power of personal attention; and whatever enables them to do their work better, is just so far a gain to the client and the public too. The client gets more skilled services, the public gets a higher quality of justice. The power of retaining the counsel who had advised the suit is also very important. Ill-natured people have suggested, that juniors who are briefless, and Queen's counsel who have been tried and found wanting, fancy that a rotation of *courts* will induce in some degree a rotation of *briefs* also. We don't see how this could be. If it were so, that would be conclusive on the subject, for what would be a gain to inferior counsel, would be the client's loss.

Rotation too, oddly enough, is very far from producing an equality of business. It has been tried in the Master's Office for twenty years, and yet some of the masters have twice as much business in their offices as others. How and why this is, is a problem we trust the advocates of a rota will clearly solve before they are allowed to change to a rota. We can give a pretty good guess at its solution.

Extensive reforms are, we understand, in progress. It is not difficult to foretell many of them. A probable thorough remodelling of the offices will be the most important. Unless it extend to the total abolition of the office of subordinate judge (the Master), raising perhaps some of the present Masters to the rank of superior judges, or creating others, responsible for the whole of a cause, we believe that nothing very effectual can be done to improve the working of the equity courts, and to open their doors to those poorer classes, to whom, at present, they are utterly barred, and for whose grievances, therefore, the English constitution at present affords no redress. To this if there be added some substituted system of professional pay; not one based like the present on the number of words written, but one by which intellectual exertion shall be paid for, and clerks' work given in at cost price;—a new era in legal procedure will have arrived.

F.

CHINESE LITERATURE.

ÆSOP'S FABLES. Written in Chinese, by the learned Mun-Mooy Seen-shang, and compiled in their present form (with a free translation) by his pupil Sloth. Small folio. Black and Armstrong.

The author of this work is Mr Robert Thom, a name familiar to the public, Mr Thom (at present with our troops on their northern expedition) having distinguished himself as an able interpreter of the Chinese language, and as the translator of a volume of Chinese Poetry, entitled 'The Lasting Resentment of Miss Keaou-Lwan-Wang, published in 1840.

'Æsop's Fables' were first published at Canton in 1837-38, and met with considerable success. But the work finding its way to the public offices, excited the attention of the high mandarins, who ordered it to be suppressed. The story of the goose that laid golden eggs was said to be a libellous attack upon the policy of the Chinese government.

The fables are printed in three columns: the Chinese characters form the centre column. On the right the Chinese words are given in the roman character, spelt as pronounced by the mandarins, and underneath the same words, in italics, as pronounced provincially at Canton. In the left column we have the original fables in English, and underneath, in italics, a sort of Hamiltonian translation of the Chinese terms, word for word, showing the nature of the Chinese idiom. We give an example from the fable of the Dog and the Shadow.

English	Chinese	Romanization
The Dog and the Shadow. *Dog Shadow.*	犬影	Keuen, ying. *Hüne, ying.*
A long time ago there was a dog who was crossing a bridge, and in his *Formerly had dog cross bridge his*	昔有犬過橋其	Seih yew keuen kwŏ keaou, *Sik y'au hüne hwŏ kĕw,*
mouth he held firmly a piece of flesh, when *mouth holding-had flesh one lump*	口咬有肉一塊	kow yaou-yew jow yih kw. *h'au 'ngaou-y'au yok yat fa*
all of a sudden he observed that below the bridge was another dog, *suddenly saw bridge-below had dog*	忽見橋下有犬	hwŭh kĕen keaou-hea yew ke *fŭtt keen kĕw-ka y'au h*
who in his mouth was also holding a piece of flesh, and he knew not that he *mouth holding flesh not knew he*	口咬肉不知其	kow yaou jow, pŭh chē k *h'au n'gaou yok, pŭt chee k*
was a shadow: so he forthwith parted with the flesh which he held *was shadow! forthwith let-go mouth*	為影也遂捨口	wei ying yay! suy shāy kow *wei yĭng ya! suy shāy h'au*
in his mouth and hurriedly snatching at the other dog's flesh, *g. c. flesh and hastily snatched-at it*	之肉而奔奪之	che jow, urh pŭn tŏ che, *che yok, e pŭn tüte che,*
was within an ace of being drowned! his true *nearly drowned-dead his true*	幾乎淹死其真	ke-hoo yén sze! ke chin *kee-oo yeem-sze! ke chŭn*
flesh, already following the current, was borne *flesh already following flowing water went*	肉已隨流水去	jow, e suy lew-shwuy keu *yok, ĕe tsuy l'au-shuy hüy*
away (for ever)! Thus by coveting what was imaginary, he lost *! desiring to-covet the false lost*	矣欲貪其假失	e! yŭh tan ke kea, shĭh *ee! yok tam ke ka, shat*
what was real! among the men of this world *away the true world's-men too-many*	卻其真世人多	keŏ ke chin! she-jin tŏ *kĕok ke chŭn! shei-yŭn tŏ*
there are too many of this description! *have species this*	有類此	yew luy tsze! *y'au luy tsze!*

The work, it will be seen, forms a most admirable elementary book. As the fables e: tend to 104 pages, a great variety of characters are necessarily used, and so as to sho their different import in different positions. The Chinese student, therefore, could n fail to acquire from the work a considerable insight into the construction of this ancient ar singular language. Dialogues in Chinese, and Chinese aphorisms, have been issued from tl

Macao press, but without what is so all-important to the student, a free and literal translation. We hesitate, therefore, not to say, that Mr Thom, by publishing this work, has rendered an essential aid to all who may attempt to acquire a knowledge of Chinese. Great praise is due to the author for the able manner in which he has executed both the literal and free translation. The reader, by comparing the one with the other, may at once see the difficulties that present themselves to the novice in the language, from the elliptical character of the phraseology with which it is indispensable that he should become familiar. Prefixed to the work is an introduction, exhibiting examples (taken from M. de Guines) of the ancient and modern form of the Chinese character, and an illustration of its six written modes. Then follows a disquisition on the use of the Chinese particles. We cannot speak too highly of the execution of this part of the volume.

We do not understand why, in some of the fables, antiquated terms should have been selected in a sense only intelligible to a Chinese scholar, when more familiar words would have rendered the meaning clear to all classes. For instance, in the first fable, 'The Wolf and the Lamb,' the word *pang* is used as employed by old writers in the sense of "devours," but its modern signification is almost exclusively that of "boil," and we fear that *Chae pang yang* too much resembles "Wolf boils sheep" to allow the meaning of the words to be quite obvious to the majority of the Chinese at Canton. This is an error, but a more serious one is that of altering the original fables to suit Chinese notions.—The fables are introduced by a reference not to Grecian, but to Chinese mythology. Thus we read, "When Pwan-koo first began, all the birds and beasts could speak." "In the time of Shinnung there was a wolf, &c." "When the great Emperor Yu drained off the waters of the Deluge, &c." A Chinese scholar will naturally inquire "how can this work be a specimen of the literature of European nations, when we know that Æsop, if there ever were such a person, could not have been a believer in Pwan-koo, Shin-nung, or Yu." Mr Thom will be accused of imposition, and there will be so much fair ground for the charge, that we trust, in the next edition, he will insert in a note the original of the parts altered, with a Chinese version, and explain to Chinese scholars why the alterations were made. If this were done, the work, for popular purposes, might remain as it is:—to English students of Chinese, an invaluable acquisition.

EDUCATION.

It is our intention to form, with the assistance of various friends of education in whose judgment confidence may be placed, and ultimately to give in the Westminster Review, a complete list or digest of the most meritorious works of instruction hitherto published, adapted for the different periods of infancy, childhood, and youth. The digest will embrace the best works relating to every subject connected with moral and intellectual cultivation, or relating to healthful and industrial training. We shall, therefore, be glad to have our attention directed to any useful work (not known to us) of an elementary character, or calculated to facilitate the progress of the youthful student in a knowledge of history, languages, and the moral and physical sciences. Some time will be required for the preparation of the list, the value of which will of course depend upon the care with which the task is executed, and its freedom from bookselling bias. Such a digest we know is a desideratum among parents and teachers, and we hope to render it suitable to the object.

A New English Grammar, with very copious Exercises, &c. By A. Allen, Ph. D., and J. Cornwell. 18mo. London: Simpkin. 1841.—This is a very respectable school grammar, containing much matter in few words, numerous exercises in every part, and an unusually large portion devoted to affixes, prefixes, and derivatives. Like other school grammars, it appears to us to give too little attention to the main points, and too much to subordinate divisions and subdivisions. The verb is too complicated, and the rules generally are too numerous. We are aware that most teachers would have found fault with the book if it had been written otherwise; but we think that a book for beginners, on an abstract subject like grammar, should be restricted to the essential points, and should refrain from minute distinctions and exceptions, which only serve to embarrass the beginner. It should not be an abridgment of everything that is in a large and complete grammar, which would only render it much more difficult than the large work; it should rather be an amplification of the most important parts of grammar.

G.

Treatise on the Pronunciation of the German Language, for the Use of Beginners, &c. By Gustavus Nagel, Professor of the German Language, author of the 'German Reader,' &c. Nutt: London. 1841.—Among the best of the various small works which have lately issued from the press to facilitate the acquirement of the pronunciation of the Hochdeutch or German language, we have little hesitation in recommending this manual of Professor Nagel. His rules are generally clearly and distinctly laid down, and his explanations such as may be of use to those not having the advantage and aid of a master, though of course the pronunciation of particular words is best learned from the lips of a teacher. The chapter where the author turns the attention of the student to the formation of words, we think peculiarly good.

C. H.

Little Arthur's History of England. By Lady Callcott. Murray.—School histories and school geographies, as ordinarily composed, rank in the estimation of a child with the driest of his task books. The compilers of them feeling bound not to omit any important fact connected with the subject, and being, at the same time, very limited in the space allotted for them, are driven to divest each one of the details which make it interesting, and to crowd in such a number of skeleton statements, that the work becomes, at length, about as amusing as the columns of a dictionary. "Résumés," thus terribly complete and dry, may be necessary as class books, or as books of reference, in the course of the education of a child, but must be almost wholly useless to him until his imagination has been called into aid by the means of some more life-like representation—until he has been interested in the subject, and his curiosity awakened by something with which he can sympathise.

'Little Arthur's History of England' is a very good specimen of the kind of introduction to such subjects required for children. The idea which has prompted its production is given concisely in a paragraph of the Preface, which we will quote:—

"This little history was written for a real little Arthur, and I have endeavoured to *write* it nearly as I would *tell* it to an intelligent child. I well remember what I wanted to be told myself, in addition to what I found in my lesson book, when I was first allowed to read the 'History of England;' and I hope I have answered most of the questions I recollect to have wished to ask."

The little book is written throughout with that nice appreciation of childish feeling and intellect which is hardly to be met with but among women. We should much like to see an introduction to geography from the of Lady Callcott, or from the yet more able author of 'Exercises for the Senses.' It is impossible to conceive anything duller than the compendiums usually met with in schools, and yet we know, from considerable experience, that there is no subject capable of being presented to a child in a more captivating form. For example:—

"The Tonkin Empire, viz.:—

Tonkin	Back-kink.
Cochin China . . .	Thu-nan.
Cambodia, or Camboge .	Camboge.
Laos	Han-mech."

