











THE  
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AND

LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.

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“—FIAT JUSTITIA.—”

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# CONTENTS

OF

No. I.

	Page
ART. I. Advice to a Young Reviewer, with a Specimen of the Art	1
II. 1. Report, together with the Minutes of Evidence and Accounts, from the Select Committee, on the high Price of Gold Bullion.	
2. Practical Observations on the Report of the Bullion Committee. By Charles Bosanquet, Esq.	
3. The Question concerning the Depreciation of our Currency stated and examined. By Wm. Huskisson, Esq. M. P.	17
III. 1. The Speech of John Leach, Esq. M. P. in the Committee of the whole House, upon the State of the Nation, on Monday Dec. 31, 1810, upon the Question of Limitations to the Royal Authority in the Hands of the Regent.	
2. The Speech of the Right Hon. Lord Grenville, in the House of Commons, Jan. 16, 1789, on the proposed Regency Bill	60
IV. Voyage de Decouvertes aux Terres Australes, executé par Ordre de sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi, sur les Corvettes le Geographe, le Naturaliste, et la Goëlette le Casuarina, pendant les Années 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, et 1804. Publié par Décret Imperial sous le Ministère de M. de Champagny, et redigé par M. F. Péron, Naturaliste, &c. &c.	66
V. Six Lectures on the Elements of Plane Trigonometry; with the Method of constructing Tables of Natural and Logarithmic Lines, Cosines, Tangents, &c. By the Rev. B. Bridge, A. M. Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, and Professor of Mathematics in the East India College	105
VI. 1. Tract on American Politics, entitled, A Sermon preached in Boston, April 5, 1810, the Day of the Public Fast. By William Ellery Channing, Pastor of the Church in Federal-street. Published at the Request of the Hearers.	
2. A Brief View of the Policy and Resources of the United States, comprising some Strictures on "A Letter on the Genius and Dispositions of the French Government"	113



CONTENTS.

	Page
<b>ART. VII. 1.</b> Letters to the Most Noble the Marquis of Hertford, on Fiorin Grass; containing the necessary Directions for its Culture, the Periods and Modes of laying it down, and saving its Crops, &c. By William Richardson, D. D.	
2. A Treatise on Fiorin Grass, with a short Description of its Nature and Properties, &c. By John Farish.	
3. Essay on Fiorin Grass, shewing the Circumstances under which it may be found in all Parts of England, its extraordinary Properties, and great Utility to the practical Farmer. By William Richardson, D. D.	145
<b>VIII.</b> The Pleader's Guide, a didactic Poem, in two Parts, containing Mr. Sur-rebutter's Poetical Lectures on the Conduct of a Suit at Law; including the Arguments of Counsellor Bother'um and Counsellor Bore'um, in an Action for Assault and Battery between John A-Gu'l and John A-Gudgeon. By J. Anstey, Esq.	161
<b>IX.</b> Exploratory Travels through the Western Territories of North America, comprising a Voyage from St. Louis, on the Mississippi to the Source of that River; and a Journey through the Interior of Louisiana, and the North Eastern Provinces of New Spain, performed in the Years 1805, 1806, 1807, by Order of the Government of the United States. By Zebulon Montgomery Pike, Major: 6th Regt. United States Infantry	175
<b>X.</b> The Madras School, or Elements of Tuition, &c. &c. By the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell	188
<b>XI. 1.</b> Grounds of Union between the Churches of England and Rome, considered in a Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham, at the ordinary Visitation of that Diocese, in the Year 1810. By Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham.	
2. Substance of the Speech delivered by Lord Viscount Castlereagh on the 25th May, 1810, upon Mr. Grant's Motion for a Committee to take into Consideration the Roman Catholic Petitions, to which are annexed Copies of the original Documents therein referred to	206
<b>XII.</b> Hints on Toleration: in five Essays: 1. On the Right of Society to investigate the Religious Principles of its subjects. 2. On specific Limitations to the Extent of an enlightened Religious Toleration. 3. On Eligibility to Offices of Public Trust. 4. On Licensing Persons and Places for the Performance of Divine Worship. 5. On the Liberty of the Press.—Suggested for the Consideration of the Right Hon. Lord Vicount Sidmouth, and the Dissenters. By Philagatharches	231

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ART. I. *Advice to a Young Reviewer, with a Specimen of the Art.* Oxford, 1807. Parker and Cooke. Rivingtons, London.

WHEN we first resolved to "promote ourselves by our own authority to the office of Reviewers," which our readers may be assured is no sinecure, we were naturally anxious to seek for every thing that could inform our judgments, or guide our consciences, in an affair which places both in so responsible a situation. The great object we proposed to ourselves was no less than to fill up a chasm in this department of literature, by endeavouring to lay before the public such observations upon books, and upon the subjects of which they treat, as our means of information, and a judgment *unbiassed by party views*, or *private objects of ambition*, might suggest. We could not but observe, that every one of our contemporaries had set out with professing, and of course with *intending* the same objects; yet had, almost without exception, entirely deviated from it. It became therefore a matter of the utmost concern to us, to discover by what fatality this deviation had been occasioned, in hopes that we might ourselves avoid so common, yet apparently so disgraceful a failure. We have accordingly spared no pains either in reading, reflection, or conversation, to investigate the sources of the evil. In the course of our researches the little pamphlet now before us fell into our hands. It at once afforded a solution of our difficulties, and a vindication of our contemporaries. In justice to them therefore, particularly as we do not find it so generally known as it deserves to be, we cannot forbear offering an analysis of its contents for the amusement of our readers,

accompanied with such observations, alterations, and additions, as the lapse of three years may be supposed to have rendered expedient in the policy of our undertaking. We trust that the public will duly appreciate the risk we are incurring for their sakes, in thus innocently perhaps furnishing grounds for our own future condemnation. We will venture, however, to assert, that if our readers receive but half the amusement and instruction from *the advice* we may presume to give them in the several departments of knowledge, on which they may seek for information in our pages,—which we have just received from a perusal of this piece of “advice” to ourselves; we shall have no cause to feel anxiety as to the popularity and success of our undertaking.

This little work exhibits a tolerably complete specimen of that style in composition which the French call “persiflage;” a style of which we confess ourselves, in general, not to be great admirers; because it too often implies, in him who uses it, a mixture of arrogance and presumption, of pride and malevolence, which indicates a shallow understanding and a corrupt heart. But there are exceptions to this general censure; and we think that there cannot be a more emphatic one, than where arrogance and presumption, pride and malevolence, are themselves the objects of the satire. In this case it seems perfectly allowable to turn the arms of the assailants into instruments of chastisement against them, and truly our author appears to have practised this dextrous hostility with great address.

“Obruit adversas acies, revolutaque tela  
Vertit en auctores—”

CLAUDIAN.

He begins by warning his pupils in the following terms.

“You are now about to enter on a profession which has the means of doing much good to society, and scarcely any temptation to do harm. You may encourage genius, you may chastise superficial arrogance, expose falsehood, correct error, and guide the taste and opinions of the age in no small degree by the books you praise (or censure).” “There is a mysterious authority in the plural we which no single name, whatever may be its reputation, can acquire; and under the sanction of this imposing style, your strictures, your praises, and your dogmas, will command universal attention, and be received as the fruit of united talents acting on one common principle,—as the judgments of a tribunal who decide only on mature deliberation, and who protect the interests of literature with unceasing vigilance.” (P. 1.)

This responsibility is an alarming consideration to a young Reviewer, under the weight of which he might sink, did not his instructor kindly come to his aid, and shew him the facility with which the pledge may be redeemed.

“Now as in the conduct of life nothing is more to be desired than some governing principle of action, to which all other principles and motives must be made subservient; so in the art of reviewing I would lay down as a fundamental position which you must never lose sight of, and which must be the main spring of all your criticisms,—*write what will sell.*” Be not staggered at the sound of a precept which, upon examination, will be found as *honest* and virtuous as it is *discreet*. “All your efforts will be unavailing if men will not read what you write. Your utility, therefore, it is plain, depends upon your popularity; and popularity cannot be attained without humouring the taste and inclinations of men.” (P. 2.)

This, to be sure, is a very convenient doctrine; but it seems at first sight to militate a little against the principles of integrity, which an ingenuous young Reviewer would be disposed at least to set out upon. He might be inclined to suspect that “acting in a judicial capacity, his conduct should be regulated by the same rules by which the judge of a civil court is governed; that he should rid himself of every bias, be patient, cautious, sedate, and rigidly impartial.” But here again our Mentor extricates us from the difficulty, by letting us know,

“That such is the language of superficial thinkers; but in reality there is no analogy between the two cases. A judge is promoted to that office by the authority of the state;—a Reviewer by his own. The former is independent of controul, and may therefore freely follow the dictates of his own conscience:—the latter depends for his very bread upon the breath of public opinion. The great law of self-preservation, therefore, points out to him a different line of action. Besides, as we have already observed, if he ceases to please, he is no longer read, and consequently is no longer useful.” “Instead therefore of vainly aspiring to the gravity of a magistrate, I would advise him when he sits down to write, to place himself in the imaginary situation of a cross-examining pleader. He may comment in a vein of agreeable irony upon the profession, the manner of life, the look, dress, or even the name of the witness he is examining, and when he has raised a contemptuous opinion of him in the minds of the court (and jury), he may proceed to draw answers from him capable of a ludicrous turn, and he may carve and garble these to his own liking.” (P. 3.)

Having thus freed us, as far as his authority can do it, from the antiquated and exploded trammels by which we were disposed to bind our practice, he proceeds to put an end to all compunctious visitings of conscience, by a reference to the imposing examples of persons in high official stations; whose steps, he naturally concludes, (perhaps from some examples which have occurred,) that we are disposed to follow, in hopes of one day partaking in their honours and emoluments.

Thus then we think that we are fairly exonerated from all

*the moral duties*, which we foolishly conceived to be attached to our office. One overwhelming consideration, however, still remains. Considering the number of competitors for the public favour, *great ability* must still be requisite to attract attention. "By no means," says our accommodating adviser. Not but that ability in this, as in all other pursuits, will, "*cæteris paribus*" bear away the palm; but in this most eligible of all the literary departments, by attending to a few "*arcana*," many convenient substitutes may be discovered. For how could Reviewers subsist if nothing but real ability and solid information were tolerated in their pages? The congregated talents of the country would not supply the demand.

Our adviser has indulged us with the detail of many of these substitutes. In the first place it is always to be remembered, that censure, however unjust, is certain of applause from the ordinary propensity of mankind to expose and exaggerate faults. Upon this, therefore, we are to build as one of our data, and the modes of successful censure will, upon inquiry, appear in such variety, that the only difficulty will lie in selecting the most efficacious.

"In poetry, (for example,) the boldness of the image, or the delicacy of the thought, for which the reader's mind was prepared in the original, will easily be made to appear extravagant, or affected, if judiciously singled out and detached from the group to which it belongs." "If it should be necessary to transcribe a dull passage not very fertile in topics of humour or raillery, you may introduce it as a favourable specimen of the author's manner." &c. &c. (P. 4.)

Association is also a very powerful engine. Thus,

"Without any positive violation of truth, the whole dignity of a passage may be undermined, by contriving to raise some vulgar and ridiculous notions in the mind of the reader; and language teems with examples of words by which the same idea is expressed, with the difference only that one excites a feeling of respect, the other of contempt. Thus you may call a fit of melancholy "*the sulks*," resentment "*a pet*," a steed "*a nag*," a feast "*a junketing*," sorrow and affliction "*whining and blubbering*." By transferring the terms peculiar to one state of society, to analogous situations and characters in another, the same object is attained; a drill-serjeant or a cat and nine tails in the Trojan war,—a Lesbos smack, put into the Piræus,—the penny-post of Jerusalem, and other combinations of the like nature, which, when you have a little indulged that vein of thought, will readily suggest themselves, never fail to raise a smile, if not immediately at the expence of the author, yet entirely destructive of that frame of mind, which his poem requires in order to be relished." (P. 5.)

In short, this is the department in which we are chiefly to look

for materials of fun and irony. But voyages and travels are no barren ground. "The charm of these is to unite narrative with information; the feelings, hopes, fears, disappointments, and pleasures of the traveller, joined to continual information respecting the people and countries he visits." We have only therefore to play off these two parts against each other, and the affair is done. "When the writer's object appears to be to satisfy the first inclination, we may thank him for communicating to the world such valuable facts, as whether he lost his way in the night, or sprained his ankle, or had no appetite for his dinner, &c. &c. &c. If he is busied about describing the mineralogy, natural history, agriculture, trade, &c. of a country, you may mention a hundred books whence the same information may be obtained, and deprecate the practice of emptying old musty folios into new quartos, to gratify that sickly taste for a smattering about every thing which distinguishes the present age."

In works of science and recondite learning, tables of contents, prefaces, and indexes, are mines of wealth to Reviewers, who cannot be supposed to be really acquainted with all sorts of knowledge, although it is their duty to write upon all. "But it is better not to meddle with these, if they have attracted much notice, and cannot be treated superficially without fear of being found out. The necessary time for making ourselves thoroughly masters of such subjects is so great, that the works will never pay for Reviewing." Again,

"When a work excels in one quality, you may blame it for not having the opposite. For instance, if the biographical sketch of a literary character is minute and full of anecdote, you may enlarge on the advantages of philosophical reflection, and the superior mind required to give a judicious analysis of the opinions and works of deceased authors: on the contrary, if the latter method is pursued by the biographer, you can with equal ease extol the lively colouring, and truth, and interest of exact delineation and detail. This topic, you will perceive, enters into style as well as matter; where many virtues might be named which are incompatible: and whichever the author has preferred, it will be the signal for you to launch forth in the praises of its opposite, and to hold up that to your reader as the model of excellence in this species of writing." (Page 7.)

Our sage adviser closes his admonitions with the following luminous and liberal strictures.

"You will perceive that I have on no occasion sanctioned the baser motives of private pique, envy, revenge, and love of detraction; at least I have not recommended harsh treatment upon any of these grounds; I have argued simply on the *abstract moral principle* which a Reviewer should ever have present to his mind: but if any of these motives insinuate themselves as secondary springs of action, I would

not condemn them: they may come in aid of the grand leading principle, and powerfully second its operation." (Page 8.)

We have now given a brief sketch of the advice offered by the author of the little tract before us. But young Reviewers as we are, we could not but observe that he has omitted all instruction as to many of the most important and profitable departments of a Review. Some of these omissions have indeed necessarily arisen from the introduction of various modern improvements since the publication of the "Advice." In the first place the GENUS Review is now found to be divided into two distinct *species*. That which issues from the press every month for the benefit of the booksellers, and professes to be little more than a critical catalogue of the literature of the country;—and that which is brought to light with more pomp and circumstance every quarter, and professes to *treat of subjects as well as books*; to confine itself to works of the first importance, either for their intrinsic merit or the practical interest of their discussions; and to afford every illustration which acute reasoning and extensive sources of original information can supply, to enable the reader to form a conclusive opinion upon the whole of the subject. Conscious of the deep importance of this latter species of Review in a country, whose well informed population is so fully occupied with business, yet so delighted with literary and political discussions in the intervals of repose, we thought it our imperative duty not to leave unfathomed the sources of success and utility in this department. We therefore took the liberty of putting the little tract into the hands of a sage long versed in this species of composition, and entreated him, in as few words as possible, to fill up the sketch still left unfinished. He was so good as to comply, and like

"Experienc'd Nestor in persuasion skill'd,  
Words sweet as honey from his lips distill'd;  
Two generations now had past away,  
Wise by his rules and happy by his sway;  
Two ages o'er his native realm he reign'd,  
And now th' example of the third remain'd:  
We view'd with awe the venerable man;  
Who thus with mild benevolence began."

When by the arts recommended in this little tract, you have established a reputation with your readers for acute and scientific criticism, and procured an extensive circulation for your Review, you must turn from mere literary discussion upon books, and begin to *treat of subjects*. Upon every question on which the interests and passions of mankind are much at variance, you must

have your decided opinions.—Nay, you must endeavour by all possible exertions to introduce party feelings and party spirit into every discussion. This will procure you *patrons* as well as readers, who will become attached to your person, and perhaps reward your labours. You may probably by this conduct add fuel to the flame of discord; but the same liberal sentiments, which have already been recommended for your guidance, will set your conscience at rest in this respect. Besides, it is for enlarging your sphere of utility as a man of power and influence, as well as a *Reviewer*, that this advice is given. Your work is every where read, and the topic of general discourse. This of course will place the writers and conductors high in the scale of “the aristocracy of *talent*.” And it becomes your business to take care, that you are not degraded from the relative situation which you ought to hold with “the aristocracy of rank and wealth.” You must now, therefore, fly at higher game than the mere profits of a Review, and the favour to be acquired by literary criticism alone. These will never make you members of parliament, secretaries for Ireland, or give you seats at any of the public boards. But you shall now have explained to you that improvement in the machinery of your system, which will certainly effect this important change in your condition; and you shall then be informed how and where that machinery is to be applied.

Be it known then, that it is a vulgar error to suppose that in order to write a criticism you must have a book to criticize. Though your thoughts must appear to have been set in motion by some recent publication, follow the impulse of your own private feelings and wishes in the selection of your subjects. If you have any personal revenge to gratify, interests to serve, or partialities to recommend, give full scope to these motives in a long triumphant dissertation, deciding every thing as it proceeds, advancing its own dogmas with the air of infallibility, and doubting only on established points; deriding what is incontrovertible, damning with ironical praise, and dispensing laurels and diplomas with academical supremacy. When the work is done, and flattery and spleen have emptied into it all its morbid redundancies, leave it to your publisher to find an apology for the insertion of your article, among the literary varieties which the last six months may have produced.