This is a specimen, from a very popular school geography, of the portion especially marked out "to be learned by heart" in the *first* of three courses of lessons which the child is to take in that science. The boy, with whom it is among the unfathomable mysteries of child government that he should be compelled to commit to memory and to recite anything to him so utterly uninteresting—and from whose mind, fortunately, the first game at taw expels the whole of it—will yet devour the voyages of Columbus or of Captain Cook, and, with a little judicious assistance, will follow their wanderings on his map with an interest which will inevitably fix in his memory all the leading geographical facts connected with them. There are also many lessons very interesting to a child, and which may be so intimately connected with geography as to awaken his attention to the subject. A conversation with him upon the deal planks of which his school floor, and forms, and desks are made, may lead very naturally to some account of British America; and a short history of the campaigns of Bonaparte and of the Duke of Wellington, will interest him in the geography of all Europe, and of India and Egypt. Lessons of this kind not only introduce him to geography, but give him also very accurate notions of its uses and its importance.

G. N.

Geographical Model. Kershaw, 17 Wilderness row; and Ackerman, 96 Srand.

This is another contribution to the cause of education by one of the most indefatigable and useful men of the present day—the author of 'Exercises for the Senses,' 'Arithmetic,' and 'Drawing for Young Children.'* It consists of a model designed to introduce the study of geography, by rendering the meaning of its technical terms perfectly clear and intelligible to the mind of a child. The model is composed of *papier maché*, and gives a bird's eye view of a country, showing in *relief* its mountains and highlands, and depicting its valleys, lakes, rivers, towns, roads, &c., exactly as they would appear to an aeronaut sailing over them in a balloon. The use of the model will be at once recognised by every one who has been engaged in the work of instruction. It is easy to make a child remember the definition of an island or a peninsula; but to give him a clear understanding of the definition, something must be presented to his eye resembling the objects named, and this can be done much better by a model than by a map; for, as we know from experience, maps are very puzzling to children until they have acquired some notion of drawing. The parent or teacher, therefore, placing this model on a table, first explains that an island is land surrounded with water, and then points to one on the model, bidding the child find out another. So with the words peninsula, isthmus,

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* Published by C. Knight and Co.

gulf, cape, &c. The model is so contrived as to illustrate the meaning of all the more important geographical terms, and in half an hour's lesson a child may be made to have a vivid conception of rivulets running down from mountains, forming rivers and lakes, and of the marsh, the estuary, and the delta. The teacher might also point out the routes practicable for carriages, the sites proper for towns, &c., and with a measuring tape may exercise the child in finding out the distance of one point from another.

A map accompanies the model, so that when a child is thoroughly familiar with all the objects it describes, the teacher, by referring to the map, may show how the same objects would be represented on paper. The model and map are placed in a box, and sold together at half a guinea. We learn from the publisher, that the author, from praiseworthy and disinterested motives, was anxious that they should be brought out at one third the price; but that, from the cost of getting up, with the uncertainty of the demand, this was found to be impracticable. We regret it, for we would fain see the model sold sufficiently cheap to be placed in the hands of the poorest. It ought to be considered indispensable to the furniture of every nursery and infant school. W. E. H.

An Introduction to English Grammar, on Universal Principles. By Hugh Doherty. Simpkin.

(We think the title of this work a misnomer: it is not an introduction to grammar, but an elaborate philosophical treatise on the formation of words and construction of sentences, and as such, may be usefully consulted either by the practised student, or those engaged in the preparation of more simple elementary works.)

Histories from Scripture for Children, Exemplified by Appropriate Domestic Tales. By Miss Graham. Dean and Munday.

A Catechism of Astronomy. By Hugo Reid. Oliver and Boyd.

Stenography Remodelled. A treatise developing an entirely new system of short-hand writing. By J. Faucutt. Sherwood and Co.

(We do not think it worth while to unlearn our own system of short-hand to benefit by that of Mr Faucutt, but we think Mr Faucutt's book will bear a very favourable comparison with most treatises on the same subject.)

FICTION.

Cecil, a Peer. A Sequel to 'Cecil, or the Adventures of a Coxcomb.' By the same Author. In 3 vols. T. and W. Boone.

The continuation of a clever novel, in which the principal character is a fashionable man of the world, belonging to the numerous class of self-worshippers, with but little sympathy for any other being than themselves, though not entirely destitute of redeeming qualities. We think the author, in his impersonation of Cecil, has been very successful; we receive it as a faithful delineation of the heartlessness and egotism often found in what are termed the upper ranks, but, fortunately for society, not universally characteristic of our English aristocracy. The defect of the novel—and we should not be critics if we could not discover some fault—is, not in the pourtraiture of Cecil, or in any tendency to caricature (for we think this, on the contrary, is avoided) but in the construction of the plot. We have somewhat too much of the coxcomb,—we want the relief of contrast; the incidents of the novel are too broken and isolated, connected only by one link with the adventures of the principal personage. This is a fault inseparable from the assumed auto-biographical character of the work, for Cecil would not be Cecil if he did not keep himself almost exclusively before the eye of the

reader; but it is not the less a fault in any work intended to interest and amuse, and one which the author need not have committed had he chosen to adopt the third person. The novel, however, is smartly written, and is obviously the work of a man of talent. In the present dearth of good novels, it is not high praise to say this is the best that has appeared for some months, but in that light, at least, we may recommend it to the reader. We have room for but one specimen of the author's style:—

"Those were mighty pleasant days!—as one usually says of days that are certain never to recur. Throughout Europe, it was holiday time for people intent upon promoting the greatest happiness of the smallest number. While the fashionable world of London, unchecked by the influence of a female court, did as it listed, in Paris, the person of the new King, Charles X, was so surrounded by Jesuits, both in and out of the Order, that he was unable to perceive what was going on at court; and the Pavillon de Marsan, secure from his paternal surveillance, was playing its fantastic tricks before high heaven in a style which, if it made the angels weep, made mortals smile.

"As to English politics, they were pretty much in the state of vicissitude that the human viscera may have been when changing sides at the instigation of the said Médecin. Canning was recently deceased;—a great man who accomplished little,—a Damascus blade that came to hand when a tomahawk was wanted,—a temple of polished marble, when the wants of the times demanded a structure of unhewn granite. But now that he *was* gone, neither granite nor marble remained. Then came a coalition ministry,—the wretchedest thing in nature; like a spliced mast, sure to give way in a storm. Each moiety of the party was waiting for a favourable opportunity to throw over the others;—and Huskisson, the *Ministre malgrè lui*, was the victim.

"In Ireland, too, I must admit that the sunshine was overclouded. St Patrick seemed no longer satisfied to lie still on his gridiron, like the blessed martyr, St Lawrence; and was beginning to make an outcry. But after all, the outcries of Ireland have never availed her more than the sputtering of an apple while being roasted!

"Some there were who saw clearly that though no ostensible change had been accomplished, the first stone of a temple of Liberalism had been laid by Canning, which must eventually find a superstructure."

STEPHEN DUGARD. A novel. 3 vols. R. Bentley.—This is a novel by the author of 'The Five Knights of St Albans,' and 'The First and Last.' We remember the latter papers in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' as embodying one of the best imagined and most skilfully treated tales of mortality which have appeared in that periodical. They are some guarantee to the public that the author of the present novel is not without power as a writer, but the subject he has selected is not a happy one; the incidents are too much thrown among the scape-grace class of gentlemen who turn thieves, and among ruffians who waylay and murder travellers, for our taste. The novel, however, provides ample gratification to those who are fond of this kind of excitement.

TWO YEARS BEFORE THE MAST. A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea. By R. H. Dana, jun., Esq. 8vo. Moxon. 1841.

WE have had abundance of works lately, by sea gentlemen, in the shape of voyages, sketches, novels, and tales, giving the officer's notions of sea things and sea-men: but the seaman's version of the story has only now appeared; and, as was to be expected, is very different from his master's. Whoever wants to know what a seaman is and does, what he thinks and feels, may now gratify his curiosity by 'Two Years before the Mast.' He will find nothing impossible, nothing very wonderful or highly melo-dra-

matic, but much that is interesting and true, and not the less interesting because true. Mr Dana was an American youth of good education, who determined to go to sea for a time, in the hopes of curing a weakness of the eyes which prevented him from pursuing his studies. He went as a common sailor in a trading vessel from Boston, round Cape Horn to California, with a severe commander and scanty crew, and saw much, and experienced many dangers, difficulties, and privations. His recital is such as might be expected from any sensible seaman who could write well. We entreat those who have devoured much sea romance to peruse this modicum of sea reality. The truth is quite as interesting as the fiction, and will probably counteract many erroneous impressions.

FINE ARTS.

Gandy and Baud's Windsor Castle. Part VI.—The illustrations contained in this number are—1. The Round Tower and Upper Ward.—2. The Cornwall Tower, with Brunswick Tower in the distance.—3. Details of Cornwall Tower.—4. Elevation of King George the Fourth's Tower.—5. Grotesque Heads from the East front. The two first are extremely effective—considered either as designs or prints, and have been admirably lithographed by Messrs Day and Haghe. The work as a whole is well deserving the patronage it has received.

Graphic Illustrations; with Historical and Descriptive Accounts of Toddington, the Seat of Lord Sudeley. By John Britton. 4to. London. —The architect of Toddington—perhaps the most successful specimen of the decorated "gothic" style applied to a mansion in modern times—is its noble owner; and it is pleasant to reflect that the learned taste and constructive skill of Mr Hanbury Tracy were among the least of his qualifications for the peerage. If evidence were wanting to show how a style of building essentially ecclesiastical may be happily adapted to a dwelling house, Lord Sudeley's Toddington would abundantly furnish it. Great is the pity that this style is not more generally cultivated, for it and its successor, the Elizabethan, are the only styles entitled to claim as really national. Since the introduction of the "classical," we have been deluged with little else than crude abortions, wholly unsuitable in character and fitness to our climate and habits. Scarcely any two things are more opposite in their uses and ends than a Grecian temple, invented for blue skies and constant sunshine, and a modern dwelling house located amid endless cloud and rain. Our architects, for the last two hundred years, have been striving to twist and turn Doric columns and Corinthian capitals to purposes for which they are quite unsuited. The defects in our architecture at the present time are the fruits of the Reformation, which swept away, at the same time, our school of architects with the cloisters that had nurtured it.

A worthy service has Mr Britton's zealous attachment to our national antiquities performed for English architecture. Much which he has illustrated can now be found only in his numerous works. In the present instance, he holds up to the example of the rich one of the most successful of modern structures; and his work on Toddington should be in the library of all who may contemplate the restoration of an old house, or the erection of a new one, in a style the most suitable for British scenery. The work is abundantly illustrated with outline engravings, both of the several fronts of Toddington and of the most striking parts of the interior. Plates

of the library, dining room, withdrawing room, the kitchen, vestibules, cloisters, &c., are given on a scale ample enough for practical guidance; and each and all of these parts, varied, though homogeneous as they are, evince the pains Lord Sudeley must have taken to collect the best models, and adapt them to their several uses. C.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

History of the Western Empire, from its Restoration by Charlemagne to the Accession of Charles V. By Sir Robert Comyn. In 2 vols. 8vo. W. H. Allen and Co.

D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century. Whittaker.

(A cheap edition of the work reviewed in our present number; translated from the original by another hand.)

An Essay on the Influence of Welch Tradition upon the Literature of Germany, France, and Scandinavia. Translated from the German of A. Schulz. Longman and Co.

Letters by David Hume, and Extracts from Letters Referring to Him. Edited by T. Murray, L.C.L. A. and C. Black.

The Works of Jeremy Bentham. Parts 15, 16, and 17. W. Tait.

(The approaching completion of this work reminds us of a duty which we owe to the public, and which we shall not neglect to discharge at the fitting moment,—that of giving a general analysis of the contents of the whole series.)

Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions. By Charles Mackay, Author of the 'Thames and its Tributaries,' the 'Hope of the World,' &c. Bentley, New Burlington street.

This is a work which, although not aspiring to the rank of a profound philosophical treatise, is yet one from which much practical philosophy may be gleaned. History, it is said, is philosophy teaching by example; and in the examples here given, we have some of the most remarkable instances of the eccentricities and follies of mankind which the pen of history has recorded. In a country in which the spirit of enterprise is too apt to run into a wild spirit of speculation, few papers have ever been written better worth the attention of the mercantile and monied classes than the narratives in these volumes of Law's famous Mississippi scheme, and of the celebrated South sea bubble. Mr Mackay's account of this period, when France and England emulated each other in madness carried to the most extravagant height, is the fullest we have met with. Something approaching to the same spirit of speculative insanity we have occasionally seen in our own times, but we do not remember any case like the following :—

"The projectors took the first opportunity of a rise to sell out, and next morning the scheme was at an end. Maitland, in his 'History of London,' gravely informs us, that one of the projects which received great encouragement, was for the establishment of a company 'to make deal boards out of saw dust.' This is, no doubt, intended as a joke; but there is abundance of evidence to show that dozens of schemes hardly a whit more reasonable, lived their little day, ruining hundreds ere they fell. One of them was for a wheel for perpetual motion—capital, one million; another was 'for encouraging the breed of horses in England, and improving of glebe and church lands, and repairing and rebuilding parsonage and vicarage houses.' Why the clergy, who were so mainly interested in the latter clause, should have taken so much interest in the first, is only to be explained on the supposition that the scheme was projected by a knot of the fox-hunting parsons, once so common in England. The shares of this company were rapidly subscribed for. But the most absurd and preposterous of

all, and which showed, more completely than any other, the utter madness of the people, was one started by an unknown adventurer, entitled '*A company for carrying on an undertaking of great advantage, but nobody to know what it is.*' Were not the fact stated by scores of credible witnesses, it would be impossible to believe that any person could have been duped by such a project. The man of genius who essayed this bold and successful inroad upon public credulity, merely stated in his prospectus that the required capital was half a million, in five thousand shares of 100*l.* each, deposit 2*l.* per share. Each subscriber, paying his deposit, would be entitled to 100*l.* per annum per share. How this immense profit was to be obtained, he did not condescend to inform them at that time, but promised, that in a month full particulars should be duly announced, and a call made for the remaining 98*l.* of the subscription. Next morning, at nine o'clock, this great man opened an office in Cornhill. Crowds of people beset his door, and when he shut up at three o'clock, he found that no less than one thousand shares had been subscribed for, and the deposits paid. He was thus, in five hours, the winner of 2,000*l.* He was philosopher enough to be contented with his venture, and set off the same evening for the Continent. He was never heard of again."

The next paper gives an account of the tulip mania that took possession of our sober neighbours the Dutch, which is followed by a chapter on 'Relics,' 'Modern Prophecies,' 'Popular Admiration for Great Thieves,' and 'Fashions of Beards and Long Hair.' The paper which succeeds, 'On Duels and Ordeals,' is perhaps the best in the volumes, both from its argumentative tone and its historical details. Mr Mackay's notion, however, of punishing duelists (persisting in contempt of the Court of Honour which he proposes to establish on fighting) by amputation of the hand, is unsuited to the age. Oakum picking or the treadmill would meet the case better.

'Popular Follies of Great Towns' forms the subject of a very amusing paper, well introduced by the following just and striking reflection:—

"He who walks through a great city to find subjects for weeping, may, God knows, find plenty at every corner to wring his heart; but let such a man walk on his course, and enjoy his grief alone—we are not of those who would accompany him. The miseries of us poor earth dwellers gain no alleviation from the sympathy of those who merely hunt them out to be pathetic over them. The weeping philosopher too often impairs his eyesight by his woe, and becomes unable from his tears to see the remedies for the evils which he deplores. Thus it will often be found that the man of no tears is the truest philanthropist, as he is the best physician who wears a cheerful face, even in the worst of cases."

The second volume is devoted to the 'Crusades,' the 'Witch Mania,' the 'Slow Poisoners,' and 'Haunted Houses;' and both volumes together, to which we shall again have occasion to refer, form a work in which not only every page is readable, but is so written as to possess an unusual degree of interest.

METROPOLITAN IMPROVEMENTS.

METROPOLITAN IMPROVEMENTS. From the 'Westminster Review,' No 71, for October. Hooper, 13 Pallmall East.

THE article on this subject in our last number having attracted some attention, is now reprinted as a pamphlet, and sold as described above at the price of two shillings. The pamphlet includes the nine plans we published of the new streets, and the two maps of the Royal Victoria Park, both the latter now coloured.

We are gratified to find that in many quarters an interest is beginning to be felt on a question, which, to the inhabitants of London, is certainly of the greatest practical importance.

A society is now in progress of formation, to be called, we believe, a "Society for the Promotion of Metropolitan Improvements."

The immediate objects of the Society are the following:—

1.—To urge upon the Government the propriety of acting upon the report of the Committee of the House of Commons of 1839, instead of carrying into effect the mutilated plans adopted on the ground of economy by the Committee of 1840;—in other words, to point out the desirability of pulling down the whole of the Rookery in St Giles's, of making a straight street instead of a crooked line from Bow street to Broad street, and of adopting the other improvements, or such of them as may be the most practicable, included in the original plan submitted by the surveyors to the Woods and Forests.

2.—To induce Government to undertake a survey of London and the whole of the surrounding district, with a view to a connected and comprehensive plan for the improvement of the Metropolis and its suburbs; embracing the new lines of communication that require to be formed between quarters of the town now separated by a labyrinth of lanes and alleys,—the open spaces needed for health and recreation,—the main sewers that should be constructed in low and crowded neighbourhoods now without any effectual drainage, and the most practicable mode of forming a quay or road-way along the banks of the Thames.

3.—To discuss the merits of any plans of Metropolitan Improvement that may be submitted to the House of Commons, and when a plan worthy of a Capital, which it is no exaggeration to say is in extent and influence the first city in the world, has received the approbation of the House, to promote its adoption.

4.—The Society will also discuss the following questions:—Whether (as the whole of the improvements could not be effected at once) it would not be desirable to give the Woods and Forests, or some other body possessing public confidence, power to purchase property in any of the proposed lines that might from time to time be offered on advantageous terms by the proprietors, without in all cases taking compulsory possession; and whether the necessary funds would be best raised by a small annual metropolitan rate, or by any other means to which it may be desirable to draw the attention of Government.*

We have received on the same subject the following letter, to which we readily give insertion, without, however, fully concurring in all the views of the writer, who is a stranger to us.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

SIR,—Having with great pleasure perused your admirable article on 'Metropolitan Improvements,' and feeling, in common with yourself, deeply interested in this important matter, I am induced to address a few lines to you, heartily joining in the hope that the proper authorities may take it in hand on some good and broad principle.

There is little doubt, I think, that were the subject properly laid before the public by a few such able reviewers as yourself, it would effect much towards bringing about a better system. I fervently trust, therefore, that you will constantly devote as much of your valuable space to the subject as you can well spare from the numerous calls you must have upon you.

It is melancholy to think, from the want of some well-digested general system of improvement, how much time and money are vexatiously and uselessly expended by committees and projectors. Now that such vast plans of improve-

* Communications respecting the Society may be addressed to E. Clarkson, Esq., Hon. Sec., care of Mr Hooper, 13 Pallmall East.

ments are so continually brought forward, the Government really seems imperatively called upon to adopt some good general scheme, that may hereafter be carried out as circumstances may permit or require, to which all local projects should have direct reference. The incalculable advantages to be derived from this, the enormous expenses and vexatious failures that we should be spared, no one, I am persuaded, can at present properly appreciate.

Before, however, as you so justly observe, any such plan of improvement could be satisfactorily laid down, a correct survey of the whole metropolis wonld be essentially necessary; and it is on this part of the subject that I wish more particularly to make a few remarks.

It does appear extraordinary, considering what great improvements have of late years been carried into execution, and what still greater have been projected and laid before committees, that no means have hitherto been taken to ascertain the correctness of the data on which the details of such schemes have been founded.

Unfortunately, the plans on which these projects are originally laid down are but too frequently very incorrect; probably for the most part enlarged from some of the numerous published plans of the metropolis: and every one must see that such as these were not intended, and are far from being fit for any such purpose. To be sure, we are invariably told by the publishers of these plans, that they are from an actual survey made expressly for them, and that many thousands of angles have been taken for the work; all of which, to a certain extent, I have little doubt is perfectly correct. Many angles are taken from the heights of prominent buildings to other conspicuous objects, and from these again are others observed to points within their range, and thus of such marks a plan can be correctly laid down; but here, indeed, the correctness terminates. The thoroughfares and blocks of houses between are loosely sketched in,—at the most, traversed with a pedometer; and if they can, with anything approaching to a resemblance, be squeezed or expanded into the spaces allotted them between these correctly-fixed points, a plan is formed; sufficiently accurate, no doubt, for the general purposes for which they are published, but lamentably insufficient as data upon which such vast projects, involving the destruction of an enormous extent of property, should be founded.

That some such system is invariably pursued by parties preparing plans of the metropolis for publication, is tolerably evident from the fact, that no probable return would make it worth their while to adopt any much more complete method. By reason of the enormous traffic in all the principal thoroughfares, it is an impossibility to chain or take the angles of streets during the hours of business; and hence the difficulty in the preparation of any general detailed plan. I have myself just completed a minute survey of about a square mile of the most intricate and dense part of London. I soon found that the only time it was possible to accomplish the work was in the summer months, from between two and three o'clock in the morning until seven or eight, at which time the thoroughfares became so crowded, it was always impossible to proceed. This survey has been plotted to a scale of an inch to fifty feet, making a plan of about nine feet square; and I have no doubt that this survey alone has taken up more time than it has been considered worth while to bestow on any one of the later complete surveys of all London.

It will be seen, therefore, that a perfect survey could not be undertaken with the slightest prospect of any return from publication; nor for such purpose would it, indeed, be at all necessary. It is an undertaking that could only be engaged in under the auspices of Government; and viewing

the importance of the subject, it becomes the imperative duty of the proper authorities to take the matter up: I have little doubt, indeed, that it will ere long engage their attention.

Such a plan should be plotted to a scale sufficiently large to display every separate house and building; and not merely so, but should likewise contain a perfect delineation of the sewers, the boundaries of parishes, the freeholds, levels, numbers of houses, and all other local information that it would be possible to acquire.

This might at first sight appear a gigantic undertaking, the execution of which the end in view would never warrant; but I am prepared to show that very great facilities exist for its accomplishment; so much so, indeed, that I do not consider, in point of expense even, it would amount to anything like the sum you have mentioned. So strong is my conviction of its importance, that I believe these facilities require only to be properly pointed out, to convince every one of the propriety of its being immediately proceeded with.