Do you wish to write upon a subject of divinity? Take Mr. ———’s Sermons, in which there is not one word of that science except in the title-page and texts. Begin by deploring the lamentable deficiency of theological learning in these latter times; particularly in the work before you; and inform your readers, that, as little good is to be extracted from it for their



edification, you venture to propound the *crude* notions which *deep reflection* and *extensive inquiry* have suggested to your own minds.

This will do very well for a beginner; but when you feel a little more familiar with your office, and enough imbued with the true sentiments of a Reviewer to venture upon a "grand coup," you will be able to manage a more complicated operation. You may then venture to take a judicious well written publication, that espouses the cause you are bound by all the above-mentioned considerations to run down. You may extract a sentence, or half a sentence, or an implied sentiment, that by a little garbling may easily be made to appear ridiculous in the eyes of your readers; and having raised this sentiment in their breasts, you may dismiss the work in your first half page in some such manner as this: "But as we think that the *absurdity of this work* will generally prove an effectual antidote to the errors it contains, we shall give a very brief summary of its contents, and then venture to lay before our readers a few general observations on the important subject on which it treats. Not but that our author really seems to understand the plainer doctrines of his science, when they are brought to bear on a particular case, but he is sure to bewilder himself in *general speculations*." This last imputation should never be omitted when the work criticized is peculiarly practical, and likely to be sought for by practical men, because it will assuredly deter them from looking into it, and thus prevent them from being convinced of a truth, of which it is your interest that they should continue ignorant. You must then proceed, "and although he may have made himself familiar with common principles, he certainly has not imbibed any thing of the spirit of that enlightened philosophy which has dawned upon modern times." Here you catch the ingenious and the philosophical, who will not certainly pay attention to a work represented to contain nothing but stale theorems. Thus you at once bar all communication between the writer and the public, and leave your adversary's arguments, where they of course *deserve to be*, covered with dust upon the shelf. By this notable piece of soldiership you act as it were with a two-edged sword. If your adversary by any fortunate chance should escape the forward cut, you annihilate him with the back stroke, before he has an opportunity of recovering his posture of defence.

This stratagem is particularly calculated for a criticism on works of political œconomy; because, by stringing together a few sentences from Adam Smith, with a dextrous alteration or two worded in the precise and technical language of that science, you may easily raise plausible objections, of which not one reader

in twenty will be able to perceive the futility. You may thus (without committing yourself to any meaning so absolute as not to leave a loop-hole, should any troublesome fellow who really understands the subject put your accuracy to the test,) contrive with a little management to make out a very satisfactory case against your opponents.

A little practice will soon make you perfect enough in this *finesse* to enable you to apply it to every species of composition, and to every subject of which you may wish to treat. When once you feel yourself complete master of your art, rush confidently into your career of "laudable ambition," and you will find that many little auxiliary arts will present themselves spontaneously in aid of your system.

Now as the two subjects on which the public mind is most interested, and which are principally contemplated with the warmth of party feelings, are politics and religion; and as it is in these departments that the rewards of the victorious are the greatest, it is here that you will open your campaign. It is evident that on your plan of *treating subjects* in preference to books, none can be of more importance than these; for on the right state of a people with respect to them depends the whole of their happiness; and you may be very useful in promoting it.

In politics, for example, there are always parties in the state either in possession or expectation of power, who are often extremely at a loss for the first-rate talents which you of course possess. There seems then to be a sort of physical necessity, that the "aristocracy of mind" should join itself to the "aristocracy of matter," and vivify the mass of clay by its ethereal spirit. But the aristocracy of matter is exceedingly apt to indulge a propensity for certain acquisitions called power, patronage, and emolument, which its mercurial companion must appear to regard with great contempt. And although it is an axiom of the philosophers, that the triumph of mind over matter is so much in the order of nature, as to be generally speaking an affair of course; yet, when the acquisitions just mentioned are in prospect or possession, they seem to exercise a singular degree of influence in reversing this order. Mind becomes enslaved to matter, and to all the grovelling and pitiful purposes of interest and ambition, engendered by its sordid associate. You must, therefore, cease to struggle in the vain hope of restoring a discipline so completely subverted, and learn, like the rest of mankind, to submit to the dictates of necessity, taking for your consolation those beneficial results, which have been shewn to be fully sufficient to quiet the upbraidings of conscience.

Having thus at length brought every motive and principle of

your mind into subjection to your private interest; your next business must be to reduce by the aid of misrepresentation, the motives, meanings, and arguments of other men to a similar subserviency. Give full scope to party-spirit in every subject of political discussion. All solicitude about truth and the welfare of mankind being once well discarded, you will soon be able to extend party spirit to every question, however remote from politics. Thus you may exult in the reflection, that the public, who sit down to the perusal of your pages, with the expectation that their minds will be informed and their judgments rectified by consummate ability, honestly arguing upon extensive information, will rise up from the perusal with their innocency of ignorance exchanged for the pertinacity of error; and, upon the whole, more thoroughly misinformed than if they had never inquired into the subject under discussion. You cleverly place them in this dilemma; they are bound either to enter into a laborious investigation of the subject themselves, for which in this *fully occupied* country many persons, whose opinions are important, have neither *leisure* nor *inclination*, or they must receive your ingenious arguments, and your assertions hazarded at all risks, as established truths. You have now, therefore, in your hands the privilege either of running down the party in possession of power, and exalting your patrons into their places, by writing *not at the arguments* but at the *persons* or *personal views of their opponents*; or of defending the intrigues and keeping up the tottering consequence of your own friends; which will reflect the greater credit on your ability, should they happen to constitute the petty remnant of a party once important to their country, but now sinking fast, by the decree of an inexorable destiny, into its original insignificance.

Before we quit the subject of politics I will give you an example of a few auxiliary arts, which, by a little alteration according to circumstances, may be as useful to you as the Drummer's love-letter was to poor Yorick.

If it is *inconvenient* to you to extract a whole sentence from your adversary's book, you may make the following exordium. "The present publication seems to have originated in the best intentions; and if we had nothing to do but with the design and motives of a work, we should feel it our duty to bestow upon it unqualified praise. But our author's views are unfortunately wild and impracticable, founded entirely on *narrow notions* or exploded errors, and his projects would infallibly aggravate the evils they are intended to remedy." Then in your own speculations you must hazard every assertion as a positive fact. Not one in ten of your readers can know whether it is true or false.

And if any unmannerly judgment, having detected the falsity, should publish your misstatement to the world, his contradiction, being in a detached pamphlet, falls far short of the range of your privileged falsehoods, set in the midst of the bright gems of your various contributors. Besides, if what you assert be not true at the time of your asserting it, it might have been partly true once, (*seven years ago for example\**). What once was, may be again.—The stately structure of a Reviewer's argument is not to depend upon the vulgar foundation of fact. And if men will choose to alter and amend before their censure is prepared, he is not to be robbed of his vested interest in the satire. You may roundly assert, that the man who accuses you of falsehood, is himself actuated by the notions of a mere half-read tradesman; "that no boy who was baptized and breeched ever betrayed such trumpery understanding and feelings;" that "when he comes to subjects of real importance, he is like a coach-horse on the trottoir, his feet don't seem made to stand on such places; that the gentleman is always burning candles by day-light, and had better continue walking quietly in the cart-harness that is prepared for him;"—"That his readers (*if any*) can never doubt after such a specimen, how easy it is to be, in one small production, both very frivolous and very tiresome;"—"that you would thank him for any occasional abatement of dulness, impudence, or pomp;" "that his work is really such trash, that the Reverend Mr. Thwack'um, in Tom Jones, would be ashamed of it;" (this should never be omitted if the author happens to be a clergyman, and in the right),—"that nothing can exceed the pomp and trash of the gentleman's observations, which can only proceed from the habit of living with third-rate persons;"—"that they are like children's cradles, familiar to old women, sometimes empty, sometimes full of noisy imbecility, and *often lulling to sleep*;"—"That there never was a more striking instance of silly and contemptible pedantry;"—"that you question if mere natural dulness, unaided by punch, ever before produced such writing as his." These and many apposite and elegant arguments of a similar nature, (which if you have properly disciplined your *taste*, must all be concentrated in the space of a page or two,) will be found to be exceedingly conclusive proofs that your adversary is mistaken, and that you are right; and you will be sure to have entirely on your side all *real* lovers of punch, (no small portion of the community, if we may believe the French); for they have no time to inquire into things themselves, but like

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\* See a certain controversy about Oxford.

to have a *few good jokes* of other people's to retail over their bowl.

Again, if a writer enters into a calculation, to shew that some imaginary evil which you have infused into the minds of the vulgar is not founded in fact, you must endeavour to discover some plausible appearance of error in his figures, which in long calculations, however, carefully conducted, is sometimes not difficult. You must then proceed, "that you offer this as a *specimen* of the confidence due to this ingenious person, when he takes to details of fact or to calculations:"—that "in proposing another view of treating the subject, you shall not attempt the hopeless task of emulating Mr. — in parade of figures and detail," (No! take care of that! the attempt might be dangerous.) but that you shall adopt a *more satisfactory method of examining* the subject. You will then frame this method so as to include every subject of discussion that peculiarly interests the success of your own party, or of that which opposes it, deciding every thing your own way; and you will, without fear of contradiction, assert, that "the prudent statesman (*whose existence you assume as a bare possibility*) would, undoubtedly, have followed your opinions. You will then proceed to construe something, which you may have formerly written with a very different intention, into an implied censure upon your own political patrons. This will give you an opportunity of defending yourself against misapprehension, by expatiating largely upon the honesty and integrity of their views. You may assert, that "to name their names is a sufficient refutation of any charge pointing towards little, selfish, and ordinary errors:"—"that you really think if Europe can yet be saved, it must look for its safety to *the only class of statesmen, who have ever shewed* that great talents and acquirements are not incompatible with pure and virtuous principles." You may venture this, even though your patrons are remarkable for a dereliction of principle, for the sake of office and emolument. For you will conclude with this notable equivocation, founded upon the implied censure abovementioned. You will add, "that having *uniformly* attacked what you *conceived* to be their errors while in power, you may bear this testimony to their high merits while in retirement, without the possibility of your motives being misrepresented." This compliment will be peculiarly applicable if your patrons have generally expressed their opinion, that nothing can long retard their return to office. Finally, you must season the whole production with some such observations as these, applied to the persons who have the insolence to hold those offices in the state, which belong of right to you and your patrons. You must confess your

utter inability "to account for the continuance of such a ministry as now rules the country,—weak at all times,—begotten in cabal, treachery, and intrigue,—in cant, persecution, and fanaticism," (this must be used only when any regard is shewn by statesmen to the interests of religion,) "familiar with defeat and disgrace from the hour of its birth,"—"failing in every measure,—convicted of bringing ruin on our arms,"—(this must be used when you wish to construe the victories of the army and navy into defeats,) "felt as a scourge by almost every family in the country,"—"abandoned by the persons most apt to support all ministries,"—"Yet not merely preserving its station, but rising up again from the dirt, every time it is kicked down, and wriggling and crawling on more actively and more noxiously than before." You must not be discouraged if a first or a second trial of these arguments do not compass the object of your wishes; but manfully persevere, never doubting but that the *kicks* you bestow, and the dirt that you cast upon your opponents, will at length overthrow them, so that they shall fall to rise no more, "dull and breathless on their native dunghill."

Thus you have the general outline of your plan of operations in the department of politics; and if you do not serve very ungrateful patrons, you may depend upon being soon raised into a condition, in which you may in your turn become the patrons of Reviewers.

I have only one more piece of advice to add for the service of your *minor partizans*. You may wish to ruin in the public estimation some respectable persons whom you have much and wrongfully abused, and whom you, of course, conclude, (judging from your own feelings, according to the received philosophy in these cases,) to be implacable towards their detractors. Now the mode of dealing with them is this; being prudent people, truth will stand you in no stead; you must therefore lay hold of some silly action of their neighbours and impute it to them; or if you can find no such action, you must invent it. If it should be possible, for example, to find fault with the consequences of any law, with the effects of any speech in parliament, or of any act of government, don't be particular in inquiring as to dates and circumstances, but ascribe the whole at once to the respectable persons in question. Few readers are enough acquainted with parliamentary or political chronology to ascertain the real fact; therefore, if it should happen that you are six or eight months out of your calculation, few will probably discover the errors but the parties concerned, or those whose interest it is to propagate the falsehood. Should the former complain, you had better make the most obsequious and servile apo-

logies in *private*, for that can do no harm to your credit with the public or your party, and may withhold the injured party from loud or outrageous complaint. But do not suppose that you are bound by any ties of justice or morality to un-deceive *the public*. Your utility depends upon your influence: and your influence would be destroyed by so grievous a sin against your first principles, and so impolitic a sacrifice at the shrine of justice.

I cannot permit you to depart without a word or two of advice upon the subject of Religion. True it is, that nothing would contribute more to public utility than a Review, in which great talents were joined to liberal and honest views of improving the religious opinions and moral conduct of our countrymen. But, perhaps, it would be thought a little too barefaced for a writer, actuated by the principles that have been recommended to you, to pretend to any serious interest in such a cause; nevertheless, you must not despair of interesting your readers on these subjects, because it may tend to circulate your other labours. To please the dissenters, you will of course hold out the necessity of an enlarged and expanded toleration, and complain of the bigoted spirit of tests, declarations, oaths, and establishments. If you wish to please the larger portion of readers, viz. the lukewarm and indifferent, and to make them satisfied with their religious state; take every opportunity of descanting upon liberal and enlarged views in religion, "gentleness and *reasonableness* in the way of explaining things," "the danger of the *hot fit of religion*," "the advantages of a *large, tolerating, and profound reason*," "and of a gentle and conciliating address." If you wish to please the high sticklers for the temporalities and outward discipline of the church, —abuse the dissenters, the methodists, and the *evangelical preachers*, without making the smallest distinction between them; expatiate upon the mischief of the "new puritans," and be sure to have no compassion on any clergyman who does not shew his orthodoxy by partaking in the amusements of the chase, the play-house and the ball-room. Lastly, if you are alike indifferent to the church, and to all religious parties, and merely wish to *sell your Review to all*, furnish a shewy article that will afford conversation on religious topics to idle talkers. Its neutrality can exasperate no one; you will fulfil the great duty of impartiality; and the abettors of each party will forgive the abuse with which you must season your observations to make them popular, in consideration of your praise; each will quote from that part of your article which suits their views; and your labours will widely circulate among all parties. It is true, you might write to all eternity in any or all of these ways, without doing the smallest good to the

cause of religion ; but, as I before observed, nobody will give you credit for that wish, even should it exist in your breast ; and few will think the worse of you for not entertaining it.

My last and most important recommendation to you is, to steer cautiously clear of all the old English prejudices on practical morals, and the education of the young. Prove yourself above the maxims of the nursery ; assert the charter of infant freedom ; claim for our children the sacred right of thinking for themselves, without the incumbrance of a religious creed ; praise without moderation or measure those writers on education who have kept religion from all interference with their system ; hold up to imitation the encyclopædists, the sçavans, and sçavantes of France ; contend for the emancipation of females from the drudgery of domestic duties. And if perchance some work of downright sense and beaten morals, recommending an education adapted to foster feelings and prejudices of English growth, and suited to the duties of sex and station, with the christian religion for its foundation, should come across your way, especially if such a work should happen to be written by an accomplished female of homebred principles, claiming respect on account of her sex and age, and deserving homage for her services in the cause of human happiness ; be sure to run her down with relentless fury ;—libel her character, vilify her motives, distort her meaning, ridicule her infirmities ; she is fair pastime, she is safe game, she will make no defence : you have a hard head, and she probably a soft heart ; and though she may not feel much for her literary fame, she may be made to repine at the obstruction of her efforts for promoting the improvement of the rising generation.

We trust that you are by this time convinced that a Reviewer is neither bound in law, or conscience, to sacrifice his popularity or views of profit, to gratify any silly desire he may be tempted to entertain of doing good in the world.

We think that this was the substance, as nearly as we can recollect, of what our experienced friend imparted to us :

“ His years were awful, and his words were wise ;  
 But (*our*) imperious, (*our*) unconquer'd soul  
 No laws can limit, no respect controul ;  
 Grant that the gods his matchless *sense* have given,  
 Has *soul* reproach a privilege from Heaven ?”

We are persuaded that it has not, nor from England either. We are convinced that this whole system of modern reviewing, as

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explained in the preceding pages, is a gross libel upon the sound understandings and good dispositions of the well educated part of the people of England. We think that we perceive a confirmation of this opinion in the regret that we continually hear expressed, at the lamentable influence which the "advice" above detailed has had upon this department of literature. And we should not prognosticate unfavourably of the public reception which would be given to a Review, conducted upon directly opposite principles; to one that is really honest and impartial in its intentions, and free from all selfish views and wilful perversions of truth; if such an assemblage of qualities could in these days be combined with a sufficient degree of judgment, talent, and information. But considering the temptations to deviate from the straight path which would be constantly thrown in its way; we confess that we are not very sanguine in our hopes of living to see very great progress made towards such a consummation.