Many very correct surveys no doubt exist of different parts of the metropolis, taken but recently for various purposes. Accurate plans must be in existence of the neighbourhoods of all the great improvements that have been of late years executed: the large districts through which the various railways pass, and those again through which others were intended to pass; the Eastern Counties at Spitalfields, the originally proposed Northern and Eastern terminus at Islington, the Greenwich, the rival Blackwall lines, the London Grand Junction, and some others, must all necessarily have been correctly surveyed in these directions to some lateral extent.

Accurate plans, too, must exist of the principal freeholds in the metropolis, and others of smaller extent without number, taken for purposes of a local nature. With what facility might not surveyors and others be invited to produce such local surveys as they had in their possession; and with the understanding that those that were found perfectly correct should be paid for at a certain rate, there would not be many, I imagine, to refuse the terms of the proposal. These, of course, would have to undergo some check as to their accuracy; but it would be surprising, I am sure, to find how little comparatively there would be to do, when all these separate surveys should have been collected together. With like facility, also, might all local information be acquired from parish clerks and other officers.

A complete copy of this plan should be deposited at those public institutions which are most convenient for reference; and a copy, also, of each parish should be deposited with the respective parish clerks or surveyors of the metropolis, and open for inspection to the public at all convenient hours.

The advantage to be derived by all interested in the general improvement of the metropolis from such a complete survey, and such a body of useful information, it is useless to dilate upon. Vast sums now uselessly expended, and much vexation and error, the public would assuredly be spared: by enabling the Government at once to determine on a general plan of improvement, to which all local projects should have reference, many of the difficulties they now have to contend with would effectually be removed, and much of the valuable time of committees would be saved,—now vainly spent in arguments on knotty points of a plan, that in reality may have no existence whatever. In the matter of drainage alone, to which public attention of late has been so much and so well directed, what startling facts would not be laid bare as to its defects, which are now but partially and imperfectly known; and what facilities would not be opened to view for their effectual and complete remedy. In fine, such appears to me the immense importance of this step in every point of view, that I believe nothing on a good and broad principle will be effected in the way of improvements until this is previously accomplished.

I trust your own opinions on the subject are sufficiently strong to induce you to devote to it as often as possible your valuable assistance, for which, rest assured all London will owe you a lasting debt of gratitude.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

HENRY AUSTIN.

87 Hatton garden, Oct. 30th, 1841.

MISCELLANEOUS.

VISITS TO REMARKABLE PLACES, OLD HALLS, BATTLE FIELDS, AND SCENES ILLUSTRATIVE OF STRIKING PASSAGES IN HISTORY AND POETRY. By William Howitt. Longman and Co.

THIS is the second series of a delightful work, of which too many volumes cannot be published, by the Author of 'Rural Life in England,' 'The Boy's Country Book,' &c. The places here described are chiefly in the counties of Durham and Northumberland, connected with the most romantic period of English history, the Border struggles, Chevy Chase, &c.—counties containing some of the most ancient seats and venerable towns to be found in any part of the United Kingdom. The volume is full of interesting historical reminiscences and graphic sketches of English manners and English scenery. Few works containing so much pleasant reading could be voted into a book club.

THE MENTAL AND MORAL DIGNITY OF WOMAN. By the Rev. Benjamin Parsons. J. Snow.

THE subject of this work is one to which we shall embrace the first opportunity of returning when we can take it up with any prospect of practical usefulness. The work itself is rather too much in the character of a learned and elaborate metaphysical treatise, but the writer is undoubtedly not one of the least able defenders of the claims of woman to a higher social and intellectual position than she is allowed to attain by the present laws and usages of society.

THE REMOTE CAUSE OF EPIDEMIC DISEASES. By John Parkin. Hatchard and Son.

TREATISE ON PRINTING AND TYPE-FOUNDING. By J. C. Hansard. A. and C. Black.

THIS historical sketch of the art of printing, with a description of all the modern improvements in the art, is from the seventh volume of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.' It is now published as a six-shilling volume, and may be regarded as a printer's manual, which every one in the trade will find it his interest to possess.

OBSERVATIONS ON POPULAR ANTIQUITIES. By J. Brand. C. Knight and Co.

(The second volume of a very useful work, noticed in our last, illustrating the origin of our vulgar customs, ceremonies, and superstitions.)

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, AS ELECTED TO THE FOURTEENTH PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. By W. A. Warwick. Saunders and Otley.

(A work containing all the information that could be desired on the subject, with a useful historical introduction.)

LEE'S BOOK FOR ALL SEASONS. A Holiday Offering for Youth of both Sexes. Cleave.

THE STEAM-BOAT. Part I. By C. W. M. Reynolds. T. Rogers; Sherwood and Co.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE TRAGEDIES OF ÆSCHYLUS AND SOPHOCLES. From the Greek, Latin, and English Poets. By J. F. Boyes, M.A. Whittaker and Co. Parts I and II.

A DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. Parts XXII, XXIII, and XXIV. Taylor and Walton.

JOURNAL OF THE STATISTICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON. Part III, Oct. 1841.

ARCTURUS. A Journal of Books and Opinions. Trevett, New York. Wiley and Co.

HINTS RELATIVE TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF FIRE-PROOF BUILDINGS. By A. Bartholomew, Architect. J. Williams; R. and E. Taylor.

NOTWITHSTANDING fire after fire has sounded the tocsin in the ear of prudence, we still in public buildings pursue a faulty, dangerous, and fragile mode of structure: though messenger treads on the heels of messenger, announcing the burning first of a cathedral, then a theatre, after that a senate-house, and anon a bourse, we still regard the safety of public edifices as little as though historical value were nothing; we still go on rearing fragile structures as though the object were an experiment how flaw and rot may be soonest effected,—as if the emulation were how the public library, the museum, and the record house, should soonest consume their precious deposits.

Few persons consider that three such conflagrations as those which have during the last few years visited our national monuments, may destroy all that is valuable in the British Museum, the Rolls Chapel, and the National Gallery.

We believe that, were the dangers incurred by these invaluable stores duly appreciated, a single session would not be suffered by Parliament to elapse before all these national valuables, and every court-roll testament and register in the empire, would be collected and deposited in temporary places of safety, till lasting, unconsumable edifices should be constructed suitable for their permanent reception.

Notwithstanding the vast national loss occasioned by the late enormous conflagration at the Tower of London, that calamity may perhaps be considered somewhat fortunate, since it has brought public attention closely to the subject in a manner which other similar accidents have failed of doing. Though in the seventeenth century all the city of London was consumed, yet the new city was built in a great measure of combustible materials. Burning after burning has from that time to this occurred without practical lesson: in our own times, Wren's Custom-house was destroyed by fire, yet a new Custom-house was completed, whose wooden bottom ten years' moisture reduced to touch-wood, and whose wooden floors, and second wooden roof, a quarter of an hour would reduce to ashes, or evaporate in smoke. One night of flame laid in ruins the vast accumulation of senatorial buildings at Westminster; yet what guarantee is there that one night of like horror shall not prostrate, mourning in its own ashes, the resplendent architectural phœnix which is now expanding its beauteous wings where lay the cinders of its predecessor but so lately? If flame could steal insidiously along the wooden rafter, and so destroy the armoury of a fortress garrisoned by watchful soldiers, what—if like construction be adopted—shall preserve from similar fate the works of art proposed to be brought as a burnt-offering to the new Houses of Parliament?

Though much of the Cotton Library escaped the fiery ordeal where it was originally deposited, what probability is there of its permanent escape while lying in a receptacle of similar danger? Will it only be time to think of

erecting proper and secure edifices when there is no Doom's-day Book,—when not a national picture, statue, or manuscript remains?

There seems to be abroad an apprehension that fire-proof construction, if not impossible, is so difficult and expensive as to be scarcely applicable to any ordinary architectural edifice; we shall endeavour to show this opinion to be erroneous.

In the first place, walls properly constructed on good foundations need in their composition no bond-timber, which, if it be not burnt, is often of such capricious duration as, by decay, to cause great damage to edifices. If chains or ties be requisite within them, iron should be adopted; for ordinary walls strong vat-hooping will mostly serve;—and whereas wrought iron in ordinary situations soon corrodes, such effect is very rarely found to occur upon iron immersed in brickwork. A party-wall only nine inches thick, so constructed, is as serviceable against fire as one eighteen inches thick, with bond-timber on both sides of it.

Secondly, for existing roofs, formed with combustible materials, we refer, among ancient edifices, to the Pantheon at Rome; the reputed Temple of Vesta, which existed at Nismes, a representation of which is given by Andrea Palladio in his 'Architecture;' and, among more modern exemplars, to Milan Cathedral, the Church of Batalha in Portugal, Rosslyn Chapel, the Church of St Doulach near Dublin, and the kitchen at Glastonbury Abbey. Where there is an interval between the ceiling and the outer covering (which waste of space may be frequently avoided) roof "trusses" of iron may be adopted, as at St Saviour's Church, Southwark; and upon such "trusses" may be laid horizontal rafters of iron, to which slates may be tied by strong copper-wire, — an example of which has been erected to a fire-proof gas-house on Bankside, Southwark. There are many advantages attendant upon placing rafters horizontally, not the least of which is the avoidance of the deranging thrust occasioned to walls by the ordinary position of rafters.

Thirdly, for floors we should use no more wood than merely necessary for comfort, adopting neither timber plate, joist, nor beam, but only such small scantlings, or "furrings," as should be sufficient for nailing down the boards. We should admit no wooden stairs, no wooden floors to halls, lobbies, or passages; all the ceilings should be unconsumable, forming in every possible instance support for the flooring above; and where comfort required certain parts of the floorings of public buildings to be of wood, we should have all presses and receptacles containing valuable property to stand upon incombustible materials, the floorings not approaching them within some feet.

Fourthly, we should entirely discard all wall-battens, skirtings, wainscoting, door-cases, sashes, and shutters of wood, these being the means by which fire is conveyed from room to room, from story to story, from basement to roof.

To prove that modern edifices can be constructed for modern purposes fire-proof, we refer to Sir John Soane's apartments at the Bank of England, most of which are entirely fire-proof, their walls and roofs being altogether free from combustible materials. For mere fire-proof storehouses, we refer to those at Sheerness.

By the banishment of timber from public edifices, we are confident architectural beauty may be increased. All the generic beauties of pointed architecture have resulted from masonic science, whether arch, vault, groin, rib, boss, pinnacle, buttress, water-table, mullion. When architecture—about the time of the Reformation—ceased to be a masonic study, it suddenly fell away, both in purity of taste and scientific structure; inflammability and mongrel taste came in together. When the whole energy of the Free Mason was directed "to

make every stone press," as Dr Robinson says, "to its neighbours," there was a law generated at once for every form in a building, from the summit-stones of its vaultings to the feet of its buttresses; but all this clear-sighted cunning was obscured when pointed architecture fell, and the unruddered fancy united without principle the fallen pointed architecture with the architectural dross of modern Italy. Though, in the days of Elizabeth and James I, the outward forms of pointed and classical architecture were ingnorantly mixed, we subsequently observe Sir C. Wren had penetration to find out the science of the Free Masons' construction, and ability to conceal it under the mask of another kind of architecture, not possessing in itself the same measure of science: he put the spirit of the former into the body of the latter; and had his disdain of combustible materials been sufficiently lofty, and had he gone beyond the Free Masons, whose usual combustible roof-coverings were the only parts of their structures devoid of science, we doubt not that even the smell of fire would not have passed over his work. The whole fabric of St Paul's is fire-proof, with the exception of its outer roofs; these we should like exchanged for others more safe. We refer to the stone ceilings of the western portico, and to the spherical coverings of the side porticos of this edifice, as fine examples of durable and incombustible construction. We also recommend the study of that piece of masonic geometry, St Bride's steeple, the finest instance of construction of the kind, we believe, in the world; though even this work, without a particle of wood in its composition, could not, for want of proper conductors, escape without danger by lightning, which it suffered on two occasions.

Edifices constructed of incombustible materials become, when properly warmed, as comfortable as any others, if not more so. Who is there who does not feel enjoyment with his feet placed on the stone hearth? And if edifices were so built, what room would there be for the old story of flues overheated?

A Cyclopædia of Commerce, Mercantile Law, Finance, and Commercial Geography. By William Waterston, Accountant, Author of 'A Manual of Commerce.' Parts I, II, III. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.

British commerce is too wide a field to be left wholly to one oracle, and Mr M'Culloch cannot complain that another should come forward to claim joint ownership with him—there is room for both, and a friendly rivalship will produce mutual exertion and tend to the public advantage. The great name which Mr M'Culloch has so well earned, will give his dicta an authority with the commercial world, which a stranger will not easily cope with, whatever may be his intrinsic merits. But, on the other hand, there are ostensible qualifications in the work before us (independently of its cheapness) which will give it an advantage, in the eyes of many, over its more consequential rival. The titles are more numerously subdivided, and in deference to that promptitude which is the soul of commerce, the information is found shortly given under its own proper sub-head, instead of being embodied in a treatise, in the aggregate subject of which it forms but a department. Thus within the first five pages we have the words *Acceptance, Accommodation, Account, Acre,* and *Act of Bankruptcy,* which, though they may be all treated as part of the respective heads of *Bills, Book-keeping, Weights* and *Measures,* and *Bankruptcy* by M'Culloch, have no separate heads assigned to them by him. It must be confessed too that the variety of Mr M'Culloch's investigations among subjects collateral with that of his dictionary, has tempted him in many cases to em-

body in it information not strictly within its scope, a defect with which the condensed work before us is not chargeable.

But the main qualification, and that by which the public will test Mr Waterston, is accuracy. How far he possesses this property, it would be pedantic to attempt to judge—the question can only be decided by the smallness or greatness of the number of errors found in practice. Our own testimony can only go to this negative extent, that, in perusing many of the articles, we have detected no errors. To conclude our testimony, the style is clear and explicit, and of that terse character which is so conducive to condensation in works of reference.

It is a gratifying circumstance to the supporters of free trade, that all the works of statistical reference are with them. The arguments for monopoly, dictated by self-interest, are insufficient to blind the calm statistical investigator; and it is thus that the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' the 'Penny Cyclopædia,' M'Culloch and Porter—the first authorities on these subjects—are as distinct in condemning the corn laws as chemists in pronouncing carbonic acid gas unfavourable to animal life. To this train of authorities we add, with pleasure, the author before us. B.

THE MIRROR, 1841. H. Cunningham, St Martin's place.—We have just received the thirty-seventh volume of the 'Mirror.' It was, we believe, among the first of the cheap publications, and the favourable reception it has uniformly met with from the public almost precludes our *ipse dixit* in its favour. We shall, therefore, only observe that the present volume in no respect detracts from its well-earned popularity. The editor has performed his task in a highly creditable manner, the selections are judiciously chosen, and many of the original articles written with considerable taste. It besides contains several interesting biographical sketches, as well as gems from the pithy poets of the olden times; he has indeed picked up something in every corner—gleaned an ear from every harvest.

The pictorial embellishments are generally illustrative of the text; several of them are by Landells, which we deem sufficient praise. A portrait and biography of Wm. Wilberforce will enhance the value of the present volume to the numerous admirers of that statesman.

THE STUDENT-LIFE IN GERMANY. By William Howitt. From the unpublished MS. of Dr Cornelius. Longman and Co.

WHEN a clever and amusing book is put into the hands of the public, we do not think it is a fair ground of quarrel with the author that he has not produced exactly the work we expected, or one likely to be quite so useful as it might have been rendered. We are certainly of opinion that the work most required is not one devoted exclusively to the manners of German students,— a subject which has already occupied our columns, — but a work instituting a fair comparison between English and German universities. The most important era of life to a young man is that of entering college. The comparative merits of different colleges, or of the professors to be found in each, are at that time questions to him or to his friends of the gravest interest. Whether the most valuable years of his life will be wasted at Oxford, or profitably employed at Bonn, Heidelburg, or Berlin, is, or ought to be, a subject of anxious reflection. Rowing matches or singing festivals are matters of little moment. The question, however, was not one which Dr Cornelius was qualified to discuss; nor, indeed, any one who has not spent some years both in an English and German university. Such a man as Sir William Molesworth, who has seen something practically of both, would have been a

much higher authority. For ourselves, we may here say that our limited observation is in favour of the universities of Germany. In them an English student has the advantage of acquiring a knowledge of the German language without neglecting the higher branches of learning; for German scholars, as a body, have undoubtedly a higher reputation than our own. There also a young man would meet with students from all parts of the continent, and would gain, if he pleased, by intercourse with them, a knowledge of European ideas and institutions he could never obtain from books at home. Oxford, however, we would recommend to those who think their future position requires them to become dependents of the aristocracy, and to seek places in the state, or livings in the church, through influential college connexions.

We believe this opinion is gaining ground, and the ill-temper which has consequently been generated in the minds of those who retain a childish reverence for *alma mater*, was no doubt the occasion of a fierce onslaught which has been made on Mr Howitt's book by one of the writers of the 'Times,' evidently a fresh caught university youth from Oxford and Cambridge.* This critic devotes not less than four columns to an abuse of the work, chiefly for various Germanisms and typographical errors which he has taken the pains to discover. For example, he finds the word "*work-tool*," and says, "Who ever heard of a tool that was not for work?"—not apparently knowing that it is a translation (too literal, certainly) of the German "*werk-zeug*."

To all lovers of music Mr Howitt's book will be valuable as a collection of many of the most popular German airs. Not less than forty of these are given with the original words, and a very fairly executed English adaptation. With this adaptation, however, of English words to the music of the original, the critic finds all the fault possible to be found by one who is determined to be censorious, and is yet no judge of the matter. We give an instance.

> "'Du schwert an meiner linken,
> Was soll dein heitres blinken,
> Schaust mich so freundlich an,
> Hab' meine lust daran,
> Hurrah!'
>
> "'Sword on my left side gleaming,
> What means thy clear eyes' beaming?
> Thou look'st with love on me,
> And I have joy in thee,
> Hurrah!'

"Every one of these lines is faulty. The measure of the first two is iambic catalectic, strictly observed in the original, of which the commencement, 'Sword on,' is a gross violation. The song is, besides, set to music by Carl Maria Von Weber, and the time noted by him for the words, 'Du schwert' is quaver and minim, which renders the singing of the words 'Sword on' to such notation impossible. Here, then, we have in the first blush of the first line of the first of these Burschen songs a glaring evidence of the translator's incapacity. He is plainly as ignorant of music as of everything else."

With submission to the critic, it is he who is ignorant of music, or he would know that the quaver is not essential to the melody, and might with propriety be omitted;—the error of the translator is not in omitting it from the first bar, and in not placing an additional semi-quaver in the second. "Sword" should have been printed under the minim; thus:—

The incapacity of the critic is shown by his feeble attempt at a better version :—

"We feel bound to prove in each case by example that the translator might have avoided the gross blunders into which he has fallen :—

"My sword ! on left reclining,
What means thy joyous shining ?
Thou beam'st on me so kind,
Delight therein I find,
Hurrah !"

In the original the poet is apostrophizing the sword hanging at his side, which he is supposed to be drawing from his scabbard. We submit to the reader that the "gleaming" of Mr Howitt more accurately conveys the idea than the "joyous shining" of the critic. But was there ever a more clumsy expression than "on left reclining?" The sword is not a lady "reclining" on a sofa—it is a weapon hanging at the side of the poet; and, in an English version, "*by my side*" would surely have been better than "*on left*,"—the left being implied. Nothing, however, could be worse as an adaptation to music than the last line of the critic, in which a strong accent is required to be thrown on the syllable *de*.

We do not defend Mr Howitt's adaptations throughout, either in this song or in other instances; all that we have to say is, that they are much better than adaptations usually are when a close translation is attempted. One or two of them are evidently not written by Mr Howitt, but by a German too little familiar with the idiom of the English language. The fault was in attempting the impossible. Mr Howitt should have given a literal prose translation of the songs, or written entirely new songs to the same music for English use; but to give a close translation from any language, preserving the spirit of the poetry, and in words equally adapted to the music with the original, is a task in which no one yet has succeeded.

The prose part of the work, notwithstanding the drawback at which we have hinted, contains much curious information and some valuable historical notices: among the latter the narrative of 'Sand' will be read with interest, and the work is full of most amusing details of the pranks of German students; to avoid the annoyance of which—for all practical jokers are more pleasant to read of than to meet with—we should say to a young Englishman, go rather to Berlin than Heidelburg. In a capital city the same licence is not permitted which may be irrepressible in a small university town. The book, on the whole, is a very pleasant book, and a few faults of careless editorship should be overlooked. There is an excellent bandit story in it for the lovers of light reading, and the work is well illustrated, not merely by music type, but with numerous steel engravings.

FALLACIES OF THE FACULTY; with the Principles of the Chrono-thermal System; in a Series of Lectures. By S. Dickson, M.D., late a Medical Officer of the Staff. Second edition, 8vo. London: Simpkin. 1841.

THE former works of this author having been severely handled by the medical critics, he now takes the field with a full and popular exposition of his system. In the course of the work he by no means forgets his opponents; on the contrary, he enters on the combat with much gusto, and deals out

his blows with vigour; argument, illustration, anecdote, ridicule, and abuse being alternately employed to support his theory and demolish his opponents. Whether he is right or wrong, or partly right and partly wrong, is not for the non-medical critic to decide. We can only say that the book is almost as entertaining as a novel, and that the reader must be proficient, indeed, who will not derive much useful information from it. The author's theory of disease is, that all maladies partake of the nature of ague or intermittent fever; they have their hot and cold fits, their periods of aggravation and remission. His method of cure is to attack the enemy when he is off his guard, by prolonging the periods of remission, through which means, also, the fits become less violent, until health is restored. He considers that no medicine is a specific; but that even the most valuable drugs create or cure, and aggravate or alleviate disease, according to the peculiar state of the patient. For example, opium will generally soothe, and produce sleep; occasionally it will irritate, and destroy repose; and this cannot be known without actual trial. Above all, he is bitter against blood-letting of every shape; he tolerates it on no occasion, even of the most violent inflammation. At best it gives, as he maintains, but slight temporary relief, with certain permanent injury; and in his own practice he has discarded it for many years, to the great advantage of his patients. Having now made up Dr Dickson's materials into the smallest possible pill, we leave it to be taken or not, at the choice of the reader; who, if he like the dose, may increase it *ad libitum* from the stores of the author.

HINTS FOR AUSTRALIAN EMIGRANTS. Illustrated by Wood Engravings of Water-raising Wheels, &c. &c. By Peter Cunningham, Surgeon, R.N. London. 1841.

IN a short but somewhat flippant preface to this pretty little book, we are at no loss to recognise the humorous limner of "convict pantomimes, country lasses, and the aristocracy of New South Wales."