On one point indeed it would be absolutely necessary to follow the advice of our experienced friend. *Subjects* must now sometimes be treated to the exclusion of *books*, and we fear also controversially. For hateful as the name of controversy is to us, we have a decided conviction, (which we would also impress upon those who wish to be distinguished for extraordinary candour,) that there cannot be a more mischievous and fatal method of avoiding controversy, than by permitting those who court it, to disseminate without contradiction their bold and unwarranted assertions, on subjects deeply implicating the interests of our country, and the welfare of mankind.

We could have wished in conclusion to give our readers some account of the inimitable critique upon the *Allegro*, by *one John Milton*, which our author has introduced as "a specimen of the art." But our limits will not allow of more than an earnest exhortation to all those who are disposed occasionally to indulge in a hearty laugh, always to have the tract within reach. Our own experience has proved that the recipe loses none of its effect even after frequent repetitions; and we sincerely hope that its author, by a renewed engagement with his publisher, will render it more accessible to readers in general. His important avocations perhaps have kept him ignorant, that it is now no longer easy to procure a copy.

ART. II. *Report, together with the Minutes of Evidence and Accounts, from the Select Committee, on the high Price of Gold Bullion.*—Ridgeway, 1810. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed.

*Practical Observations on the Report of the Bullion Committee.*  
By Charles Bosanquet, Esq. Richardson, 1810.

*The Question concerning the Depreciation of our Currency stated and examined.* By Wm. Huskisson, Esq. M. P. Murray, 1810.

THERE are two common methods of arriving at practical conclusions on great questions of public policy. One is, to refer the facts on which the discussion arises to the strict rules of political œconomy; and having done this, simply to recommend the course of practice deduced from the application of those rules to causes, which have formerly given rise to similar facts. This mode is seldom adopted by experienced statesmen, although it is often recommended by men of reading and philosophical habits.

The other method is, to institute a rigid inquiry whether any extraordinary causes, different from those which have formerly produced the same effect, may not have given rise, in the present instance, to the facts under discussion; and having procured satisfaction on this point, and keeping in view the rules of science on the subject, to adopt such remedies as the exigency of the case may seem to require. This is a less compendious method we admit, but it is that usually adopted by experienced statesmen, although often strenuously condemned by the studious and the philosophical.

There is, to be sure, a third method, which has sometimes been pursued by sanguine politicians. These gentlemen are very apt to form *preconceived opinions* from notions that have been long revolving in their own minds, and when the circumstances occur to which those opinions appear applicable, they have recourse (for form's sake) to inquiry as to facts, and the opinions of others; but have an unfortunate tendency to wrest them all into a confirmation of their own previous judgment. This is a mode of proceeding no less dangerous in practice, than unphilosophical in theory. In politics it is nothing less than holding out a premium to imposture, and it opposes an insuperable barrier to all progress in science and in morals: it is, in short, so much the bane of every good cause, that men can scarcely be too circumspect in their precautions against falling into so fatal a snare.

Now the reasons, that would induce a prudent and sagacious

statesman to prefer the second of these methods, are obvious. The science of political œconomy, being a set of conclusions drawn from general principles, is of course intended for general application. It is presupposed that *all the nations* concerned in any question involving those principles will fully act up to them, because it is their interest to do so; or if any particular nation refuse so to act, that it will suffer for the deviation to the advantage of the rest. This supposition in ordinary times, or in times the same as when the principles of the science were laid down, is perhaps correct, and will usually be justified by the event. But the case is very much altered when the ordinary systems of policy are completely overthrown by extraordinary causes. If, for example, from the acquisition of overgrown power, from a commanding influence acquired over the majority of a commonwealth of nations, any particular government takes upon itself to dispense, at its discretion, with the usual and received principles of policy and good faith in its intercourse with another, and to force all those under its controul to do the same, what would be the consequence of an adherence on the part of the injured state to the plain and accustomed rules of political œconomy? Would it not lay itself prostrate at the feet of the hostile power, and act the part of a combatant, who should strip himself naked to contend, according to the received laws of the arena, with one who was known to have a poisoned dagger in his possession? For it appears to us, that by adhering to a set of known rules, the conduct of one party can be anticipated, while the others have both the will and the power to depart from those rules, if they can thereby injure the party which adheres to them.

These observations apply with peculiar force to all questions involving the freedom of commerce. Undoubtedly commerce will thrive best, and most enrich the nations carrying it on, when all parties concerned permit it to be free: further, perhaps the *commercial* party which first imposes a shackle will suffer, while the rest profit by it. But what if one party, and that the most powerful, has little commerce, and drawing the sources of its power and greatness from other springs, regards not that little, and would cheerfully sacrifice it, could the other party be thereby injured? Must not such a system in the former power derange all the measures of the latter, however well-founded in general principles? Must it not be reduced either to suffer injury at the discretion of the aggressor, or by adopting temporary expedients according to the exigency of the case, to ward off the threatened blow?

Such are the grounds upon which it appears to us that the

practical part of the question respecting the depreciation of our currency should be discussed. We have a powerful and inveterate enemy, who will not hesitate at imposing any sacrifice upon his own subjects, or upon the rest of Europe under his controul, if he can thereby destroy or materially injure our public credit. He knows that our powers of resisting or injuring him, consequently that *our* existence and *his* danger, depend upon the maintenance of our public credit: his own is completely gone, nor does he at present wish for its restoration. He is therefore absolved from all the usual ties which bind governments in ordinary cases; and his chief object, because his chief interest, is to profit to our injury by such opportunities as our strict adherence to general principles may offer to his unprincipled aggressions. Many attempts of this kind has he lately made upon our commerce, and they have been accompanied, *in point of time*, by events calculated to give rise to serious political discussions. Specie has been gradually disappearing from our circulation for the last two years, and the vacuum has been filled up by an increased issue of paper currency; at the same time an extraordinary difference has taken place in the relative value of gold, and our general currency. The exchange *with the continent*, during the first fifteen months of that period, turned, and continued very much against England, though it has subsequently in some degree recovered; commercial credit has been partially shaken, and an unusual number of bankruptcies has occurred.

Attempts have been made to account for these phenomena in various ways. The publications before us appear to contain almost every argument worthy of notice, that has been advanced in the earlier stages of the discussion. They constitute quite a sufficient mass of materials upon which to found a general statement of the question; and we are induced by the following reasons to confine the present article to them, rather than to include a greater number of the numerous works which have appeared. First, that we may avoid the confusion and prolixity necessarily incident to numerous references to, and quotations from, different works. Secondly, that, having here embraced the general outline of the subject, we may be enabled, by a future reference to the subsequent publications, to illustrate its several parts in detail, and either to fortify our present opinions, or to correct such as may hereafter appear to be erroneous. Of each of the works stated in the title to this article we think it our duty to give a concise and general description; and afterwards, by occasional quotations, to fortify the conclusions we are about to draw from our own reflections, and from a careful perusal of what has been written. We hope thus to make this difficult and intricate sub-

ject intelligible to all who are conversant with the first principles of political œconomy, and who will bring to the discussion patient attention, and a plain understanding.

The Report, as is well known, contains a great mass of evidence on one side, and a great mass of opinion contrary to most of that evidence, and to the opinions of many of the witnesses, on the other. We are far from purposing to insinuate that the opinion of the committee is *necessarily wrong*, because it disagrees with that of the witnesses, and with the tenour of their evidence. When theory is opposed to practice on any particular question, either may be right. But we may surely be allowed to contend that the subject is left more open to discussion than if both had agreed in one opinion.

The Report is also drawn up with a semblance of logical precision, and with so much attention to the technical language and peculiar phrasology of the best treatises on political œconomy, that it assumes altogether a very imposing appearance to a man of liberal education engaged in the first perusal of its contents. How far a more intimate acquaintance justifies this early impression, and how far under this fair outside "the real substance of good" is to be discovered, the reader of the following pages will be pleased to judge for himself.

But it will be a long time before we cease to lament, that the conclusions, whether true or false, were suffered to go forth at this critical period of our foreign relations under so strong a statement from very high authority. We cannot conceal our impressions that they furnish most efficient implements to our enemies for weakening our influence among our friends. A distinguished politician on the continent, whose opinions have great weight there, although he is known to be attached to this country, wrote to one in England to know if he admitted the justice of the conclusions drawn in the report; stating at the same time, that if he did, the cause of England was at an end. When we think of these consequences, and the extent to which the activity of our enemies must have pushed them, we are more than ever disposed to bring the arguments on which they rest to a rigorous scrutiny. And although we fully acquit the framers of the Report of all party views, or unfair purposes, we cannot but regard the Report itself as the innocent cause of some eventual mischief to our country, and of much embarrassment to its government.

Mr. Huskisson's pamphlet contains, in a small compass, a very intelligible and satisfactory statement of the received principles of political œconomy bearing on the subject; and although we are far from implicitly admitting all his positions, such, for ex-

ample, as his unreserved assertion, that a promissory note *represents value* only inasmuch as it is an undertaking to pay *in money* the sum for which it is issued, &c. &c.; yet we readily allow that they are in general laid down with ability and science. Upon these scientific positions Mr. H. has built a number of practical conclusions decidedly hostile to the Bank Restriction Bill, the amount of our existing currency, and the present facility of discounts at the Bank. These conclusions are generally a mere echo of the Report. But his pamphlet is much superior to that production in merit of composition and perspicuity of style. It is indeed extremely well and correctly written, and highly calculated to propitiate the favour of every reader of taste. He should, therefore, carefully hold his judgment in reserve, till he has had an opportunity of referring the first favourable impression to the standard of fact and experience.

Turning to Mr. Bosanquet's pamphlet, this caution is by no means so necessary. It is, however, the production of a plain, well-educated English merchant, who thinks that he perceives in the labours of his opponents arguments unfounded in fact, and conclusions not only fallacious, but practically mischievous. He addresses the public in plain and intelligible language; and it would be unfair not to admit that he lays before it much valuable matter on the side of the question which he supports.

Mr. B. differs *toto cælo* both from the opinion of the committee, and of Mr. H.; and maintains his ground well against antagonists so formidable, by opposing *his* facts to *their* arguments. We, too, differ from the Report and its abettors, although we cannot entirely agree with Mr. B. Our opinions, indeed, are at some variance with all that we have seen. We shall therefore, without further preamble, state briefly and plainly those points in which we agree with the principles of the Report, and those in which we differ, and then proceed to the discussion of each in their order.

1. First, then, we are perfectly ready to admit, that our present currency is (in common parlance) depreciated in reference to *gold bullion* as its *standard* of value; though we think it would be more correct to say, that the value of gold bullion has experienced a temporary but considerable rise above that of our currency, *whether coin or paper*. We draw this distinction because we think that the value of gold in coin should be distinguished from that of gold bullion. If the melting down and exportation of coin could be effectually prevented, the value of bullion might be, in almost any assignable degree, greater than that of coin. If the mint should be stopped, and no paper or other substituted currency be allowed, it might be in almost any

assignable degree less. Now a Bank note is the representative not of bullion but of coin; and if it preserves an equivalent value to coin, it is not *depreciated*, in whatever degree it may be inferior to the value of bullion.

2. We do by no means admit that this difference in value has been caused by excess of paper currency arising out of the Bank restriction, but principally by an extraordinary rise in the price of gold, occasioned by the *demand* created for it in the *home market*, in consequence of the necessity, (imposed upon our merchants by the state of exchange and of commerce with the continent,) of exporting gold thither to the utmost extent in which it can be procured. In discussing this point it will also appear, that the *unfavourable* state of exchange with the continent has neither been produced nor continued by the abundance of paper currency at home, (as is also contended in the Report,) but by other causes arising out of the extraordinary state of our commerce. This completes the first head of inquiry as to the causes of past and present effects. But as these bear but indirectly upon the probable occurrence of future mischief, the one being matter of fact, the other of contingency, it seems necessary,

3dly. To inquire into the evils and advantages, that would result from protracting the resumption of cash payments at the Bank to an indefinite period, or till hostility against our commerce has ceased upon the continent; and,

4thly. Into the evils and advantages which would arise from eventually shortening that period, by *now* fixing upon some precise time when the restriction shall be removed.

The result of this part of the argument will (we think) appear to be, that although the Bank restriction should certainly be considered as a *temporary* measure; yet, as no sound patriot or statesman would remove it *with a moral certainty* of being speedily obliged to *have recourse to its re-enactment*; the only possible time for removing it with prudence is, when the accustomed freedom of commercial intercourse shall be re-established with the continent *upon a perfectly secure basis*. The evils which we may suffer in the interim, by delaying it till then, appear to be much fewer than those we should be exposed to by removing it sooner.

Upon the whole, it seems to us very possible, that in ordinary times the application of the remedies recommended in the Report might attain their professed object. But then it may perhaps be deduced from the very reasoning of the Report itself, as well as from former experience, that the evils proposed to be remedied could *scarcely by any possibility exist in ordinary times*;

an observation that certainly, in some degree, affects the *utility* of such remedies. We are, indeed, pretty well convinced that in countries where the blessings of free discussion are enjoyed, sound general principles are seldom widely departed from, except in *cases of necessity*. Where such a case is proved upon free discussion *really to exist*, it is worse than useless to agitate men's minds by urging a return to principles, which only its not being possible prevents all parties from promoting.

We shall endeavour to confine the discussion within limits as narrow as can be made consistent with attaining its professed objects; but we fear that even these will lay us under the necessity of drawing very largely upon the patience of our readers.

1. First, then, as to the fact of depreciation.

If, as is justly observed by Mr. H., a light guinea, which may be legally melted, will sell for 24s. and a fraction, while a heavy guinea can only be exchanged for 21s., because the law makes it penal to melt it or to sell it for more; if a pound of gold, which can only be coined into 44 $\frac{1}{4}$  guineas or 46*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*, will sell in the market for 56*l.* paper currency; or if 46*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* paper currency will only purchase 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  ounces of gold, instead of 12 ounces or a pound; then is paper currency, and the guineas which circulate with it under authority of the law, most certainly and evidently of less value in the market than *all other gold*. And "taking gold bullion as the STANDARD to which the prices of all other commodities are to be referred, any one which is equivalent to a pound of gold is also equivalent to 56*l.* in paper. The difference therefore between 46*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* and 56*l.* is the measure of *the difference in value*" between gold bullion and currency, or in common parlance of the *depreciation* of our currency. (Mr. H. p. 15, et seq.)

But in admitting this fact, we beg not to be understood to assert, that the relative value of *our currency* has been depreciated with respect to *commodities in general* in the home market, or to the *currency and commodities of foreign countries*; but simply with respect to gold bullion in *our own market*, in consequence of the said gold bullion being adventitiously raised in a small degree above the relative value which it usually bears to that of other countries, and in a considerable degree to that which it usually bears to currency and commodities in this.

We are fully aware that it may be said, if gold in this country were adventitiously raised above its relative value to gold in other countries, and to currency and commodities in this, the natural effect would be to *bring gold into* this country, not to carry it out. We admit that it would be so, if any profitable use could be made by foreigners of gold sent to England; but the balance



of payments (as we shall presently shew) being *now* against us, a foreign merchant could only send gold hither to purchase commodities for exportation to the continent: this he certainly will not do unless the goods, when bought, can be admitted into the continental markets for sale, which is notoriously not the case at present; he would not, therefore, send gold to England even if 5 dwts. 8 grs. of it would purchase thirty shillings of British currency. But this subject will be more fully discussed when we come to treat of the particular causes which have produced the difference in value between bullion and currency.

We are aware also, that the distinction, which we have taken between the relative value of gold bullion at home and British and foreign currency, will be received with great contempt by the advocates for the Report, who state *with very logical acuteness* that *gold is gold*, and that it is absurd to say, that an ounce of gold is worth more than an ounce of gold (See Rep. p. 5. Mr. H. p. 42.). To this triumphant proposition we beg leave to oppose another. A fat sheep weighing 80lbs. is a fat sheep of 80lbs. weight; and absurd as it may appear to assert that 80 pounds of mutton are worth more than 80lb. of mutton, yet where ten sheep are to be divided between 100 purchasers in one place, and 500 in another, a tyro in political œconomy will admit, that the 80lb. of mutton will, *cæteris paribus*, be worth just five times as much in one case as in the other; and that a man who wishes to get credit in the former place for a pound of mutton in the latter, must give five in exchange. Now the supply of gold in a country *situated as Great Britain is at present* being necessarily finite, its value must of course be raised or lowered in the same manner by an increased or diminished demand.

But, says Mr. H. (p. 43.) "It is said that gold is dear, Bank notes cheap; but Bank notes are of the same value as gold!" Thus stated, the proposition certainly appears absurd; but we would just observe that it is a perversion of the following: that Bank notes bear their usual proportion to the *average value* of gold, but that gold has now experienced a temporary rise of price *in the home market* above that average.