That John Bull, aye, and north-land Sandy also, often cling too closely to the customs of their father-land, may be true; but an intelligent practical farmer will soon learn to vary his practice to the requirements of his adopted country, and we trust that the 'dang it! don't they do so in England?' class may be regarded rather as one of the good stories that Mr Cunningham delights to tell, than as a type of the majority of the settlers in Australia.

At a time like the present, when all eyes are turned towards colonization, as the chief, if not the only means of lightening the pressure on the home-labour market, every contribution towards the improvement of the British settlements in any quarter of the globe must be acceptable. The author by bringing together, in a small compass, various hints scattered throughout large and expensive publications, has performed a useful task. The description of the various methods of constant irrigation, so necessary in the hot and dry climate of Australia, is the most valuable portion of this production, more especially as being illustrated by several neat wood engravings of wheels for raising water in Egypt, Syria, South America, &c.

C. H.

MISCELLANEOUS PAMPHLETS.

Corn Laws.

CORN AND WAGES; OR, A FEW PROPOSITIONS AND REMARKS ON VARIATIONS IN THE PRICE OF CORN AND RATE OF WAGES. By R. N. B. T. and W. Boone.

(A very able reply to a fallacy which cannot be too much exposed—that cheap bread would cause low wages.)

THE CORN LAWS OF ENGLAND. By F. Von Raumer. Translated from the German. Simpkin and Co.

(An impartial view of the question by an intelligent foreigner, and a pamphlet embracing some new and important considerations.)

PARADISE LOST; OR, THE QUESTIONS OF FREE TRADE AND THE CORN LAWS STATED AND CONSIDERED. Whittaker.

(An illogical and weak defence of the existing system.)

The Currency.

THE SYSTEM OF THE LONDON BANKERS' CLEARANCES, AND THEIR EFFECT UPON THE CURRENCY. By W. Tate. E. Wilson.

(Mr Tate has rendered great service in the discussion of the Currency question, by the information he has communicated on the subject of the Clearing-house system, and the particulars he has given us of the formula of Clearing-house accounts. We shall, probably, more than once have occasion to refer to the facts contained in his pamphlet.)

THE CAUSE AND CURE OF OUR COMMERCIAL EMBARRASSMENTS. By Thomas Joplin. Ridgway.

Politics, &c.

THE STATE OF IRELAND RE-CONSIDERED. By a Commoner. Hatchard and Son.

A PRACTICAL ACCOUNT OF THE LAW OF ELECTION BY BALLOT, AS IN FORCE IN FRANCE. Payn, Jersey.

OBSERVATIONS ON A LETTER TO MR B. GALE. By a Plain Dealer. Cox, Bridport.

A REVIEW OF THE LATE PROPOSED MEASURE RELATING TO THE DUTIES ON SUGAR. By J. Beldam. Ridgway.

DES RAPPORTS POLITIQUES ET COMMERCIAUX DE LA BELGIQUE ET DE LA FRANCE. Par L. Jattrand. Bruxelles.

Miscellaneous.

THE GRAVE-YARDS OF LONDON. Being an Exposition of Physical and Moral Consequences of depositing the Dead in the midst of the Living. By George Alfred Walker, Surgeon. Longman and Co.

(A re-statement, in the form of a shilling pamphlet, of many of the facts and arguments adduced by the author in his 'Gatherings from Grave-yards,' referred to in our article on this subject, in the present number.)

REASONS FOR A NEW EDITION OF SHAKSPEARE'S WORKS. By J. Payne Collier, Esq. Whittaker.

THE LETTERS OF PETER PLATITUDE ON CAMBRIDGE AND THE CANTABS. Longman and Co.

THE TOLL QUESTION ON RAILWAYS EXEMPLIFIED. By W. A. Wilkinson, Esq. Smith, Elder, and Co.

(This is a subject becoming every day one of greater practical importance. We trust that before any more railroad bills are allowed to pass, this sensible little fourpenny pamphlet will be read by every legislator who intends to vote upon them.)

Religion.

A TRACT FOR THE TIMES, No. XCI. By a Bystander. Ridgway.

THE PRAYER MEETING, ITS ORDINATION AND ITS OBSTACLES. Gardiner and Son.

NEW ZEALAND.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SETTLEMENTS OF THE NEW ZEALAND COMPANY. By the Hon. William Petre. Smith, Elder, and Co.

NEW ZEALAND, SOUTH AUSTRALIA, AND NEW SOUTH WALES. By R. G. Jameson, Esq. Smith, Elder, and Co.

HISTORY OF NEW ZEALAND, ITS STATE AND PROSPECTS. By John Bright. H. Hooper.

A PLAN OF THE TOWN OF WELLINGTON, PORT NICHOLSON. Showing the Town-acre Allotments. Smith, Elder, and Co.

A PLAN OF THE HARBOURS OF PORT NICHOLSON. Showing the Relative Positions of the Town and Country Sections. Smith, Elder, and Co.

COLOURED PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF PART OF LAMBTON HARBOUR, PORT NICHOLSON. Showing One-third the Water Frontage of the Town of Wellington. Smith, Elder, and Co.

VIEW ALONG THE COAST OF THE NEW PLYMOUTH SETTLEMENT. Smith, Elder, and Co.

OF the above works upon this interesting and flourishing colony, that of the Hon. William Petre is the best for emigrants to Port Nicholson. He appears to have accompanied the first expedition, taken an active part in the formation of the new town of Wellington, and his account of the present state and prospects of that settlement is the most to be relied upon, inasmuch as it is drawn up from personal observation, and is the unpretending narrative of one who, instead of having been disappointed in his expectations, is about immediately to return to New Zealand with the intention of making it his future home. The narratives of Mr Bright and of Mr R. G. Jameson are fuller in information of other parts of the country, including some portions of Australia. The emigrant would do well to consult all these works, and compare their evidence on minor points of difference. None of them are expensive.

We are glad to find the testimony of every writer in favour of the eligibility of New Zealand for colonization. It appears to possess in a preeminent degree the first and great requisite—that of adaptation to English constitutions. The new settlers, with but one or two exceptions, appear to have enjoyed the most unbroken health. The climate is not subject to the heats and droughts of Australia, but has a sufficient degree of humidity, as well as sunshine, without extreme cold. Australia, however, is the best country for flocks and herds; New Zealand for arable cultivation and commercial activity.

The conduct of Governor Hobson, as described by the Hon. William Petre and as confirmed by others, has been exceedingly reprehensible; but the fault seems to lie with the Government at home, who sent him out without any very definite views of promoting either colonization or good government. If Governor Hobson were appointed with the intention that it should be his duty to preserve order and prevent collision between the new settlers and the natives, never was a duty so ill performed, for up to the date of the last accounts, he has never visited the spot (Port Nicholson) where the greater number of new settlers had located themselves. If the object were that Governor Hobson should take the lead in colonizing the country, then he should have been properly supported at home with emigration agents and emigration funds, instead of being driven to the unwarrantable step of enticing away labourers from Wellington brought out at the expense of the New Zealand Company.

Governor Hobson has adopted a course which has given satisfaction to no one. From the Bay of Islands to Port Nicholson we do not hear a

word in his praise. He appears to have been impressed with a notion, that because all emigrants are interested parties, it was his duty never to listen to their views, but to oppose and thwart them in every way in his power. Hence, like the Americans when they built Washington, he has founded a capital where no one is likely to have any business to transact, or to desire to live, except for the benefit of his neighbourship. Planting himself at Auckland, Governor Hobson says to all settlers, north and south, "When you want protection come to me—I am only three hundred miles off, but the dignity of my office forbids that I should come to you." We hope speedily to hear of his recal.

PHILOSOPHY, PHYSIOLOGY, &c.

PRINCIPLES OF GENERAL AND COMPARATIVE PHYSIOLOGY, intended as an Introduction to the study of Human Physiology, and as a guide to the Philosophical pursuit of Natural History. By William B. Carpenter, M.D., Lecturer on Physiology in the Bristol Medical School, &c. Second Edition, 1841. Churchill.

THIS is a book to which justice cannot be done without a much fuller notice than can be given in this part of our journal, and we shall probably return to it in a future number. The author (who is the son of the late respected Dr Lant Carpenter, of Bristol, and who, though still a young man, has long been known as a physiologist of eminence) has not only accumulated in this work a richer store of the mere facts of the science than we believe is to be obtained in the same compass elsewhere, but has displayed in an eminent degree one of the principal attributes of a philosopher, as distinguished from a mere man of science, the power of generalizing. To the experienced reader, it is already some indication of this quality, that Dr Carpenter includes in his design the physiology of plants as well as of animals, the best physiologists being now convinced that so far as respects mere organic life, the formation, nutrition, and reproduction of the living body (independently of the superadded casualties of sensation and voluntary motion), there is no fundamental distinction between the animal and vegetable creation, but both are governed by essentially the same organic laws, variously modified by circumstances.

In Dr Carpenter's book this and a large body of similar truths are established and illustrated with a very uncommon degree of philosophic power, and the work may be considered as a clear exposition of the highest generalities yet arrived at in the science of life. As such breadth of speculation and reach of philosophy, applied to this subject, have not hitherto been often exemplified in this country, English writers having remained greatly inferior in this highest scientific attribute to the physiologists of France and Germany, it is highly creditable to our scientific and medical public that Dr Carpenter's work has been warmly welcomed and highly applauded by almost all the professional periodicals, and by most of those scientific authorities whose praise confers real honour. S.

THE PHYSIOLOGY OF DIGESTION CONSIDERED WITH RELATION TO THE PRINCIPLES OF DIETETICS. By Andrew Combe, M.D. 12mo. Edinburgh: Maclachlan. 1841.

To notice a book of Dr Combe's is almost a work of supererogation; still we feel bound to contribute our mite towards the publicity of a treatise which, both from its subject and execution, merits the attention of every person. In his treatise on the principles of physiology applied to the preservation of health and to the improvement of physical

and mental education, Dr Combe handles the entire subject in a popular manner. In the present work he confines himself to a minute and interesting explanation of the function of digestion and the principles of diet. In the first part he explains the laws of hunger and thirst; proceeds to mastication, &c., describing the teeth, their functions, diseases, &c., and then examines the stomach and its mode of operation; gives much curious and valuable information regarding various kinds of food; and concludes with the organs and functions connected with food after it has passed the stomach. Illustrations are frequently drawn from the corresponding organs of animals, which tend materially to increase the interest and perspicuity of the work. So clear, indeed, are all the explanations, that we cannot conceive how a person of the most ordinary abilities could fail to understand them. The second part, on diet, is equally explicit with regard to times of eating; quantity of food; adaptation of diet to constitution, age, season, and mode of life; regulation of the bowels, &c., in which most persons may discover important facts which it were well they had known long before. Finally, the subject is treated in a manner which cannot offend the delicacy of the most sensitive reader.

Philosophic Nuts; or, the Philosophy of Things. By E. Johnson, Esq. No. X. Simpkin and Co.

An Inquiry into the Causes and Modes of the Wealth of Individuals. By T. Corbet, Esq. Smith, Elder, and Co.

Philosophy of Necessity. By Charles Bray. In 2 volumes. Longman and Co.

POETRY AND THE DRAMA.

Song without Rhyme; consisting of Poems in several kinds of verse formed on a principle not before applied to English Poetry. G. Hebert, 88 Cheapside.