Let us now proceed to inquire,

2. Into the cause of this difference in value. This is asserted in the Report to be the excessive issue of Bank paper producing a corresponding excess in the whole amount of our currency (See Rep. and Mr. H. *passim*). Now it is very certain that such a cause, *if founded in fact*, would produce the effect ascribed to it. But it is also certain that the same effect might equally arise from other causes. If the rate of exchange be (as it *will be presently shewn to be in fact*) very much against this

country, in consequence of the great excess of payments which it has to make abroad, beyond those which it has to receive from thence; and if, from the state of commercial regulations on the continent, where the demand against us exists, bullion must of necessity be exported to pay the balance to a larger amount than usual in proportion to the whole debt; *then* the demand for bullion at home will of course very much raise its price as a commodity. But it will leave (as we think) all other commodities, and the paper or currency representing them, of the same relative value with each other, and with the original and average price of gold\*, which they bore before this temporary and extraordinary rise in the latter took place: just as a demand for neutral ships in time of war will raise the price of their tonnage, although they are not intrinsically more valuable than the ships of the belligerents. For example, suppose six pounds of wool to be worth a guinea, or a guinea's worth of corn, wine, or other commodity, when gold and general currency are at par: a demand for gold to export suddenly raises its price at home a seventh part, and 5 dwt.  $8\frac{1}{2}$  grains of gold bullion become equivalent to a seventh part more of corn, wool, or other commodity; may not a seventh part more of general currency, or 24 shillings in paper, be also given for the guinea's weight of gold, without any injury to the state or to the proprietor of the paper? Twenty-one shillings in currency or paper would still buy as much in the market *as it would before*, or as the 5 dwt.  $8\frac{1}{2}$  grains of gold would have exchanged for before extraneous circumstances raised its price; and, strictly speaking, currency and commodities would not be really depreciated or *lowered in value*, but gold bullion would be raised in value.

It is true, that this rise in the price of gold would, *according to the stated rules of political economy, lower the price* of all other commodities in the market, and consequently have a tendency to force their export; which in ordinary times would restore the rate of exchange and the value of gold to its original state. But (omitting the considerations in the last paragraph) what would be the consequence if such difficulties or prohibitions existed against the admission of these exports into the place of their consignment, as would prevent or much diminish speculation in them in the home market even at any price? Would not such violent interference with the natural order of things entirely prevent the remedy? Would not the debtor country, in fact, be reduced to the dilemma either of giving up all commercial connection with, or other creation of debt to the hostile power, or of giving up its general principles, and substituting bullion in

\* The average price of gold in England is of course intended to be expressed by the mint price.

exportation for the goods which are refused? Turn the subject in any possible way, one of these two conclusions seems the inevitable result. If, therefore, under these circumstances, the debtor country is resolved by inclination, or reduced by necessity, to create a further balance of debt against itself with the creditor country, we confess that the most eligible mode of settling the difference appears to us to be that, which still leaves to the former the power of giving full scope to the industry of its inhabitants at home. It is obvious that this can only be done by the exportation of gold, and a temporary substitution of paper currency in the domestic circulation.

It is also true that gold then ceases for a time to be the standard of value, and is succeeded by another much more fluctuating and inconvenient. The standard being now, as we conceive, *such a value in the market as would have been represented by any given quantity of gold expressed in coin, had no extraordinary rise in its price taken place, and which is now represented by paper referring to such a value.* Some may be disposed to assert that this is no standard at all. But in truth, perhaps, it is fixing the standard in PUBLIC OPINION. Let us see what Mr. Bosanquet says on this subject:

“If a pound note be the *denomination*, it will of course be asked what is the *standard*? The question is not easy of solution. But, considering the high proportion which the dealings between government and the public bear to the general circulation, it is probable the standard may be found in those transactions; and it seems not more difficult to imagine that the standard value of a one pound note may be the interest of 3l. 6s. 8d. 3 per cent stock, than that such standard has reference to a metal of which none remains in circulation, and of which the annual supply, even as a commodity, does not amount to one-twentieth part of the foreign expences of government in one year.” (B. p. 123.)

We pretend not to be the advocates for the convenience or eligibility of any of these as the standard of value. Indeed, we confess that Mr. Bosanquet's speculation on the subject appears to us rather fanciful. It is a nice and difficult question; and although we think our own explanation not unsatisfactory, our wish to throw all possible light upon it induces us to subjoin an opinion which we have received from a friend, to whom the utmost deference is due on subjects of this nature. “If (as I think) the standard of value, previously to the Bank Restriction Bill, was the pound sterling in legal gold or silver coin, it will be difficult to say at what time it ceased to be so. *Not* when the price of commodities rose;—*not* when the exchange turned against us;—*not* when bullion rose above the mint price; because all these circumstances might occur, and have occurred, while

the Bank was paying in specie. In short, I believe it to be equally the standard still, and that the difficulty lies in applying other objects to that standard, and in ascertaining that the representative currency still conforms to it."

Now we think that if our readers will take the trouble to compare this opinion with that which we have ourselves given, they will perceive a sufficient agreement between them to come to something like a satisfactory conclusion. They may, perhaps, be disposed to agree, that the standard of value *is in fact* the pound sterling of legal coin; but that, from the general absence of such coin, this standard can be set up only in the imagination, or, as we have ventured to observe, in the PUBLIC OPINION. Whether the standard, however, to which our paper currency is referred be good or bad, we still contend for *the necessity of the case*, which our reasoning in a preceding paragraph\*, *is founded in fact*, seems to demonstrate.

The next enquiry, therefore, is as to the matter of *fact*: and the question appears to be this. Since either cause, viz. excess in the issue of paper currency on the one hand, or the extraordinary rise in the price of gold on the other, is sufficient to account for the difference in value between gold and paper; to which will facts warrant us in ascribing it? The great difference took place about two years ago, and has continued to this time. We must, therefore, 1st, Ascertain whether the issue of paper just previous to, and during that period, has exceeded the fair wants of the merchant, manufacturer, and farmer; and whether any reasonable proof has been adduced of the actual existence of such excess? Should this not be the case, we must inquire, 2dly, Whether the rate of exchange, in consequence of the balance of payments, be not *really* as well as nominally against England, and whether an *absolute necessity* does not exist for a *continual exportation* of bullion to pay the difference, so long as it can be had at almost any price for the purpose?

1st. What have been the increased demands for paper currency in the last two years compared with its supply? In the first place, the specie withdrawn from circulation has amounted to a large sum, certainly not less than several millions. It is acknowledged at Amsterdam that not less than two millions of guineas were coined in Holland into ducats in the year 1809 only. Next, the real value of our exports in 1809 exceeded the average of the four preceding years by thirteen millions: of this excess a large proportion consisted of British manufactures; and although such of these as were consigned to the continent but very partially arrived at their destination, yet to manufacture and export them required currency and capital.

\* See p. 25, par. beginning "It is true."

The number of inclosure and canal acts in 1809 and 1810 amounted to two hundred and eighty. The produce of the Customs and Excise has been gradually increasing. In 1810 the Customs exceeded their produce in 1809 by a million:—the Excise, a principal criterion of internal prosperity, by 1,170,000*l.* The Stamps produced an increase of 300,000*l.*, and the whole surplus of the Consolidated Fund in 1809 was 4,448,719*l.* 14*s.* 4½*d.*; while that of 1810 was 7,652,098*l.* and a fraction, making a total excess above the estimated produce of the taxes of more than twelve millions sterling in two years.

These are pretty solid proofs of increased internal industry, and consequently of a rapidly increasing demand for circulating medium; and we apprehend that the currency which supplies it cannot be deemed the part that *is excessive*. We may, however, add what is obvious to the senses of every man who travels about the country; that canals are cutting in every direction, and new ones constantly projected; that immense improvements are daily set on foot by capital laid out on old inclosed lands, in draining, embanking, &c. or in useful or ornamental buildings. Operations that give comfort and sustenance to thousands during their progress, and most of which, when completed, will afford enjoyment to our posterity, long after the temporary question concerning the currency which promoted them shall have ceased to agitate men's minds. All these, of course, require at present a proportionate addition of currency to circulate their produce, or pay the wages of the labour employed upon them\*.

To supply this deficiency, and these demands, the Bank has issued an additional quantity of notes, to the amount of about 2,500,000*l.*; nearly 1,300,000*l.* of which being small notes, are intended to replace in part the coin withdrawn from circulation in London and the neighbourhood. About one hundred and thirty new country banks have been established, many of whose notes (being small notes) are of course intended to replace the coin withdrawn from circulation in the country districts. The old established country banks have also in some degree increased their issues. But great mistakes have been propagated with respect to the total increase of country paper currency. The Report (p. 28, 29.) has stated as *a fact*, that the issue of country

\* We think it necessary here to remind our readers, that although an increase in the total amount of the currency of a country, the quantity of commodities to be circulated by it remaining the same, does certainly diminish the value of that currency; yet, by parity of reasoning, a corresponding increase of both leaves things just as they were before. The same relative quantity of currency and commodities continued for eleven years after the Bank Restriction, without altering the rate of exchange, or materially raising the value of bullion; effects which only occurred when other causes intervened sufficient (as we shall see) to account for them.

paper experienced in the year ending 10th October, 1809, an increase of 3,095,340l.; and it asserts as an invariable *principle*, that any increase in the quantity of Bank of England paper will be followed by a corresponding one in that of the country banks:—"The foundation being enlarged, the superstructure admits a proportionate extension." (Rep. p. 28.) Mr. Bosanquet appears to us so completely to disprove the *fact* and confute the principle, that we must give the passage at length.

"Referring to documents received from the stamp-office, the Report states that in 1809 the number of stamps on notes re-issuable in the classes between 2l. 2s. and 20l. alone, indicate on an average calculation an increased issue of notes to the amount of 3,095,340l. beyond that of 1805; whence they infer an increased circulation to that extent. The statement is given thus:—

"Number of country-bank notes exceeding 2l. 2s. each stamped in the years ending 10th October 1808, and 10th October 1809.

	1808.	1809.
Exceeding 2l. 2s. and not exceeding 5l. 5s.	666,071l.	—922,073l.
Exceeding 5l. 5s. and not exceeding 20l.	198,473l.	—380,006l.

Averaging the first class at 5l. and the second at 10l. the stated result is produced. Considering the authority from whence the statement proceeds, there is not, I am persuaded, one reader in a hundred who has doubted its fairness, or the justness of its application; yet I am bound to impeach both. Extracting from the documents of the stamp-office a similar comparative statement for the years 1805, 1806, and 1809, it will stand thus:—

	1805.	1806.	1809.
Exceeding 2l. 2s. and not exceeding 5l. 5s. - - - }	823,460.	—832,940.	—922,073.
Exceeding 5l. 5s. and not exceeding 20l. - - - }	302,600.	—323,100.	—380,006.

"Adopting the calculation of the Committee it will be found that the increased circulation in 1809 beyond that of 1806 is 512,000l. IN THREE YEARS, instead of 3,095,000 in A SINGLE YEAR; and *this is the fair mode of comparison*: for the Report states that these notes are RE-ISSUABLE FOR THREE YEARS; those issued in 1806 are therefore renewed in 1809, as those of 1805 are in 1808. The aggregate issue of the two years 1808 and 1809 is less than that of 1805 and 1806 by 115,477 stamps, equal to 775,000l."

So much for the accuracy of the fact. We proceed to the justness of the principle.

"Had the statement been a fair and correct one, it would yet have been inapplicable to the case, (of proving the issues of country paper to *increase* in proportion to that of Bank of England notes.) Antecedently to June 1809 no increase had taken place in the amount of Bank (of England) notes beyond the circulation of 1808; yet it appears by the return from the stamp-office, No. 53,

that the increased demand for stamps alluded to by the Committee took place in the latter end of 1809 and beginning of 1809," (when the current coin first began to find its way abroad in large quantities) "and that, as the issue of Bank (of England) notes increased between July 1809 and May 1810, the issue of stamps for country notes *materially diminished*."

"Number of stamps of the classes before stated issued in the following quarters."

In the quarter ending Jan. 5, 1809	-	465,071	
April 5, - - -	-	324,008	
July 5, - - -	-	371,960	
		<hr/>	1,161,039

"Between July 1809 and May 1810 the amount of Bank (of England) notes increased from 18 to 21 millions. The issue of stamps for country notes (of the same classes) was

In the quarter ending Oct. 1809	-	221,719	
Jan. - - -	-	284,658	
April - - -	-	262,365	
		<hr/>	768,742

Issue less in the last three quarters - 392,297  
which would imply a *reduction* in the country circulation, so far as the evidence of the stamps goes, of 2,600,000*l.* during the period in which the Bank circulation *was increased* very nearly to the *same amount*: had this fact been noticed by the Committee, it might perhaps have led them to inquire, whether the Bank Directors could trace their *increased issue* to any cause connected with the *diminution* of country bank notes." Mr. B. p. 80, et seq.

We do not hesitate indeed to qualify the connection supposed in the Report, between an increase of Bank of England notes and country bank notes, as nothing less than a NOTORIOUS ERROR, (p. 79). We consider the mode, in which this error is stated as an infallible truth in the Report, to be peculiarly worthy of the attention of the reader. It will serve to shew him the necessity of the caution which we ventured to recommend in the general character of the Report given at the outset of this article. The same observation also applies to Mr. Huskisson. Let any one refer to p. 28 of the Report (folio edition) also to p. 39, 40. of Mr. H.'s pamphlet, and consider the appearance of logical precision, and the imposing phrases drawn from the political economists in which the statement is made. Nothing in Adam Smith, or Sir James Steuart, has a more plausible or correct appearance: and we will venture to assert that until Mr. B. shewed its entire fallacy in fact and principle, it was generally received as a very conclusive piece of argument. A plain man who had ventured to doubt the fact thus supposed to be con-

clusively proved by speculative reasoning, would have been very roughly handled by the gentlemen who pique themselves on the universal application and infallibility of the theorems of political economy. Yet a point blank shot or two, by no means projected from ordnance of an extraordinary calibre, serves to shatter into atoms the shewy "superstructure," and the "foundation" being *completely removed*, we trust that there will be a "*proportionate*" difficulty in re-establishing the building.

Having given this complete refutation of the fact and principle advanced by the Committee, (the latter of which we must beg the reader to bear in mind for a future occasion,) we think ourselves authorized to carry an addition of country paper to the amount of between 5 and 600,000, to the increased circulation of Great Britain in the last two years. Within that period no improved modes of any importance appear to have been invented for settling the balance between merchants and bankers, without the intervention of currency\*; though some increased accommodation must certainly have been given: for it seems barely possible that the portion of increase in the general currency, which a fair consideration of the preceding paragraph and extract would establish, could have been otherwise sufficient for the various wants and employment of the industrious part of the community. So far has it been from running into excess.

Still more direct proof of this fact, however, is not wanting. It appears from pp. 88, 89, of Mr. B.'s pamphlet, that the amount of our currency, which in 1793 was about equal to the sum annually paid in taxes to the revenue, is now, exclusive of country paper, equal to little more than one-fourth of *that sum*. That Mr. B.'s calculation in this respect is correct appears plain, if we consider that the payments on the consolidated fund and war taxes in 1810 amounted to 63 millions, about three times the greatest amount of Bank of England notes. To which must be added the sums paid into the Exchequer on loans. At the same time the increased price of every article of subsistence evidently requires

\* The bankers settling-house, about which so much is said in the Report as of a *new invention*, (see p. 26,) has been established 35 years: a trifling improvement in the mode of settling the accounts took place a few years ago. It appears from the evidence of Mr. Thomas, that 46 bankers send their clerks every evening to this house: that the average amount of the drafts they *daily* bring thither is *four millions seven hundred thousand pounds!* A general interchange of the drafts drawn upon each banker takes place, and the average balance remaining to be paid in Bank notes is about 220,000*l.*; except upon particular days, such as settling days at the Stock Exchange and India prompts, when the balance is about 500,000*l.* But then the daily amount of the drafts is about *fourteen millions!* What a picture of the transactions of the metropolis!



a larger nominal currency to circulate it. Moreover, in p. 128 et seq. (Mr. B.) there is a passage too long for insertion in this place, which gives fair ground for concluding, that the whole amount of the present circulating currency of Great Britain scarcely exceeds that which existed in 1793.

We cannot resist the claim upon our impartiality which one other passage of Mr. B.'s on this subject has for insertion at length. It seems to shew that *according to the past and present practice of the merchants and of the Bank, the latter cannot possibly maintain an excess of their paper in circulation.*

“There exists in the commercial world that degree of disinclination to discount at the Bank, which leads every man to recur to his banker for assistance before he sends his paper to the Bank; and, on the other hand, a banker does not allow a respectable customer to go to the Bank for accommodation, whilst he can with any convenience furnish it himself. This is in some measure matter of feeling on both sides; and not only so; for the Bank advances money on bills of a particular description only, and is undeviating in its adherence to rules and even to forms; neither does it take bills as a security for money to be repaid at the will of the borrower, as bankers do; but assumes the property in the bills, deducting discount for the whole term unexpired; so that a party wanting money for a week must pay two months interest for it, if he have no bills at shorter date to offer.

“I have already shewn with what degree of rapidity money finds its level among the bankers in London; and it results therefore as a general inference, that whilst there is money unemployed to spare in the city, discounters of the first class will not present themselves at the Bank: this statement will lead, I apprehend, to an explanation of the answer of the Directors to the inquiry of the Committee, as to any rule by which they regulate their issues of notes, so as to prevent excess.

“So long as the amount of notes in the hands of the public is not more than the parties holding them are willing to retain in their hands unemployed, for the purpose of making their daily payments, there is *obviously no excess* of that description which influences the price of commodities. When the amount goes beyond this the surplus instantly fastens on the best bills, and most eligible government-securities, chiefly on the first; and the effect even of a very small surplus will, (whilst it continues,) be surprisingly great. If it fall into the hands of any discounteer who has occasion to pay money to the revenue boards, or to the Bank, the notes are cancelled, and the excess removed. If otherwise, the same sum of 50,000*l.* may pass successively through the hands of every banker in Lombard-street, and absorb in its passage all the best bills in the market to an unlimited amount; for if A. a merchant borrow it of B. a banker, he immediately pays it away to C., who deposits it without loss of time, (indeed, as I observed before, he never withdraws it,) with the

same, or other bankers. But however often this transaction takes place during the day, it makes no real reduction in the supposed excess of notes, which will be as superabundant after the last discount it has effected as before the first. But the case will be speedily altered; the demand for discounts at the Bank is diminished on the morrow to the extent of the multiplied accommodation afforded by the excess, whilst its calls on the public for the payment of discounted bills falling due is undiminished.

“The redundancy of notes reverts therefore, (and in more than a due proportion, which accounts for some of the effects frequently experienced,) to the Bank, more being paid in than are taken out, and the amount in circulation is diminished.

“The recurrence of a demand for notes by the first class of discounters, (those which the Directors distinguish as solid paper for real transactions,) will indicate at once the abatement of the excess: and it does appear to me that the rule which the Directors have stated is a sufficient one.

“The effectual and rapid operation of this controul over the Bank issues receives satisfactory illustration, by reference to the amount of Bank notes in circulation at the periods immediately preceding and following the issue of dividends; the increased circulation arising from an issue on each of these occasions of upwards of five millions being *within a very few days hardly perceptible*?”

“In April, 1809, for instance, immediately preceding the payment of the dividends, the amount of notes of 5*l.* and upwards was - - - - - 13,000,000

“Subsequently to the 11th April an issue took place of four millions, yet on the 7th of May the amount in circulation was only - - - - - 13,100,000

“On the 7th July, after the quarterly payment had been made to the Bank, and when the circulation was at its lowest ebb, the amount of notes above 5*l.* was - - - - - 12,800,000

“And of the issue of seven millions between the 11th and the end of the month, no evidence appeared on the 7th of August beyond a circulation of - - - - - 13,100,000

“It is observable, that although the January and July dividends exceed by three millions those of the other quarters, there is no *perceptible* difference in the period within which the circulation is reduced within the average amount.” (B. pp. 57 et seq.)

This passage, besides the curious and detailed account it exhibits of commercial contrivance and accommodation in the metropolis, seems not only conclusive on the subject of excess, but clearly shews the futility of the distinction attempted to be set up between that part of the Bank paper which is issued as *capital*, and that which continues circulating as *currency*. Without entering minutely into the grounds of the distinction, it is sufficient to observe, that if any paper is issued as *capital*, which

when it is thrown into circulation as *currency* is found to be superabundant, the excess immediately reverts to the Bank.

It is now time to inquire what proofs of the actual excess of currency the report and its abettors have to oppose to this mass of evidence. Extensive bankruptcies and many abortive speculations? True, they have occurred. But considering the present state of Europe, and of the world, it seems scarcely reasonable to ascribe any large portion of either to the facilities afforded to desperate adventure by an abundant currency. Our merchants have been violently excluded from all their accustomed channels, and many of their accustomed markets; and have been obliged to open for themselves new sources and channels of commerce at their own risk. Many have succeeded, and have thereby benefited their country as well as themselves. Some, from the nature of things, have failed; and (however the expression may excite a smile) are sufferers in their country's cause. For it has been both directly and indirectly benefited by their speculations. To consider *that* as excess which has enabled enterprising men to explore these new regions, is to check the spirit which has made England what it is, and which for the benefit of mankind has always animated British merchants.

That some adventurers have speculated partly on fictitious capitals, and that some paper currency founded on little or no capital exists, we pretend not to deny: if it be capable, (as perhaps it is,\*) of any other check than what the sufferings and example of the imprudent speculators afford, such check should certainly be applied. But to argue from a trifling and partial abuse against the fair use of an object, is too trite to require further comment.

What other proofs are offered of the excess of paper currency? We can discover none but these two; first the high price of bullion in the home market, and next the low state of the continental exchanges: they are alleged as proofs, because they are both asserted to arise from such excess, and not to be ascribable to any other cause. This brings us, therefore, to our second and principal consideration, viz.

2dly. Whether the rate of exchange, in consequence of the balance of debt and of payments, be not *really* as well as nominally very much against England, and whether an *absolute necessity* do not exist for a constant export of bullion to pay the difference? For, as we have before observed, it is evident, if these facts are so, that neither the high price of bullion in the home market

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\* See the latter end of this article.

nor the low state of continental exchanges *could be* caused by an excess in paper currency, but are to be ascribed to very different circumstances.

The exchange with the continent of Europe is allowed on all hands to have been about 15 per cent. against Great Britain, for twelve or fifteen months preceding the date of the Report; and we think it may be concluded, indeed it is admitted also, that the *original* cause of the depression, as far as it is *real*, is to be ascribed to the enemy's severe penal decrees against our commerce, which he had shortly before begun effectually to enforce. Now it is asserted that this evil would soon have remedied itself had specie been the foundation of our currency; inasmuch as more than one half, or 8 per cent. of the depression, is *nominal*, and arises from the difference in value between our currency and bullion, which is now the foundation of all exchange transactions. The remaining 7 per cent. it is said, would soon have rectified itself by a forced export of commodities.

The mode in which these propositions are attempted to be made out is as follows: and we beg the reader's particular attention to them.

It is said, (see Rep. pp. 10. 13. and Mr. H. pp. 51. 52.) that the *real* depression of the exchange can never exceed for any length of time the expence of transporting bullion from the debtor to the creditor country; (this expence from England to the continent is about 7 per cent.) in fact, that it will scarcely ever sink so low as to make it worth while to transport bullion. For if a balance of debt is owing from one country to another, from England to the continent for example, it will be settled without such transmission in the following manner. The existence of the unfavourable balance will, of course, cause bills upon England to be offered for sale in the markets of the continent to an extent which exceeds the demand for them. "Their price, like that of any other article under similar circumstances, must fall; and the exchange, which we will suppose to have been before at par, will of course turn against England. But to this fall there are limits in the competition of the buyers; this competition commences as soon as those bills are offered at such a price as enables the buyer to use the credit which he obtains in England by the purchase of such a bill, either as the means of paying for goods for which he has already contracted, or of buying others for exportation, so as to afford him a profitable employment for the capital engaged in the transaction." (Mr. H. p. 50.) "In proportion as these bills are bought at a greater difference below par, is any holder of them enabled to buy goods cheaper in England;" and as the goods are bought for exportation, "an

unfavourable course of exchange operates as a bounty upon all exports, and a tax upon all imports, by the joint operation of which, in all ordinary cases, *without any transmission of bullion*, the real exchange is brought back to its PAR, and probably rises above it." (Mr. H. p. 52.) The *balance of payments* therefore as founded upon the *balance of trade*, is a mere chimera, "trade being only an exchange of equivalents." Neither is it more real in case of a debt contracted for any service performed, or other consideration, as it will then be settled by the purchase of depreciated bills, and subsequently of goods for exportation in the manner just described. If, indeed, the fall in the real exchange exceed the expence of transmitting bullion, some will be exported; but such exportation could never be great in amount, or long in duration, inasmuch as it tends to a rapid improvement in the exchange by forcing the exportation, and diminishing the importation of all other goods.

"The principle and its application are the same, whether we contemplate only one transaction, or embrace the aggregate result of all the different transactions in trade, and of all subsidies and government expenditure abroad on the one hand, and payments to be made here on the other, as well as all other causes and speculations influencing the bill-market on both sides of the water." (Mr. H. p. 53.)

Such are briefly the arguments adduced, and they evidently arrange themselves under three heads. The difference between the real and nominal exchange; the restoration of the exchange to par by the *export of goods*; and the inference drawn from this last-mentioned proposition, that no extraordinary demand for gold for exportation can exist.

Mr. Blake, upon whose data the Committee and Mr. H. implicitly rely in this part of the subject, asserts that the nominal exchange is, "the ratio, which the total amount of the currency in one country bears to the commodities to be circulated by it, compared with the ratio that the currencies of other countries bear to the commodities which they are respectively employed to circulate." Resting upon this definition, he asserts that the country where the currency is in excess and depreciated would of course pay more of it in exchange against the undepreciated currency of another; and this quantum of increased nominal payment, (upon 100l. for example,) would be just so much in addition to that sum as would procure credit for a hundred pounds worth of goods in the market where the currency was undepreciated. This will cost 105l. in a country where currency *through excess* is depreciated 5 per cent. 110l. where 10 per cent. and so on; and the nominal exchange will

be 5 or 10 per cent against such country. This may evidently happen, although the *real* exchange arising from the balance of payments be at par, or above it; and the computed exchange is the difference which is *actually paid*, taking *both causes* into consideration; striking a balance if the *real* exchange be in favour of one country, and the nominal exchange of the other; or adding the two sums together, should the real and nominal exchange be both in favour of the same country.

Now with great submission, we cannot help thinking that Mr. Blake, and consequently Mr. H. and the Committee, have run into great errors on this subject: they appear to confound the effect which the depreciated currency may have upon the exchange with the exchange itself. If, for instance, the exchange being at par between England and Hamburgh, and prices equal in the two countries, prices should from any intervening cause rise 10 per cent. in England, it is not (we think) true, that an English merchant will give 110*l.* for 100*l.* at Hamburgh, but he will remit his 110*l.* to Hamburgh, and purchase goods there worth 121*l.* in England. Again, the Hamburgh merchant who has a credit in England, or has sent goods thither, will draw it away in bills or bullion, and not in goods; and in this manner the balance of payments will be turned against England and the exchange fall. But this is evidently a *real* and not a nominal exchange. And this will be the case in most instances where the intercourse is uninterrupted. But when, from peculiar circumstances, a rise of prices does not diminish exportation, it will raise the exchange, as Sir Francis Baring pointed out.

The fallacy seems to be in their erroneously making *bullion*, without reference to coin, the measure of value, which, we believe, it has never been in any country in modern times except China.

Definitions are always dangerous, particularly on subjects like the present, where it is so easy to dispute their correctness by stringing together a few plausible propositions with the semblance of scientific precision.

But we believe the most correct as well as the most simple idea of real exchange to be,

The ratio which the legal currencies (of full weight and fineness) of two countries bear to each other in their reciprocal payments.

And of the nominal exchange,

The ratio expressed in the denominations of their respective legal currencies, which the actual currencies of two countries bear to each other in their reciprocal payments, when the actual currency of either or both is depreciated below its legal standard.

Still, however, it is evident that a real depreciation of currency

must exist in that country against which the existence of a nominal exchange can be proved.

Let us see, therefore, how far facts bear out the Committee in their opinion, that circumstances have not continually arisen in this country and the continent to keep the *real* exchange against England lower than the expence of transmitting bullion; and, consequently, how far they authorise us to assert that there is no necessity to infer from this circumstance the existence of an unfavourable *nominal* exchange. Mr. B. states (p. 16.) that from the beginning of 1797 to the middle of 1799, the exchange between Hamburgh and Great Britain was continually in favour of the latter, to an amount *more than twice* as great as the *expence* of transmitting gold; and for eighteen months of the time considerably more. "Yet this profit does not appear to have occasioned any considerable importation of gold, which during this period rose to the mint price, although for several years before it had nominally at least been below it." In the years 1764 and 1768 a similar circumstance, only of a much stronger nature, occurred; (Mr. B. p. 17.) and again in 1804 and 1805; (p. 18.) and in all these cases the facilities of commercial intercourse were much greater than at present. But these perhaps may be said to have been "occasional depressions;" whereas that now existing between Great Britain and the continent has been inferred by the Committee to be *permanent*, (see Rep. *passim*,) as least so long as the British currency continues in its present state. But how is the *fact*? It appears that, although in the autumn of 1809 the exchange against England was eight per cent. lower than the expence of transmitting bullion; yet from November in that year to the time of presenting the Report in the summer of 1810, and ever since, (to Dec. 1810,) the improvement has been such, that the exchange has never been lower than two per cent. beyond the expence of transmitting bullion; *and all this has happened, notwithstanding our paper currency remains to the full as EXCESSIVE as before.* We may therefore be allowed to regret, "that the passage in the Report referring to the extreme of the lowest depression of the exchange was not expunged, as the event had proved it to be one of those *temporary effects* which the Committee had previously determined to disregard." There is, however, reason to suppose that this improvement in the exchange arose from a temporary relaxation in the enforcement of the hostile edicts against our commerce with the continent, the knowledge of which has now produced Bonaparte's famous burning decrees; and it is more than probable that these decrees, by excluding British goods more strictly than

ever from the continent, will depress the exchange in the same proportion; if, indeed, any course of exchange can be established under these circumstances. Coffee bought in England at 1s. 3d. the pound, and exported to Heligoland, is now (Jan. 1811,) selling in that island at 3d. the pound.

Again, Mr. Greffuhle states in his evidence, "that during the depreciation of English currency on the continent a premium was paid for it in America in hard dollars." Now it is clear, that unless the balance of our trade and payments with America were so unfavourable to that country as to absorb a great nominal as well as real exchange, (which there is no reason to suppose,) a stronger proof than the above-mentioned fact cannot be brought that our currency was not *depreciated* below the *average value* of other currencies; for if it were, "all exchanges must equally feel the effect of the depreciation."

Such are the grounds for concluding, *a priori*, that no part of the unfavourable exchange which existed against us could be called nominal, as arising from the real depreciation of our currency. The discussion of the two remaining propositions will fortify this conclusion, by laying open the method in which the *real* exchange was *actually depressed* to so extraordinary a degree below par.

Now as to the restoration of an unfavourable exchange to par in the manner lately quoted from Mr. Huskisson's pamphlet, it is perfectly evident that the *whole force* of the argument consists in the supposition, *that the holders of the cheaply purchased bills upon England* will be able to procure for them *English goods*, and *freely to export* those goods to the *continental markets*. This is the acknowledged view with which the bills are bought. But after what has been stated in the earlier pages of this article, we apprehend that it would be quite superfluous now to enter into any detail to shew the utter impossibility that this object can be accomplished. The existing edicts against our commerce must necessarily, and in proportion to their strict execution, diminish the quantity of exports to the continent, and indeed if they are fully enforced, altogether put a stop to any purchases of bills upon England\*, except in the

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\* Mr. Huskisson, in his examination before the Committee for inquiring into the expedition to the Scheldt, states the *very great difficulty* found in negotiating bills upon the continent. Indeed there can be no doubt that if the purchase of a bill upon England is exposed, by violent and tyrannical laws, to the probable loss of all which he purchases the bill to procure, he will buy fewer bills, and give much less for those few, than he would be disposed to do upon a mere contemplation of the ordinary difference of exchange resulting from the state of trade and balance of payments; just as any other prudent dealer would apportion his price and his desire to purchase to the chance he has of enjoying the object in his view.



small degree in which the continental merchants may be disposed to purchase English goods for exportation to the distant regions of the world. But will not bullion go to make up the difference? *Certainly it will*; and it has gone in large quantities; and so far is completely falsified the position that a *balance of payments, in the present state of things, is not necessarily made in bullion* in consequence of an unfavourable exchange. But will it thereby be restored to par so long as England continues to incur an increased demand from the continent by an annual foreign expenditure there of near eleven millions\* (Mr. B. p. 41.), by purchases of corn to the amount of some millions †, by a delay of several months in receiving payment for such of her exports as reach their destination, while her own merchants pay in ready money, and finally, by the loss of remittances on American account to the amount of six or seven millions ‡; and all this while the continent continues taking every year a diminished quantity of our goods, and consequently decreasing the demands of England upon the continental merchants? *Certainly not.* On the contrary, the gradually increasing balance of payments against us under these circumstances, must gradually increase the *necessity* of exporting bullion to discharge it; and this operation must be repeated so long as bullion can be procured. But half the produce of the mines of the precious metals would not be sufficient to satisfy this continually increasing demand; and as England has lately *even sent* § bullion to the *Brazils* instead of receiving it from thence, and much of that from the Spanish colonies now goes direct to the mother country, instead of being, as formerly, transmitted through England, it follows that the supply is diminished while the demand is increased. This deficiency may perhaps at first have been made up by such parts of our coin as could be surreptitiously withdrawn from circulation and exported. But when this resource was exhausted, it is evident that the price of bullion must have risen in the home market from *the difficulty of procuring it, and not from*

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\* Mr. Blake states our foreign expenditure at twenty-one millions, but on very vague and unsatisfactory grounds.

† Mr. Bosanquet proves that the balance of payments due to the continent in 1809, upon comparing the demands against us, and our exports (including bullion) to satisfy those demands, exceeded two millions; and this reckoning *all goods exported* to have reached the places of their consignment, and to have been paid for, and omitting many items of demand against us that could not be accurately ascertained.

‡ While the American trade with Europe was free, a sum to the amount stated in the text, due to the Americans for goods exported to the continent, was remitted to England to pay the debts incurred here by the Americans. This remittance is now at an end.