This little work, by a Graduate of one of the Universities, deserves the attention of all who have thought on the subject of new and original forms of composition in poetry. We do not know that the subject is one of great practical moment, for in poetry the form of composition is of very secondary importance to the ideas expressed, upon which the merit of the poetry must principally depend; but still it is worth while making the discovery, that the poet need not unnecessarily shackle himself with jingling rhymes, or with blank verse of one uniform and monotonous measure; and that without even copying closely, as others have done, the rhythm of Greek and Roman metres, the English language is adapted to various measures by which poetical ideas may be felicitously expressed. We give the following from page 7.

"THE DYING SWAN.

" Verdure bright and blooming valley,
Banquet of my roving senses;
Waving reed and whispering willow,
Refuge from the noonday fervor;
Freshness of the wind and water,
Mingling with the breath of summer;
Music of the warbling wildwood,
Into trance my nature lulling—
Fare ye well!

Sweeter than the woodland warbling,
Milder than the summer breezes,
Fairer than the sky reflected
O'er the blue repose of water;
Dearer than the shadowy refuge
Wont to welcome me at noonday;
Banquet of my tender bosom;
Constant mate of all my seasons—
Fare thee well.—We never more may wander,
Cleaving proudly the resisting river;
Ne'er may hide us from the flaming day-star,
Basking only in each other's presence;
Ne'er find safety from the storm of winter."

HYMNS AND ANTHEMS. C. Fox, 67 Paternoster row.

WE were much pleased to find in this little half-crown work, the evidence of an improving taste in the selection of poetry, adapted for sacred music. We have here not a line to remind the reader of Sternhold and Hopkins; but the best devotional thoughts in the best dress of such writers as Milton, Bacon, Wordsworth, Mrs Barbauld, Mrs Hemans, and others of equal rank. The work, also, contains several original pieces of a degree of merit corresponding (which is somewhat rare in a work of this description) to that of the selections from the poets named. How little is the following (partly taken from Coleridge) in the hackneyed style of the conventicle; but how admirably do the lines speak of the bright hopes and joyous aspirations of the Christian:—

"Dark the faith of days of yore,
'And at evening evermore
Did the chanters, sad and saintly,
Yellow tapers burning faintly,
Doleful masses chant to thee,
Miserere, Domine!'

"Bright the faith of coming days,
And when dawn the kindling rays
Of heaven's golden lamp ascending,
Happy hearts and voices blending,
Joyful anthems chant to thee,
Te laudamus, Domine!

"Night's sad 'cadence dies away
On the yellow, moonlight sea;
The boatmen rest their oars, and say,
Miserere, Domine!'

"Morn's glad chorus swells alway
On the azure, sunlight sea;
The boatmen ply their oars, and say,
Te laudamus, Domine!"

Some of the most beautiful hymns are by Mrs Sarah F. Adams, a lady who ought to be better known to the public; we must quote one as an example.

"The world may change from old to new,
From new to old again;
Yet hope and heaven, for ever true,
Within man's heart remain.
The dreams that bless the weary soul,
The struggles of the strong,
Are steps towards some happy goal,
The story of hope's song.

"Hope leads the child to plant the flower,
The man to sow the seed;
Nor leaves fulfilment to her hour,—
But prompts again to deed.
And ere upon the old man's dust
The grass is seen to wave,
We look through falling tears,—to trust
Hope's sunshine on the grave.

"Oh no! it is no flattering lure,
No fancy weak or fond;
When hope would bid us rest secure
In better life beyond.
Nor love, nor shame, nor grief, nor sin,
Her promise may gainsay;
The voice divine hath spoke within,
And God did ne'er betray."

The Patrician's Daughter. A Tragedy in Five Acts. By J. Westland Marston. Mitchell. 1841.

It was the avowed design of the author to write a tragedy wholly indebted for its incident and passion to the habits and spirit of the present age. "To limit to the past the dramatic exhibition of our nature, is virtually," he observes, "to declare our nature itself radically altered." A struggle between *patrician* pride and *plebeian* assumption, forms the ground-work of the piece, which is extremely simple in its construction. The high-born Earl of Lynterne, a minister of state, anxious to be on amicable terms with Mordaunt (the hero of the piece), whose talents were rapidly gaining him distinction in the Commons, invites him to his ancestral castle. The youthful plebeian soon becomes deeply enamoured of the Lady Mabel, the earl's only daughter, which being discovered by her aunt, Lady Lydia, she artfully insinuates to Mordaunt, that his love is reciprocated by her niece. This brings on, as she had foreseen, a too hasty and confident avowal of his passion, which is scornfully rejected. The faint dawning of Mabel's attachment is crushed by the apparent presumption of Mordaunt, and by the half-hinted insinuation that her hand might have been offered by the earl, as a political bribe. At the end of the third act, Mordaunt leaves the castle in bitterness of heart.

* * * * *

Five years are supposed to elapse before the opening of the next scene. During that period Mordaunt has attained wealth,—a title,—and high political influence. He has outlived the scoffs of aunt Lydia and her aristocratic coterie; and on coldly renewing his suit for the hand of Lady Mabel, has been accepted. Doubts respecting his motives for a conduct so greatly at variance with his character were entertained by his friends, and saddened the joy of his affianced bride, who had always loved him. They are, however, sternly declared during the discussions respecting the formalities of his nuptials, before an assemblage of noble and distinguished guests.

Some equivocal compliments to soften and mystify the obscurity of his origin, he interrupts by the following marked description of his father:

"A man of toil—
I mean real toil,—such toil as makes the hand
Uncouth to sight, coarse, hard to the touch,—
There are none here that would have clasped that hand,—
Save at our borough contests, when all fingers
Grow marvellously pliant.—"

He then narrates the duplicity of Lady Lydia, which led to the premature avowal of his love; and concludes by a stern rejection of the hand of Lady Mabel.

"Encouraged thus, I straightway sought the Earl,
Entreated his permission to be ranked
As Lady Mabel's suitor, when it pleased her
Smilingly to admit, that she had toyed
With me, to wile away an idle hour.
I hasted home;—in a few days the tale
Of the plebeian aspirant, supplied
Mirth to a thousand jesters.—What presumption
In him to love thus!—What effrontery
To have a heart! I own that fault, however,
Is not patrician. Now for once be men
And women, or if you can, be human.
Have you loved ever? known what 'tis to stake
Your heart's whole capital of blessedness
Upon one die, the chance of love returned!
To lose the cast; be beggared in your soul;
Then to be spurned and made a public scorn
By those who tempted the fatal throw,
Which drained your heart of riches,—and all this,
Because your birth was lowly?—Had you borne it?
I have not sought for vengeance in this act.
My life, my energies, my talents all
Did I task for the deed! Such apparatus
Was meant for nobler uses than belong
To a mere private feud—but I have fought
A battle for high principles, and taught
Convention, when it dares to tread down *Man*,
MAN SHALL ARISE IN TURN, AND TREAD IT DOWN
As for this lady!—she has never loved me,
Nor have I lately sought to win her love:
I would not wreak on her such wretchedness,
As she caused me for pastime! I have done,
My mission is fulfilled! [*Moves towards the door.*"

The concluding act contains a picture of Mordaunt's misgivings,—Lady Mabel's sufferings,—the remorse of her aunt,—and terminates by the broken-hearted and subdued Earl of Lynterne calling Mordaunt "son!" over the inanimate form of his child.

We rejoice that this tragedy has been written—we rejoice at ought which brings the conventionalities of society into discussion; it is like the stirring of the pool of Bethsaida, which was required to impart a sanative quality to its waters.

But in showing forth the folly and hurtful tendency of the pride of birth and rank, it seems to us that the author has set up another species of pride as the idol of his worship—the pride of democracy, which is equally distant from the dignity of moral worth, under whatever circumstances it may be found—on the highest peak of the lofty mountain, or in the lowly valley and beneath the sequestered shades of humble life.

"Ay, there are homesteads which have witnessed deeds
That battle-fields, with all their bannered pomp,
Have little to compare with."

The style is for the most part natural and unaffected, though there is an occasional tendency to redundancy of metaphor, inconsistent with the abruptness of passion.

We have ventured these remarks in a friendly spirit, as we think we perceive the dawning of original genius, which by study and careful culture may lead to high dramatic excellence. C. H.

HEBER: RECORDS OF THE POOR AND OTHER POEMS. By Thomas Ragg, author of 'The Incarnation,' 'The Deity,' &c. &c. Second Edition. Longman and Co. 1841.—Mr Ragg, the well-known author of 'The Deity, 'The Martyr of Verulam,' and several other works, has already won for himself a name of no mean note among contemporary poets, and the present volume of miscellaneous poetry will not detract from his well-earned reputation.

'Heber,' the principal piece, purports to be a series of tales connected with the four grand convulsions of the earth. The stories are full of incident—love, battle, famine—all graphically pourtrayed and vividly imagined, and to the lovers of religious poetry, in particular, 'Heber' will prove a rich banquet.

As a specimen of the author's power, we quote the following description of sunset.

> "The sun was setting now;
> How calmly! In the changing years of time
> Man oft had seen it set; and bards had watch'd,
> Extatic, its departure, clad with robes
> Of gold and crimson, till their spirits caught
> Rays of prophetic glory, and they dreamed
> Of light and splendour—then indeed but dreams—
> From which they were awakened by the gloom
> And chilly vapours of the charnel-house.
> But neither man had seen nor bard had sung
> A sunset like to this—so calm, so soft,
> The very scene was peace; and yet withal
> Of such pure brightness that it rivalled aught
> Except those beams of uncreated light,
> Which speak the visible presence of the Highest."

THE CHARACTER OF SIR JOHN FALSTAFF, AS ORIGINALLY EXHIBITED BY SHAKSPEARE IN THE TWO PARTS OF KING HENRY IV. By J. O. Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S., &c. &c. London: Pickering. 1841.

MR HALLIWELL, who is well known as one of the industrious expounders and commentators of Shakspeare by his essay on the 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' &c., in the present small volume on the character of Sir John Falstaff, brings forward many arguments, and a formidable array of authorities, to prove that the stage was in possession of a rude outline of Falstaff, under the name of Oldcastle, previously to Shakspeare having written either of the parts of Henry IV; that the name of Oldcastle was retained for a time in Henry IV, but changed to Falstaff before the play was printed; that in all probability some of the theatres retained the name of Oldcastle after the author had made the alteration, and that Shakspeare probably made the change before 1593.

We cannot here enter into a critical examination of the authorities adduced by Mr Halliwell in proof of his positions, for which we must refer our readers to the work itself. Suffice it to say that they are specious, if not conclusive, and that we shall gladly hail the appearance of any farther lucubration from the pen of so candid an inquirer as Mr Halliwell on this obscure and interesting subject.

EDWY, A HISTORICAL POEM. By J. Bell Worrell, author of 'Edgina.' London. 1841.

IT might have been well for Mr Worrell, if the good woman who figures in one of Lady Morgan's novels, who always warned the poor boy against *ganius* and *poethry*, had been at his elbow when he set about composing the present poem.

He has indeed sadly miscalculated his powers, and completely failed in letting in "*the light of other days*" upon the scene.

To conceive and execute are very different things; but as the poem is in itself harmless, we should not have said this much, had it not come forth with such high-sounding pretension. It is, however, well garnished with notes from the learned Brompton, Sharon Turner, &c. &c., which to the purchaser will prove the best part of the bargain.

In the southern districts of Scotland, they give a very pithy definition of nothing, viz., "*a bodiless sark* without the sleeves!*"

We leave our readers to make the application.

THE BRIDE OF MESSINA: a Tragedy. By Schiller. Translated by A. Lodge Esq. J. Bohn.