§ See Mr. Gressfully's evidence.

any excess of paper currency; for were there no substitute for specie the price of bullion would rise ten times higher, or the commerce and operations carried on by it must be abandoned. But how will this operate upon the exchange? It is certain that in proportion to the difficulty and expence of procuring bullion for transmission will the English merchant be content to submit to an increased loss on the exchange by bills; and this not in consequence of any increase in the expence of transmitting bullion, but of purchasing it at home. So that by the natural operation of these two causes, the necessary consequence must be, that the price of bullion would be raised to an extraordinary degree at home, while the price of bills upon England would be depressed to an extraordinary degree abroad, without any intervention of a nominal exchange or excess in paper currency; the very existing phenomena which have been ascribed solely to these causes by the Committee. For surely no man can be so enamoured of a quibble as to contend, (in the face of all the evidence in the preceding pages against the existence of excess or real depreciation in our currency) that a part of the present difference in the rate of exchange is nominal, because it is accompanied by an increased value of bullion as a commodity in the home market; when it is evidently shewn, not only that this increased value has arisen almost entirely from the demand created by its being the only convenient article of export, but that a diminution in the amount of our currency, which always cures an unfavourable nominal exchange, would in this instance very much aggravate the evil\*. The whole depression must, therefore, be an unfavourable real exchange, caused by an extraordinary diminution in the value of bills upon England in the foreign bill market. Mr. Huskisson and the Committee have taken great pains to prove that no extraordinary demand for gold exists upon the continent. Mr. Bosanquet shews some causes for doubting this fact: and it very clearly appears from the evidence of Mr. Greffuhle and Mr. Goldsmidt, as well as from Mr. Rutherford's pamphlet, entitled "Hints from Holland," that the price of gold, with very trifling exceptions, is, and has been, really as high abroad as in England. We believe for two reasons, 1st, The great demand for gold to pay the French contributions and supply their armies: 2d, That spirit of hoarding which is always produced by a state of alarm and distrust; particularly when a paper currency is rapidly falling into discredit, as is now the case in the great empires of Austria and Russia. We state this as a further corroboration of the general character

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\* By diminishing the power of exporting bullion.

for *soundness of reasoning* and for *foundation in fact* which we thought it our duty to give of the Report and Mr. H.'s pamphlet. But with respect to the truth of our own arguments, we conceive that it would by no means be impeached whether the price of gold were high or low upon the continent. We presume that no man will contend that gold is a *mere drug* there, or that its merchants will not take it in exchange for their commodities. The *demand* then (to make out our argument) need only exist (as we have shewn it to do) among our own merchants in the British bullion market, that they may pay their debts, or purchase those goods, upon the import of which into this country they make a profit.

We trust that the reader, whose patience and perseverance have enabled him to follow us through the preceding pages, is now prepared to admit, that in the relative state of England and the rest of Europe,

1. The difference in the value of paper currency, as referred to gold, has not arisen from any REAL DEPRECIATION of the former, or excess in its amount; not only because no excess beyond the fair wants of the industrious part of the community has in fact been proved, but also because the inferences drawn to prove it from the state of exchange and high price of bullion fall to the ground; inasmuch as,

2. The balance of payments having in fact been very much against England, and an *absolute necessity* having existed for the payment of that balance by the exportation of bullion, its high price is as much the natural consequence of an increased demand for it at home, as the low state of the exchange is of the unfavourable balance of payments, connected with the violent decrees of the enemy; and,

Lastly, that "in these explanations every thing has" (*not*) "*been assumed,*" (Mr. H. p. 42.) This is in truth a very *curious* and *singular* accusation to come from the party which makes it, and after the statement in the preceding pages we do not think it necessary to add one word here in refutation of so very gratuitous an assertion, or to shew on which side the assumption of facts as true, which have afterwards turned out to be false, may be most justly imputed.

We are now come to an end of the first part of the inquiry, viz. as to the past and present effects ascribed to the actual state of our currency. In tracing those effects to their real causes, the reflections that arise are by no means of a consolatory nature to those politicians who think the public prosperity dependent upon the maintenance of our old commercial habits with the continent of Europe.

If it be true that the evils complained of are ultimately to be referred to our creating a debt on the continent, which the rancorous enmity of its tyrant will not allow us to discharge by the ordinary transactions of commerce; there seems to be no other remedy, so long as his prohibitions exist and are enforced, but that we cease in an equal proportion to create a debt. Or, if this is not entirely possible, that we abstain from adding to it by the purchase of any articles which are not absolutely necessary to our existence.

In proportion as we exercise this abstinence will the drain of our specie be checked; and our merchants must endeavour to make up for the diminution of their trade from Europe by opening channels of intercourse with other countries, where they will be treated with more justice and liberality.

Having thus disposed of the question with respect to the past effects of our paper currency, we now proceed to consider its probable future consequences, as well as those of the measures which have been recommended for its regulation.

The first evil that would arise from now fixing upon some precise period, (independent of political events,) for removing the Bank restriction would evidently be, that it would oblige the Bank gradually to contract its discounts and the issue of its notes for the accommodation of merchants within a very limited compass:—probably, as Mr. Blake seems to insinuate in his ingenious pamphlet\*, to nearly one-half of the present amount of notes in circulation; or from 21 millions to 11 millions. Making every allowance for the ingenuity of men of business in contriving substitutes for currency in the circulation of their commodities, this would probably diminish by one-third the commercial transactions of those districts using Bank of England notes. Unless indeed, (as is supposed in the evidence before the Bullion Committee, and as Mr. Atkinson seems to prove,) the chasm were immediately to be filled up by notes issued by individuals or private banks:—in which case the only effect would be to substitute an *insecure* currency for one perfectly *secure and stable*.

Should commerce survive this blow till the opening of the Bank, we cannot doubt but (upon that event taking place) that the holders of Bank paper, as well as of that which was substituted for it, would forthwith carry it in and demand specie in

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\* On the Principles of Exchange. -

exchange, if from the then existing state of our debts and credits on the continent, the extraordinary demand for gold at home, and its consequent high price, should still continue. The Bank, therefore, and the private bankers must purchase gold at 4*l.* 12*s.* an ounce, that it may be ultimately paid to our enemy at 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*\*

And as it has been shewn, that from the nature of the commercial impediments, these purchases and payments would not have their ordinary effect of equalizing the exchange, or making specie more plentiful in the home market, this patriotic and profitable speculation would continue, either till the original issuers of the paper became bankrupt, or the restriction from paying in specie was again imposed upon the Bank, and things replaced *if possible* on the present footing. So that the whole result would probably be nothing more than a very expensive and ruinous experiment.

But it may be said, this reasoning depends upon the supposition, that the commercial difficulties on the continent will still exist in their full force.—If the tyrant of Europe, upon mere speculation, and without any well-reasoned view of success, throws out the present impediments, what would he probably do having two years' notice to prepare his blow effectually? He would, as he well knows how, dissemble his real purpose †, and give notice in the last of those years that he was disposed to become more liberal on commercial subjects, and that his ports would be open under certain conditions to colonial produce and British manufactures.

Our hungry merchants, anxious to improve the exchange, and even our government in hopes of thereby facilitating their remittances to the continent, would forthwith co-operate in glutting the foreign markets with British and colonial produce, *consigned, let it be remembered, with a view of payment at a distant day.* When this was completed, and payment in cash in full operation at the Bank, but *before* any part of our exports were

\* It is true that individuals do now purchase and remit it to the extent in which it can be procured. But the difficulties existing in this respect, which would be in a great measure removed were the restriction taken off, form a very efficient check to an unbounded exportation of bullion; besides, the difference between permitting individuals who make a profit on the whole of their transactions to purchase and pay it away at a higher rate, and imposing the necessity on the Bank or bankers, is the same as the difference between permitting a corn-factor to speculate in corn at his own risk, and imposing the loss of any bad bargain he may make on the keeper of the warehouse where the corn is deposited.

† See his conduct to the Americans, who seem now to be aware that the great affection the tyrant professes for them is nothing more or less than an affection for their property.

paid for, the whole system would be reversed at a blow; and the goods in the tyrant's power confiscated or burned. An irreparable blow would thus be given to private credit at home; alarms and bankruptcies would succeed, and a consequent run upon the Bank and country bankers. To affirm that public credit would not be totally destroyed by such a shock is more than any man could venture. To say that great risk would be incurred of such a consequence is what no man can deny. It is certain that nothing but instantly resuming the restriction could save the nation from utter ruin.

Something like this seems to have been in the contemplation of Mr. Huskisson, when in p. 124, 125, of his pamphlet, he admits that, "in the present extraordinary state of the world a possible combination of circumstances might arise, by which the Bank might be driven to part with its last guinea, not only without having checked the drain, but with the certainty of increasing it in proportion as the amount of their notes was diminished." Yet in the face of this admission he ventures to recommend removing the restriction, on the ground that the experience of the facts and circumstances which gave rise to the difficulties of 1797, and of the two last years, "would render the recurrence of such a crisis less probable," (Mr. H. p. 126). Now with great submission we venture to suggest, that as those facts and circumstances are equally known to our enemy, he would naturally enough consider them as very convenient precedents to follow whenever it answered his purpose to reproduce among us the same difficulties and dangers. Indeed, in the exultation of his heart he has not been able to withhold from us his opinion, (see *Moniteur* soon after the Bullion Report was distributed,) that our resistance to him is near its close, from the moment that the Bank ventures to resume its payments in cash. But had he omitted this taunt, we should not have been the less disposed to admit the general proposition, that we have no right to calculate upon the forbearance of France when she has it in her power materially to injure us.

Another evil likely to arise from the removal of the Bank restriction at a fixed period now to be defined, would be the necessity (if we may be allowed the term) which would be imposed upon the nation of performing an impossibility; viz. of procuring ten or twelve millions sterling of bullion to coin into specie, at a time when our merchants find it difficult to procure even that quantity which they want for their ordinary transactions; and certainly at a time when exports to that amount, (the only means of purchasing it,) could not by any means be

added to our foreign sales, since their present amount falls short of the demand against us from abroad.

If, therefore, it should be proved that the resumption of cash payments were advisable at present, it is pretty clear that it is impossible, and no set of men is held to perform impossibilities.

It should not be omitted also, that the effect of adding so much bullion to our other imports *must be*, in the first instance, to add greatly to the depression of the exchange. If when we have got it at this inconvenience, and when it has been coined and issued from the Bank, it is all re-exported, the operation will only restore the exchange to what it was before this notable expedient was resorted to. If any part of it is retained at home, it will only replace so much paper, and the exchange will be in that proportion *worse than it was*.

These are a few of the evils and inconveniencies which would result from the removal of the Bank restriction at a definite period now to be fixed upon. As to the advantages which have been predicted from the measure, viz. the amelioration of the exchange, and the equalization of the relative values of gold bullion and currency; we think it is already sufficiently proved, that as the opposite evils did not arise from the suspension of cash-payments, so neither would their resumption produce the expected advantages. The expectation could only have arisen in the minds of men from looking at home for the cause of the evil, when they ought to have looked abroad; like the man who ruined his constitution by taking internal medicines to cure a sore foot, which was only injured by *the temporary pressure of a tight shoe*.

Contemplating the procrastination of cash payments at the Bank to an indefinite period, or to one dependent upon a contingency so apparently remote as the renewal of commercial freedom on the continent of Europe, it of course becomes necessary to take a somewhat more extended view of the general effects of paper currency as a permanent circulating medium.

Influenced by considerations, which we shall detail towards the close of this article, we are prepared to admit, that *nothing* but the *necessity of the case* can justify the protracted existence of a currency consisting entirely (or nearly so) of paper.

But it is our wish to enter into a previous investigation of certain evils alleged (*without sufficient cause in our judgment*) to have arisen from this state of things.

One evil, which has made a very general impression upon the public mind, seems to be the *bare circumstance* (unconnected with its political causes, and effects,) of the disappearance of coin from

the circulation; and the apparently absurd phenomenon of a light guinea selling for three shillings more than a heavy one. The attentive reader of this article is not now ignorant of the true causes of both these effects: and as long as our public credit continues unimpaired, we confess ourselves not to be very uneasy that guineas are scarce, and will probably continue so. They certainly constitute a more handsome and gentlemanly currency than dirty paper; but commercially speaking, they are re-issuable notes drawn upon a very expensive though magnificent material. With respect to the precedence which the light guinea has obtained over its more solid and weighty brother, although the fact may be extenuated by a presumed plea of primogeniture, yet it must, upon the whole, be considered as a very unjustifiable usurpation in the current republic: and it seems highly incumbent upon the supreme council of the nation to set this abuse to rights as soon as it can find the means. Till which period, let us hope, that our merchants will not be quite ruined if they leave the brothers to settle the point of etiquette between themselves. This will, perhaps, be the less difficult, as it is a mere question of precedence who shall first be cast into a furnace; and the right is now so fully possessed by the elder branch, that it will soon disappear from before the face of its natural rivals, who in their turn will quietly come into possession of the privilege by right of inheritance. Thus it is to be feared will be removed the grounds of the entertaining epigram concerning the light and heavy guinea.

Again, it has been alleged as an evil of no trifling nature, that the unrestrained emission of Bank of England notes affords undue encouragement to an excessive issue of country bank paper.

This is so grave an allegation, and involves a practical question of so much importance, that it cannot be dismissed without full inquiry. We shall therefore begin by giving the passage from the Report at length.—The Committee observe,

“That so long as the cash payments at the Bank are suspended, the whole paper of the country bankers is a superstructure raised upon the foundation of the paper of the Bank of England. The same check which the convertibility into specie, under a better system, provides against the excess of any part of the paper-circulation, is, during the present system, provided against an excess of country bank paper by its convertibility into Bank of England paper. If an excess of paper be issued in a country district while the London circulation does not exceed its due proportion, there will be a local rise of prices in that district; but prices in London will remain as before. Those who have the country paper in their hands will prefer buying in London, where things are cheaper, and will therefore return that country paper upon the banker who issued



it, and will demand from him Bank of England notes or bills upon London; and thus the excess of the country paper being continually returned upon the issuers for Bank of England paper, the quantity of the latter necessarily and EFFECTUALLY limits the quantity of the former. If the Bank of England paper itself should at any time during the suspension of cash payments be issued to excess, a corresponding excess may be issued of country bank paper, which will not be checked: the foundation being enlarged, the superstructure admits of a proportionate extension; and thus, under such a system, the excess of Bank of England paper will produce its effect, not merely in the ratio of its own increase, but in a much higher proportion." (Report, p. 28.)

Now to say nothing of the inconsistencies on the face of these paragraphs, which first assert that an effectual check upon country bank paper is preserved by its convertibility upon demand into Bank of England paper, and then add that an excess in this last, the only effect of which would be to push it for a time into circulation in the place of country notes, would increase the quantity of such notes;—we have an objection still more fundamental to the whole theory. We are persuaded that within this realm of England no such republic of little districts, each governed by its own local prices, can possibly exist. Considering the facility of communication and of transport between London and the rest of England, and between every county or district respectively; the London prices-current regularly conveyed by the post in every direction; the publication in every district of provincial newspapers containing a detail of prices; and the information which every great dealer can thus acquire of the price of articles within a circuit of fifty miles or more round the spot on which he transacts his business; we think it quite clear that the competition among the sellers will prevent any superiority of nominal price from taking place between one district and another, or between each and the metropolis. A country banker therefore (at York for example) cannot issue more notes than the circulation of commodities at their average prices will employ within the range of his credit: nor can he raise the nominal price of things at York, which if the sellers permitted, their customers might purchase elsewhere. But he must confine his issues to the fair wants of his district, and prices will continue exactly as they were before. The same may be asserted as between any provincial town and the metropolis. Would it not on the face of it be considered as a most absurd supposition, that corn or cattle, sugar or cotton, or any article not necessarily transmitted through London, should be sold at a higher price in Liverpool or Manchester than in that town? Nay, is it not universally the case, that even the articles

transmitted through London to the provincial towns are *usually* sold in the latter at London prices, the expences of transport being compensated by other means, by the inferior rent of shops, &c. &c. Any supposed excess of currency in the metropolis cannot therefore produce its effect upon prices "in a greater proportion than the ratio of its own increase," and the utmost that can be said is, that if prices are so raised in London as to produce a *corresponding rise* in the country, more country bank notes will be necessary to circulate the *commodities thus raised in price*. But this is evidently a very different proposition from that advanced by the Committee, which is, not that the country notes will increase so as to circulate the existing quantity of commodities at the price to which they may have been raised by *other means*, but that they are enabled by a *superadded excess* of their own *still further to enhance* the price of all articles. Whether or no prices have been *at all enhanced* by the quantity of paper currency is a question we shall presently discuss. In the mean time, having removed the *onus* thrown by the Committee upon the country banks, let us proceed to inquire what it is that really regulates the issue of their notes. If we mistake not, it will be found to be the actual demand of the district in which they are situated for a circulating medium. When that is satisfied, the issues of the banks are checked\*. When the increase of agricultural or manufactured produce, of wages to be paid for labour in public or private improvements, demands an augmented circulation, the issues are of course increased in proportion. These, and these only, are the regulating principles of the country bankers; and how any of them are affected by the circumstance that the banker is bound to pay his notes on demand in Bank of England paper, or by a *partial increase of such paper*, does not so clearly appear. The respectability of the individual bankers and the solidity of their paper are certainly promoted by the circumstance; but the demand for currency to carry on the various operations of a country district would be precisely the same, whether the same species of demand in London induced the Bank of England to issue fourteen or twenty millions of its notes, since it would depend entirely upon the capital and industry of such district. Whatever satisfied the demand of these would clearly not be excess; whatever went beyond this point would be returned upon the issuer; and if he had a million of Bank of England notes in his drawer, he could not for that reason keep one more of his own notes in circulation.

But it is in evidence that the country banker considers his security to rest on a sound basis, although he may have but a

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\* Because no man will pay 5 per cent. for useless money.

very small number of Bank of England notes in actual possession, provided he possess in London securities bearing interest, but convertible into currency at short notice, *to pay any sudden demand upon him.* These securities he of course increases in proportion as the demand for currency in his district induces him to extend his issues. If indeed Bank of England notes were so reduced in amount that they could not easily be procured for these securities, the country banker must eventually contract his issues below the fair wants of his district, in order to save himself harmless upon any sudden alarm. But this would not be the correction of excess, but a very unfair and impolitic interference with the industry of the people. So far however is it from being in general true, that an increase of Bank of England paper has the most remote tendency to produce a corresponding augmentation of country paper, that we need only refer to the quotation in a former part of this article, (taken from p. 82 of Mr. Bosanquet's work, which we requested the reader to bear in mind for this occasion,) to be convinced that whenever an increase of the former takes place, it pushes some of the latter out of circulation, and a corresponding *diminution* in its amount ensues. And *vice versâ*, it is the opinion, as we have before observed, of the bankers and merchants examined before the Bullion Committee, that if any material diminution were to take place in the amount of Bank of England notes, so far would those of the private bankers be from experiencing a similar reduction, that the vacuum would be immediately filled by a corresponding increase of them; so nicely proportioned is the natural supply of circulating medium to the demand. We will close this disquisition on country banks by a few remarks on their general tendency.

We have frequently heard them accused of enhancing the price of agricultural produce by the accommodation they afford to farmers upon the credit of their stock in hand, thereby enabling them to hold back the said stock from market in order to advance its price. Now we consider this to be a prejudice. It is perfectly fair and just, and the well-understood interest of the public, that every proprietor should be permitted to make as much of his property as a fair contemplation of the demand and supply will enable him. If he attempt to make more, not the public but the speculator himself must suffer. This is peculiarly true of agricultural produce. That man must be very superficially acquainted with the corn laws of England, who believes that any farmer or set of farmers could raise the price of grain by combination or monopoly. And he must be still more superficially acquainted with the first principles by which markets are regulated, if he does not know, that a corn-grower holding back

his produce to *enhance* its price, when no actual scarcity exists, must ultimately be obliged to bring it to market at a *reduced* price; and that holding it back, *when there is a real scarcity*, is the *greatest possible public benefit*; because it tends to enforce œconomy in the use of grain, and to make the general stock last the longer. And the public, instead of paying first a *high* price, and afterwards a *famine* price, without the means of a constant supply, is furnished with a regular though scanty provision at a *scarcity* price. So closely on this great question of practical policy are public and individual interests united.

Upon the whole it appears to us, considering what has been adduced on the subject of country banks, and adverting to the certainty that no respectable trader will pay 5 per cent. for capital which he cannot profitably employ, that those institutions, when they are carried on by men of *real capital*, who will not of course put that capital to risk in desperate adventures, are extremely beneficial both to individuals and to the state: that they assist in promoting improvements, which in a war such as we are now waging could be carried on by no other means. When they are opened by adventurers of little or no capital (and some such there are), who, from a knowledge that they have little to lose, will run all risks in hopes of making a fortune; it is certain that they are very great public and private nuisances,—the causes of much individual distress and misery, and eventually of some danger to public credit.

It follows from this reasoning (if true) that some legislative provision should be forthwith made, to prevent men, with less than a certain *secured* capital of *considerable* amount, from opening private banks for the issue of notes, and perhaps, (when it can be legally done,) by allowing a greater number of persons to embark their property in one partnership than can now do so by law.

But the Bank charter, as at present constituted, will prevent partnerships in banking to a greater extent than is now allowed.

The last alleged evil we shall at present notice is one that comes home to the feelings and comforts of a large proportion of the people, particularly in the middle ranks of society.

It is asserted, that the excess and consequent depreciation of currency has so enhanced the price of all articles of necessity and convenience, that the income of many of the most useful classes in society has become inadequate to their wants; and that they are depressed in the scale for the purpose of exalting the merchant and the speculator, “contrary to the strongest claim of justice, and the plainest dictates of public honour.” It is said, “that although the landed proprietor may nominally raise

his rents, in proportion to the depreciation in their value, at the expiration of his leases; yet, during their continuance, his income is even more depreciated than that of the other classes; inasmuch as the reserved rent is generally subject to repairs and other outgoings, the expence of which is of course increased in proportion to the depreciation of the currency in which it is paid, while the nominal rent remains the same." (Mr. H. 130.)

"But it is upon that class of the community receiving a *nominal income* that the depreciation acts with the greatest severity. The public creditor, the annuitant, the *clergyman*, the physician, the lawyer, the soldier, and the sailor,—all the civil officers of government; all persons receiving salaries only,—not only bear the increased burthens which the government is compelled to impose in consequence of the depreciation, but the remainder of their income no longer possesses the same power of procuring the necessaries and comforts of life." (Mr. Blake, p. 108.)

We were a little astonished at finding included in this list the clergyman *paid in tythes*; the soldier and sailor, whose pay has been raised, and whose subsistence is afforded *gratis*, or at a stated price; the officers of government, whose salaries have been repeatedly raised to keep pace with the increase of prices; the physician and the lawyer, whose practice, and its consequent remuneration, increase in quantity as the increase of currency may be supposed to diminish the quality. Neither are we quite satisfied of the inexpediency, that, among an active and industrious people continually increasing its capital, the annuitant and public creditor, the drones of the hive, should rather suffer in their circumstances, (if *some must suffer*,) than that improvements and the accumulation of wealth and the interests of the rest of the people should be checked for their exclusive ease and convenience. But putting these considerations out of the question, and fully admitting the fact that prices in general are much increased, let us see if there be not fair grounds for concluding that the reference of this class of evils to a depreciated currency is mere declamation, and nothing more.

Although it is impossible not to admit that an increase in the total amount of the currency of a country, without a corresponding increase in the commodities to be circulated, must raise the price of the latter; yet by parity of reasoning it is equally clear, that a corresponding increase of both leaves things exactly in the same relative situation in which they were before. Now that the produce of our capital and industry has upon the whole increased fully in proportion to our currency we apprehend is established in the preceding pages by abundant proof.

Besides, very sufficient causes offer themselves in great num-

ber by which to account for the rise of prices, without reference to an excess and depreciation of currency: and we think it the more necessary to state them, because the price of commodities has been gradually increasing for the last thirteen or fourteen years or longer; whereas the high price of bullion, the unfavourable exchange, and the great difference between the values of gold and paper currency, (the alleged causes of this increase,) have only existed within these last two years—years in which, if we are not mistaken, prices have been less enhanced than at any former time within the above-mentioned period.

First, it is well known that the quantity of capital and industry applied to the production of goods for exportation has very much increased within the last thirteen years. The manufacturers of these goods are so many fresh competitors in the market for the necessaries and comforts of life. But the objects of their labour form no part of the supply, none at least that is available in the market where they purchase their necessaries. This additional demand, therefore, not being accompanied by a corresponding addition to the supply, must of course raise the price of all the objects of those purchases. The additional supply is indeed subsequently raised and brought to market by the rest of the community, but not until a previous rise of price has indicated the demand for it.

Again, the scarcities of corn which have occurred since 1797 have tended much to raise the price of labour, and of every thing produced by labour; a proposition too self-evident to need other proof than a bare statement of the fact.

Lastly, the increase of taxes laid on during the present and preceding wars is sufficient of itself to account for a great proportion of the rise in all prices. The gross revenue in 1793 was about seventeen millions; in 1809 it was above seventy millions, an increase of more than four times the original amount. Now it is perfectly clear, that this sum is added to the aggregate price of all commodities purchased in the home market in Great Britain, (setting aside the trifling duties upon exports) except in as far as an increase has taken place in their production\*. It would much exceed our limits, even if it were possible, to enter into a minute calculation of the increased quantity of goods bought for consumption in the home market of Great Britain; but we may perhaps venture confidently to affirm, that it is not four times as

\* If we understand Mr. Bosanquet's reasoning on this subject (p. 94.) we think it rather loose, as he appears to us to omit all consideration of the effect which an increase in the production of commodities has on their relative price (as increased by taxation).

great as in the year 1793, nor even twice as great. It cannot, we think, be *nearly* twice as great. If it could, we should in proportion to our population have increased in real wealth with a rapidity altogether unexampled, besides sinking a capital of a thousand millions sterling in the war. Something like a fair comparison might probably be drawn by a reference to the increased amount of duties levied by the Excise, deducting all new impositions; but we know of none but the commissioners or clerks of the Excise Office who are competent to this task. It will, however, be sufficient for us to bear in our minds the number of individual articles which have been additionally taxed, and must of course have risen proportionally in price; the indirect effect which the taxation of these articles has in raising the price of others; the Property Tax, the increase in the Stamp Duties, and the numerous items of general taxation having no direct tendency to increase the quantity of commodities, although they must ultimately have fallen on the consumers in an increase of price; and we think it will be impossible to avoid admitting, that a great proportion of the rise in all prices (since 1793 at least) may fairly be ascribed to the increase of taxation.

All these circumstances have been overlooked or omitted by Mr. H. and the Committee in the opinion they have given on this important subject; but they do nevertheless appear to us to form an additional combination of proof not easily rebutted, that the advanced prices complained of have not been caused by excess and depreciation of currency, but by very different circumstances.

The facts just stated respecting the increased amount of the taxes afford of themselves a sufficient reply to Mr. Huskisson's observations on the alleged impossibility of paying them were the quantity of currency materially diminished. He asks (p. 144.) "Why could not the taxes be raised? How were they raised before the restriction?" We will endeavour to tell him why. Their amount before the restriction was less than one-half of their present amount, while that of the currency was within no great difference the same. A sum barely equal to the *whole* currency of the country passed annually through the hands of government in the payment of taxes in 1797. Now the *whole* amount passes at least twice in the year through their hands. And as the produce of the taxes is increased or diminished by the greater or less rapidity with which commodities circulate, it follows that any diminution of the circulating medium must *more than* equally diminish the produce of the taxes, and this not "*nominally*" but *really*. It is singular that the proof brought by Mr. H. (p. 145, et seq.) that the real produce of the taxes

would not fall off is drawn from the *admission*, that ONLY the Assessed Taxes, the Stamps, and the Property Tax would be affected!!! These three items make up near half of the public revenue.

We now proceed, in conclusion, to fulfil our promise of laying before the reader a few remarks in confirmation of our opinion, that nothing but the necessity of the case can justify the protracted existence of a currency consisting entirely (or nearly so) of paper.

Admitting, what our experience of the stagnation of commerce in all former wars demonstrates, that in a state of harassing and expensive foreign hostility, no expedient but a paper currency could possibly bestow upon us the same facilities of internal industry and circulation, which we have now the happiness to enjoy; there are three considerations of more or less weight that deserve to be stated as tending to counterbalance this advantage.

1. It has been said that our reputation for unimpeached public credit among foreigners will soon sink very low, if they observe our prices continuing to rise, and our currency exclusively of paper. The effects which have universally followed the combination of these two circumstances on the continent, (where paper currency, by resting on the authority of the government and not on solid capital, is, strictly speaking, *paper money*,) will, it is said, produce this sensation, and its natural consequence, distrust in the permanence of our commercial and political integrity. Without asserting that this objection is entirely without weight, we are, nevertheless, not disposed to attach to it any *very great* importance, *at least at the present moment*. Our paper currency being the representative of real commodities, and not forced into circulation by any edict of the state, is known to rest upon a more solid foundation than that of the continental states. And so long as the property of a foreigner continues to enjoy, *in point of fact*, the same comparative degree of *exclusive and perfect security*, which is now the case in England, we are persuaded that no speculative fears will induce him to withdraw it from our protection. To make this objection valid, therefore, it is necessary to shew that public credit at home is liable to be endangered by an unrestrained progress in our present career; and here we are sorry to admit that we feel some apprehensions. We cannot shut our eyes to the force of the following observations.

2. It is stated (Mr. H. p. 151.) "That the difficulties incident



to the state of things in 1797 were confined to a stagnation of sales, and to an interruption of credit in *all the larger transactions of trade* and of the community; but they were not felt in the exchange and distribution of commodities, in the common dealings by which the daily wants of the society are supplied. But what would be the result of any general interruption of confidence in paper currency at the present moment, when "it is the foundation of *every minute transaction* in the interchange of common necessaries?" It would certainly create the greatest degree of confusion and distress, and probably the most terrible and fatal disorders. It is therefore very important to secure for the future the confidence that has hitherto prevailed; and the necessary absence of gold specie, as the standard to which the value of paper may be referred, seems to render extraordinary precaution the more necessary. The acknowledged integrity and moderation, and the fair intentions of the parties issuing bank paper, however they may triumph for a time, although opposite to their *supposed* interests, do not constitute (when we are contemplating a long period of time) a sufficiently secure basis for the prosperity, perhaps the existence, of the nation to rest upon. People will certainly feel this, nor will any conviction of past prudence and correct practice, or of the advantages that have accrued under their influence, be enough to controul the doubts and fears of a possible departure from those principles, where the power of such departure evidently exists. Impressed with these ideas of security for the future, we do not hesitate to affirm, that it appears very inexpedient, that any set of men should possess uncontrouled the power of regulating at their discretion so important a state concern as the amount of the circulating medium; admitting, as we do, that it is their *clear well understood* interest to keep it within due bounds. Much less should such individuals, as country bankers may be supposed to be, (without intending any disrespect to them in their vocation) have the power of issuing currency without a public acknowledgment of the security upon which it rests.

8. There is another evil which has often struck our minds, as one of some moral and political magnitude, viz. the overgrown and still increasing size of the metropolis; one of the effects, we think, of the great facility given by paper currency to credit and circulation. When we see collected into one focus more than a tenth part of the population of the whole kingdom, a proportion full four times greater than that of any other metropolis in Europe\*, even Paris not containing the fortieth part of

\* We of course mean to include only the large states, whose solid prosperity is derived from the produce of an extensive territory;

the population of France;—When we reflect on the perseverance with which a long course of neglect has suffered the religion of this immense mass to be corrupted, and its morals vitiated;—on the facility which this permanent existence of a mob affords to any designing demagogue of disturbing the public tranquillity by flattering its vices and perverting its judgment;—on the undue influence which is thus acquired for the heated and absurd opinions of the most ignorant and corrupted portion of the people, over the cooler and more sober judgments of those who are further removed from the vortex;—when we reflect upon these and many other considerations, which press upon the mind, but which our already too much extended limits will not permit us to enlarge upon, we cannot but deprecate most earnestly the further growth of this enormous capital; particularly as we know that large additions are projected beyond those which are now only in progress towards completion.

We are aware, that in the advanced state of society in which we live, a great proportion of the people must reside in towns; and so far from regarding this necessity as an evil, we are convinced that it is an ordination of providence for the wisest purposes. It is one of the effects of the constant care exhibited by providence in apportioning, by the spontaneous alteration in the habits of a people, their powers of increase in numbers, to the remaining powers which exist in their territory to supply them with food. We have no doubt but that this gracious care may be found to exert itself in various shapes, in exact proportion to the just wants of a people in every period of society, from the inhabitants of the South Seas, to the Christian who enjoys the blessings of British civilization; and that it is a fanciful theory to suppose, that the intervention of vice, misery, or involuntary abstinence from marriage among the lower orders, is necessary to keep down the numbers of an industrious people to the level of its subsistence. We shall hope for an opportunity of entering into a detailed discussion of this subject in a future number. In the mean time we cannot but express our wish that some portion of the immense addition to the numbers in the metropolis could be diverted to the provincial towns, particularly as it appears demonstrable, that the commerce and manufactures of some of them have suffered in proportion to the overgrown increase of London.

Upon the whole, although we do not think that conclusive reasons can be shown against a further moderate increase of paper currency, yet we do not hesitate to declare an opinion that, during the necessary suspension of cash-payments at the Bank, an efficient controul should be established by Parliament, both over the

Bank of England, and private bankers issuing notes\* ;—and that the amount of all their issues should be accurately ascertained from time to time, and laid before the public: so that nothing uncertain or concealed may give ground for exaggerated statements, or unfounded calculations, on so delicate and important a subject †. It would then (as it ought) be open to fair discussion upon *ascertained grounds*, within what, if any, limits an extensive and rapidly increasing paper currency is desirable, even although it be the representative and the circulator of a corresponding increase of capital and commodities, of actual industry and labour. That the increase of these effects is in itself desirable, there can be no doubt; but it is possible that doubts may be entertained whether *certain limits* do not exist, beyond which even these advantages, *when supported by paper currency*, may be more than counterbalanced by the attendant risk. The farther those limits extend, while paper is of the nature of a legal tender, the greater will the difficulty be when the time arrives, to restore the great desideratum, viz. specie as the foundation of our currency; and the more frequently will it be necessary to bolster up public credit upon sudden emergencies exciting a run upon the issuers of paper. Moreover when we see the proportion which the increase of luxuries, and conveniences affording no solid or permanent benefit, already bears to that of the agricultural or other permanent improvements, which will continue and be available to our real comfort and happiness even should paper currency cease to circulate,—we may be disposed still more to doubt the expediency of a further rapidly increasing ratio in the facilities afforded to an indefinite progress in the same career.

We have now given our opinion upon the whole of this most important question, formed, as we solemnly declare, upon an unbiassed consideration of the several arguments advanced upon

\* We would also submit, whether justice and a fair analogy with the rest of our laws do not make it expedient to pass an Act, rendering such bankers, as shall convert to their own use securities deposited with them for safe custody or convenience, guilty of felony.