THE MIND, AND OTHER POEMS. By Charles Swain. Tilt and Bogue.
(A handsome volume, containing some exquisite steel engravings and many pleasing verses: none of great power, but generally above mediocrity.)

RUDOLF OF VAROSNAY: a Tragedy. By J. A. Blackwell. C. and H. Senior.

THE DEATH OF ATHALIAH: a Scriptural Drama. By the Rev. W. Trollope. H. Wix.

HOURS IN NORWAY. By R. M. Laing. Hookham, Old Bond street.

LAYS OF CAMBRIA. By Philip Bevan. Darton and Clarke.

POOR LAWS.

THE BOOK OF THE BASTILES; OR, THE HISTORY OF THE WORKING OF THE NEW POOR LAW. By G. R. W. Baxter. Stephens, Warwick lane.

WE find that many persons, especially strangers, are not yet aware of the meaning given to the term "Bastile" in England; it may therefore be desirable to explain it. Under the old law it was enacted, that when any person was found in a state of utter destitution, he should be received into an asylum suitable for a temporary habitation, and supplied with food, medicine, and clothing. In return for these benefits, he was required to work as far as his strength would allow, and conform to other regulations necessary for the order and good discipline of such an establishment, one of which invariably was, that the men and women should sleep in separate wards, it being impossible to provide every married couple with a separate bed-room. These parish asylums, called workhouses, having generally been found extremely defective in accommodation, the new law rendered it imperative that better should be built, at whatever cost to the ratepayers. The 'Times' newspaper thought it preferable that the poor, however idle or undeserving, should be supported at the parish expense in comfortable homes of their own, and therefore stigmatized the improved buildings as "Bastiles." This cry was of course echoed by the host of jobbers, whose delinquencies under the old system had been exposed in the new, and by every sturdy vagrant

* *Anglicè*, shirt.

who felt the inconvenience of superintendence and restraint. The grievance is, that a man who says he is starving, and without the means of raising a shilling, shall be fed, warmed, and clothed gratis, through a hard winter, or until work can be got, but not quite in the way he would like best. He would prefer to dispense with the regulations, and to go in and out whenever he pleased. No Union of parishes has, however, any power by law to detain a pauper a single moment longer than it is his good will to remain; nor if he return after a week has elapsed, and again demand admission on the plea of destitution, can the Union refuse to receive him;—the drunken vagabond (a great defect in the law) being no exception. The new workhouses have, therefore, little about them in common with a prison; but prejudice is long-lived, and "Bastiles" they will probably continue to be called by a numerous class for many years.

'The Book of the Bastiles' is quite a curiosity in its way. It is intended

"To certify to Englishmen that the same age that produced a Brougham, a Russell, a Malthus, and a 'Marcus,' nurtured and reared also, as if in extenuation, a Stanhope, an Oastler, a Fielden, and a Walter;—a General Johnson, and a Bishop of Exeter, as excellent as eloquent."

The work is a compilation from newspapers, extending to 600 pages, of the rhapsodies of these men. Mr G. R. W. Baxter tells us that he composed it "for posterity," and to render it the more acceptable, has given us a full length portrait of himself, in a frock coat. The author will confer an additional favour upon posterity if, at his death, he will allow his skin to be dried and stuffed, and sent to the British Museum;—so perfect a specimen of the genus "Green-horn" has never yet been presented to any institution.

On the Sufficiency of the Parochial System, without a Poor-rate, for the Right Management of the Poor. By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. and LL.D.

It is unfortunate that the able author of this work is but little practically conversant with English modes of relief for the poor, either under the old or the present system. There is not the slightest novelty in the plan he holds up to our admiration,—that of congregational collections and domiciliary visits by elders or deacons. The plan has been followed almost universally by English dissenters and by many churchmen, and continues to be followed up to the present moment. Everywhere we have our good "Samaritan societies," and charitable missions, all effecting a certain amount of good, but all falling infinitely short of what long experience has shown can only be accomplished by an organisation supported by legislative enactments.

POPULATION RETURNS: CENSUS OF 1841.

Facts and Figures.—This is the title of a very useful little sixpenny periodical, published every month by Hooper, containing selections from Parliamentary papers and other documents of a statistical character, not hitherto accessible to the general reader, and nowhere before existing in a convenient form for reference. The success this publication has met with, is a gratifying proof of the increasing interest the people are taking in all questions affecting public administration. We borrow from No. 2 a summary of the result of the last census.

"THE POPULATION.

"The following will be found to be the result, in round numbers, of the new census; to which we have annexed that in 1831 and 1821, together with the increase per cent. of the population between 1841 and 1831, and between 1831 and 1821.

	Population in 1841.	Increase per cent since 1831.	Population in 1831.	Increase per cent. since 1821.	Population in 1821.
England and Wales	15,907,000	14½	13,897,000	16	11,978,000
Ireland	8,205,000	5½	7,767,000	14½	6,801,827
Scotland	2,624,000	11	2,365,890	13	2,093,000
Channel Islands	125,000	22	103, 00		

"The total population of the United Kingdom this year will be about 26,856,000;* in 1831, it was 24,133,000;* and in 1821, it was 21,193,000.

"The increase in 1831 over 1821, in the United Kingdom, was 15 per cent.; but the increase in 1841 over 1831 is under 11½ per cent.!

"This is a most unexpected and startling result.

"Had the population continued to increase at the same ratio as during the previous ten years, it would have been a million larger. The decrease in the ratio has been principally in Ireland; but even in England and Scotland it has undergone a much greater diminution than was expected."

It appears population has decreased in the following counties in Scotland. For Ireland there is yet no corresponding return:—

Argyll	Peebles
Dumfries	Perth
Haddington	Sutherland
Kinross	

SYRIA.

THE SYRIAN QUESTION: the Article on the Anglo-Turkish War, from No. 68 of the 'Westminster Review.' H. Hooper.

IT may be worth while for the reader to refer again to the above pamphlet, for the sake of noting to how remarkable extent the views of the author have been borne out by subsequent events. The complete failure of our armed intervention in the affairs of Syria was predicted; and never was prophecy more literally fulfilled. Every statesman, however, might have foreseen that when English muskets were put into the hands of wild mountaineers, the result would be as fatal to Turkish as to Egyptian supremacy, and would only lead to the entire disorganization of the country. Recent accounts tell us of a hundred villages consumed by fire in the civil war now raging between the Druses and Christians, and the 'Morning Chronicle' of Saturday, Dec. 18th, publishes the following confession of its Constantinople correspondent:—

"Syria for the last eight months has presented the most lamentable picture of local misrule, intrigue, mismanagement, and insubordination, that was ever witnessed in that or in any other portion of the Ottoman Empire.——The result is, that Syria is in a worse condition than it ever was under Ibrahim Pacha, and the Porte has little left but to regret a restoration, which, in its effects, is worse even than a privation. So much so, indeed, that no one must be surprised if the Sultan were ere long to propose to restore the temporary Pachalic to the son of Mahomet Ali."

USEFUL ARTS.

A PACKET has been sent to us of Pooloo's Chinese Cement. Not being a literary production, we were at a loss to form any opinion upon its merits;

* Without army and navy.

but we placed it in the hands of a committee of ladies, who report to us that they succeeded with it in the first trial in mending broken glass and china, and that they consider it admirably adapted to its object.

Of Mosley's Steel Pens we can only say that we are now writing with one, and that the public need not desire to possess better than the pens we are using, if it may be taken as a fair specimen.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

JOURNALS OF TWO EXPEDITIONS OF DISCOVERY IN NORTH-WEST AND WESTERN AUSTRALIA, DURING THE YEARS 1837-38-39. By George Grey, Esq., Governor of South Australia. T. and W. Boone.

THIS is a work deserving high praise. As a book of travels, it is one of the most interesting we remember to have met with; but it has higher qualities than those which belong to a well-told and extremely exciting personal narrative: it has the moral and intellectual recommendations which, in a work of that character, are often wanting. Mr Grey deserves the warmest thanks of philanthropists for the sympathy manifested in every page for the native population of Australia—for his correct appreciation of their character — his desire to paint them in more pleasing colours than the dark hues in which they have been represented by superficial and prejudiced observers, and his efforts to obtain for them equal laws and equal justice with the white population of our new settlements. It has been customary to describe the aborigines of Australia as the lowest of the human race; they have been held up to us as something of a cross breed between the idiot and the monster, and this has been an excuse for our apathy in allowing the colonists of New South Wales to shoot them as "monkeys," a term by which they were familiarly called, and with or without the slightest provocation. Mr Grey gives us a picture of a degree of civilization as existing in some parts of Australia, of which we had no previous idea, and of notions on the subject of rights of property and moral obligation for which the aborigines have never hitherto had just credit. One of the most remarkable discoveries was that of caves, corresponding to some extent with ancient Egyptian tombs, with various figures of men and animals painted upon the walls. We find, too, among the religious superstitions of the natives the Eastern doctrine of the Metempsychosis; and one of the most striking incidents in the volumes is the account of the practical application of the doctrine in the case of Mr Grey, who was received by a native woman, with tears of joy, as her deceased son restored to life in another form. It appears to be the prevalent opinion among the aboriginal tribes of Australia, who cannot comprehend why Europeans leave their own country, that the white settlers are dead natives returning from the grave in new bodies. Hence the superstitious awe which the first visit of a white man to a distant tribe imposes. He appears among them as a ghost or demon, and the mysterious weapons he carries, and the extraordinary knowledge he possesses, strengthen the belief. Hence the white settlers are spoken of among themselves as "the dead," to the great bewilderment of some travellers, who could not understand why they were so addressed; and even Perth is called the "City of the Dead" by the natives living in the immediate neighbourhood of that settlement.

"I was, however, wholly unprepared for the scene that was about to take place. A sort of procession came up, headed by two [illegible], down whose cheeks tears were streaming. The eldest of these came up to [illegible] and looking for a moment at me, said—'Gwa, gwa, [illegible] bal,'—'Yes, yes, in truth it is him;' and then throwing her

arms around me, cried bitterly, her head resting on my breast; and although I was totally ignorant of what their meaning was, from mere motives of compassion, I offered no resistance to her caresses, however disagreeable they might be, for she was old, ugly, and filthily dirty; the other younger one knelt at my feet, also crying. At last the old lady, emboldened by my submission, deliberately kissed me on each cheek, just in the manner a French woman would have done; she then cried a little more, and at length relieving me, assured me that I was the ghost of her son, who had some time before been killed by a spear-wound in his breast. The younger female was my sister; but she, whether from motives of delicacy, or from any imagined backwardness on my part, did not think proper to kiss me.

"My new mother expressed almost as much delight at my return to my family, as my real mother would have done had I been unexpectedly restored to her. As soon as she left me, my brothers and father (the old man who had previously been so frightened), came up and embraced me after their manner,—that is, they threw their arms round my waist, placed their right knee against my right knee, and their breast against my breast, holding me in this way for several minutes. During the time that the ceremony lasted, I, according to the native custom, preserved a grave and mournful expression of countenance."

We might fill our pages with similar characteristic sketches, but it is better justice to the reader to recommend him to buy the work, or order it in his book-club. We trust the concluding remarks of Mr Grey upon the injustice of subjecting the native population to English laws for criminal offence, without allowing them the benefit of the protection of those laws in other cases, will meet with the attention they ought to command in influential quarters.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

The Chronological Table to follow page 176.