† We do not presume to give a positive opinion on the expediency of claiming for the public a participation in the profits arising from the substitution of paper currency for specie. On the one hand it is clear, that when events arising out of the state of public affairs have thrown immense profits, (made as it were on the public account,) into the hands of private individuals, without any increased industry or capital on their part, the public may fairly demand a direct share in the profits. On the other hand it may be well doubted how far a large participation by the public would give it so great an interest in the continuance of *paper currency*, as to produce a danger that it would in the end become *paper money* issued on the authority of the state.

both sides. If we have been hasty, or misinformed on any point, we shall be unfeignedly thankful to those who will point out our error, and future publications on the subject will, no doubt, give us an opportunity of revising and correcting them. We are sorry, for our readers' sake, that we have not been able to compress this article into a compass that would have created a smaller demand upon their patience. • But we will venture to predict, that the more the subject is discussed *with a view to practice*, the more generally will some such opinions as we have advanced be received and acted upon.

Since this article has been prepared for the press, a pamphlet by Mr. Ricardo, which he entitles a "Reply" to Mr. Bosanquet's Practical Observations, has been put into our hands. If it had been published sooner, we should of course have given our opinion upon the degree of force which we think due to those parts which bear upon the particular points we have treated as essential to our argument. All we can do now, however, is to express our firm conviction that the results which we have ventured to draw from the whole discussion are in no degree weakened by Mr. Ricardo's work. It is possible that on some intricate points relating to the foreign exchange Mr. Ricardo may be right. We believe those points are very imperfectly understood even by experienced merchants; and Mr. Bosanquet will no doubt make his observations upon them. But upon the main questions relating to the depreciation of our currency, the issues of bank paper, the balance of payments, excessive circulation, and the export of bullion, we think Mr. Ricardo's "Reply" extremely unsatisfactory: and should the question not be set at rest before our next number, we shall perhaps state the grounds of that opinion.

ART. III. *The Speech of John Leach, Esq. M. P. in the Committee of the whole House, upon the State of the Nation, on Monday Dec. 31, 1810, upon the Question of Limitations to the Royal Authority in the Hands of the Regent.*—Ridge-way, 1811.

*The Speech of the Right Hon. Lord Grenville, in the House of Commons, Jun. 16, 1789, on the proposed Regency Bill.*—Stockdale, 1811.

HIGHLY interesting and important as is the subject of the above-mentioned publications, it may be thought extraordinary that it should have occasioned so little employment for the press. The fact however is, that there are few persons within the compass of whose talents and knowledge the materials for a suitable discussion of it are to be found. Statute law is silent upon it: there is, as Mr. Leach observes, no text writer by whom it has been treated, and the authority of the precedents which have been applied to it is too indecisive to be satisfactory; inasmuch as those of different periods are by no means consistent with each other, and those upon which the chief stress appears to be laid occurred at times, and under circumstances, which materially reduce the weight and influence to which they would otherwise be entitled. But with reference to one side of the question there is no cause for regret. An exposition of the principles upon which the proceedings of parliament were founded in 1788-9, and a defence of the measure then in agitation, were submitted, in the speech before us, to the House of Commons, and afterwards to the public, by Mr. Grenville, (now Lord Grenville,) with a perspicuity and a force of reasoning which we believe were never surpassed. This masterly composition embraces the whole of the subject; and we venture to affirm, that a more useful record of sentiments delivered in parliament was never presented to the public. We should have thought, that the doctrines it lays down and the arguments by which they are established would have carried conviction to every mind; but we cannot suppress our astonishment on finding that they appear, from recent circumstances, to have lost a part of their influence on that of the noble lord himself.

The ground taken by Mr. Leach in December last, on the other side of the question, was far more circumscribed: his speech was, however, strictly applied to the question immediately before the House of Commons. It consists of a clear and logical argument; the purpose of which is, to disprove the right and the expediency of imposing limitations on the royal autho-

rity in the hands of the Regent. To some of the leading passages in this speech we shall hereafter have occasion to refer.

The most striking instances of the resources possessed by the free constitution of this country for meeting extraordinary exigencies are to be found at the periods of the Restoration, the Revolution, and of his Majesty's indisposition in the year 1788-9, and on the present melancholy occasion. In each instance the agency of an efficient and legitimate authority has been called forth.

To this authority a monstrous claim of right, justly described by Mr. Pitt as treason to the constitution, was indeed opposed in the year 1789; but it was instantly crushed by the weight of that incontestable principle so justly stated by Mr. Grenville, "that no right can be claimed or exercised as against the people, except those only which have been given by positive laws appearing on the face of our statute book, or proved by immemorial and uninterrupted usage; and that whatever power or authority has not been so conferred still resides with the people, to be exercised by them through the channel of their lawful, full, and free representatives."

The rights of the people and the authority of parliament were accordingly recognized and acted upon at that memorable period; and we then saw, as we have recently seen, the constitution of this country deriving additional strength and security from the opportunity of asserting and applying principles, on which its freedom and stability must essentially depend.

With respect to the mode of exercising the right and of discharging the duty which thus devolved upon the two houses of parliament, we confess that the first bias of our minds was towards a summary proceeding by address to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; but a very little reflection convinced us of our error. Such a proceeding, if directed to the object of appointing a Regent for the purpose of opening parliament, would not have obviated the objections made to that which was actually adopted: an additional step would indeed have been interposed, and, as we humbly conceive, most unnecessarily and improperly: but the indispensable act of affixing the great seal in the King's name to the commission would still have been performed by the same authority, viz. that of the two Houses of Parliament.

Some persons were, however, of opinion, that in the address to the Prince, his royal highness should be solicited to assume the office of Regent, not merely to open parliament, but for the purpose of exercising at once other functions of royalty. We venture to ask *what* other functions of royalty? Could it be in-

tended thus to transfer *all* the prerogatives of the crown? If not, which were to be granted, and which withheld? If all were to be granted, where would have been that security for the care of his majesty's sacred person during his indisposition, and for the resumption of his royal authority upon his recovery, which the two houses were bound to provide? If, on the other hand, some of the prerogatives were to be withheld, how could the reservations have been so described and detailed in an address, as to afford a certainty of their being constantly and strictly observed? The parliament which had agreed to the address might be dissolved: new circumstances might furnish occasional pretences for deviation to the advisers of the regent: we say the *advisers* of the regent, because the personal character of his royal highness ought not to be brought into this view of the subject: though we desire to be understood as entertaining towards that illustrious personage all the reverence that is so peculiarly due, not only to his high station, but to his princely qualities and virtues. But we have dwelt too long on the consequences to be apprehended from such a proceeding; as we presume to deny the right or the power, (whilst there is a monarch upon the throne,) of constituting by an address of the two houses such an authority as that in question.

The step to be taken in 1788-9, and on the more recent occasion, was not to restore nor to elect a King, but to supply a defect in the *moral* capacity of the sovereign, whose claims upon our allegiance were in no degree impaired by the calamity with which he was afflicted. It has, therefore, been contended, and, as we conceive, unanswerably, that such a defect could be supplied in no other mode than by bill, to which the royal assent must be given before it could possess the authority of law; and, as Mr. Grenville has observed, "the signification of the royal assent by the great seal, being that organ through which the authority of the crown speaks in the most solemn and authentic manner, is not a point of form only, but follows as a necessary consequence from some of the most important principles of the constitution, which could not be neglected without great and manifest danger."

On the question of the right of suspending the exercise of some of the royal functions, Mr. Leach displays considerable knowledge and ingenuity; but we confess that the weight of argument appears to us to be decidedly with Mr. Grenville. The latter confidently affirms the right: the former no less confidently denies it. Mr. Grenville takes his stand upon the principle maintained and declared by the two houses in their joint resolutions—"That their right to act in this instance in a legislative

capacity being created by the necessity of the case alone, was also limited by that necessity." This principle is admitted by Mr. Leach, though he gives it a different, a dextrous, but, as we presume to think, not a just application. "The defect," he observes, "is in the moral capacity of the King; in the will to do acts requiring personal interference. This will then is to be supplied; some representative of the royal will is to be appointed to act for the King, and in his name, in matters requiring his personal interference. This is the extent of the necessity; and that royal will once supplied in the person of the prince as regent, the defect is cured and the monarchy entire. The right created by necessity is limited by necessity, and here ends the right and duty of the two houses."

He also cites and argues upon the few precedents to be found in our history, and concludes his observations upon them with these words. "I presume to say that this right is not found in the common law of parliament; is supported by no authority; and is repelled by all such authority as there is upon the subject; and whatever objection may be made to the times and circumstances in which particular precedents occurred, yet the general conclusion is, that in no times, nor under any circumstances, have the two houses of parliament ever assumed the right now claimed."

Mr. Grenville, on the contrary, asserts, that "the principle of limiting the power of a regency, with a view to the future security of the sovereign, has been felt and acted upon in every case which has hitherto occurred, and is almost coeval with the constitution of the monarchy itself. The mode of restriction has, indeed, been usually different from that which is now proposed. The whole powers of the Crown have for the most part been called into action, though I believe it might be shewn that this has not always been the case; but they have not been given to any one subject."

It is, indeed, admitted by Mr. Leach, that in no instance have the two houses given to a *sole regent* the *whole royal authority*. The option must therefore be between a Regent limited in the extent of his authority, or controuled in the exercise of it. For, as has been observed by Mr. Grenville, "it cannot be a just conclusion to say, that because our ancestors committed the whole authority of a king into the hands of a regent, controuled and fettered by a fixed and permanent council, it is proper for us to delegate the same power to a single person, unrestrained by any similar check." We, however, concur entirely in the opinion, that it is far more agreeable to the true spirit of the British constitution, that "whatever degree of political authority is fit



under any given circumstances to be exercised for the purposes of executive government, should be exercised by a single person; and that wherever any just ground of danger is found to exist, it should be guarded against (if possible) by limiting the extent of the power so exercised, rather than by dividing amongst many what cannot with propriety be entrusted to one."

On the ground of expediency Mr. Leach asks, "To what end are dignities and prerogatives given to the crown?—Is it as a general proposition expedient, that whenever the personal exercise of the royal authority is for a time to be placed in other hands, some of its functions and prerogatives should be suspended? that in the hands of a Regent the public should lose the benefit of some means of good government, which in the hands of a king must be intended to be necessary for the public service?" These questions we would answer in the language of Mr. Grenville, "It is by no means a just conclusion, either from the theory or practice of the British constitution, or from any general principles of government, that the same powers which may be entrusted with propriety to the permanent authority of a king are equally fit to be committed to those hands which are to exercise the temporary and delegated functions of a Regent. The provisions which respect the prerogatives of the crown in this country are adapted to the ordinary course of an established government, and are calculated for a long continuance. But in the establishment of a regency the case is directly the reverse. We are to look, not to the general exigencies of government, but to those occasions which may probably arise during the period, for which the system so provided is intended to continue: and as for this reason there may frequently be much less ground to justify the grant of particular powers, so, on the other hand, there will almost always in such a case be infinitely more temptation to abuse them."

On the slight degree of importance which Mr. Leach appears to attach to the possible abuse by a regent of the prerogative of creating peers, we would remark, in the words of Mr. Grenville, "that of all the powers of the crown this is the most liable to be abused under a delegated and temporary government; and it is also that, from the abuse of which the most injurious consequences would arise to the permanent interest of the sovereign."

For our own parts we have not a shadow of doubt of the right of parliament to restrain the temporary authority of the Regent in such manner as a due regard to the permanent authority of the sovereign may be thought to require; and we fairly acknowledge, that though we think it far preferable that the powers

of a regent should be limited by parliament, than that he should be liable to be controuled in the exercise of them by a council, we should deem the latter less exceptionable, (under such circumstances as those of the year 1789 and of the present time,) than the establishment of a regency in the hands of a single person, without any restriction or limitation whatever.

The question of the household is one of extreme delicacy, and doubtless one of no inconsiderable difficulty: but we cannot avoid thinking, that a somewhat exaggerated view has been taken of the splendour and dignity, as well as of the power and the patronage, which ought to belong to a regent during the period when the incapacity of the sovereign is considered as temporary, and likely to be of short duration. The same considerations which render it unfit that the care of the royal person should be given to a regent appear to make it also improper that he should possess the patronage of the household. Both should unquestionably be under the same superintendance and direction. But any proposition to *reduce* the King's establishment at such a moment would, surely, as Mr. Grenville observes, be repugnant to the feelings of a generous people, and "If we look to that happy period to which our wishes and our hopes are turned, what a picture must then present itself! Let us, if we can, imagine what must be *his* feelings in such a moment as that, when he is told that his parliament has availed itself with eagerness and avidity even of the shortest interval, to new model the offices attendant on his person, and by a miserable economy to degrade their sovereign from those circumstances of splendour which belong to the rank in which he was born, and to the station which he still occupies?"

If these sentiments were just twenty years ago, are they less so at this time? Have the events of that interval taught us that it is decent or wise to place our Sovereign in the shade? or can they have weakened his claims upon the respect, affection, and gratitude of his people?

We now take our leave of this most interesting subject. The substance of the argument is, we are fully aware, exhausted by the comprehensive and powerful speech to which our attention has been particularly directed. Should we however succeed in conveying to, or confirming in any minds the feelings and opinions with which our own are deeply impressed, our wishes will be gratified and our expectations surpassed. But if we should even be so fortunate as to excite a stronger and more general sense than was before entertained of the importance of the subject itself, and induce those who may notice this article, and who were before unacquainted with the speech of Mr. Gren-

ville, to read, reflect upon, and digest it, we shall have contributed to the diffusion of sound constitutional principles, and shall have accomplished our object and attained our reward.

**ART. IV.** *Voyage de Decouvertes aux Terres Australes, executé par ordre de sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi, sur les Corvettes le Geographe, le Naturaliste, et la Goëlette le Casuarina, pendant les Années 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, et 1804. Publié par Décret Imperial sous le Ministère de M. de Champagny, et redigé par M. F. Péron, Naturaliste, &c. &c. Tome I. Paris, 1807.*

**I**N June 1800, several months before Mr. Pitt resigned the situation of prime minister to Mr. Addington, and when Lord Spencer was at the head of the Admiralty, passports were granted at the request of the French government to "le Geographe" of 30 guns, and "le Naturaliste," two strong *gabarres* (a large kind of transport) which that government had appointed for a voyage of discovery to the coasts of Australia. The nature of these passports was to place Captains Baudin and Hamelin, the two commanders, with their vessels and crews, in safety from all hostile attack, and to entitle them to a favourable reception and necessary accommodation at any of the British establishments where they might have occasion to put in. This permission has been much found fault with, and our \* *good natured* minister has been not a little ridiculed for omitting to inquire further into Captain Baudin's (the commodore's) instructions before the general passports were granted.

Now, to say nothing of the absurdity of supposing, that any inquiry on the part of the Admiralty would have induced the French to disclose such instructions as might interfere with the indulgence they requested; we confess our opinion to be, that Mr. Pitt and Lord Spencer, (although we never heard that they were ministers remarkable for *good nature* towards the French,)

\* See Quarterly Review, No. 7. p. 42. where a strange mistake is made in supposing that Mr. Addington was minister in June, 1800. We beg pardon for noticing this mistake so pointedly, which we certainly should not have done, were it not that we are a little shocked at the use that is attempted to be made of it. It must, however, be observed, that the mistake is briefly noticed in the following number under the head *errata*, where it is stated, that the word (*after*) was intended to be written (*before*) as it stands in the first line of this article. The review, therefore, had it in contemplation to charge Mr. Pitt and Lord Spencer with all the blame and the *good nature* imputed to the act in question.

acted on this occasion with that liberality and due regard to the interests of science which are becoming in the government of a great and enlightened nation. And we have good reason to believe that they so acted; (not without inquiry as is alleged) but upon a due consideration of the French commodore's instructions, which were submitted to them, such as they are detailed in the work before us, and such as the French commanders in fact adhered to, as strictly as the nature of the chances to which they were exposed would admit. We will presently state the grounds of this opinion. In the mean time it may be observed, that if the French government has made a villanous use of this liberality, or an ungrateful return for it, there may be good cause for refusing a similar indulgence in future. But we think the following reasons conclusive as to the claim they had upon us for compliance in the present instance; and we feel peculiar pleasure in laying the detail before our readers.

Compared with the conduct of the present French government towards Captain Flinders, which we shall afterwards expose, it exhibits a striking contrast of the public honour and humanity of the old and regular government of France, (and even of the small portion of those virtues which yet remained in the national councils under the corrupting influence of the Convention,) with the studied dereliction of principle, and absolute disregard of all the duties of honour, justice, and humanity, in which the modern dynasty *affects to glory*. (See Buonaparté's reasoning with the Spanish deputies at Bayonne.)

In the year 1779, upon the breaking out of the war between France and England, we are informed by the Marquis de Condorcet, that the liberal and enlightened mind of M. Turgot perceived how honourable it would be for the French nation, that the vessel of Captain Cook, then about to return to Europe from his third voyage, should be treated with respect at sea. "He composed a memorial, in which he proves that honour, reason, and even interest, dictated this act of respect for humanity; and it was in consequence of this memorial, the author of which was unknown during his life, that the following circular letter was written by M. Sartine, secretary of the marine in France, and sent to all commanders of French ships." The rescript was dated on the 19th of March, 1779, and ran thus.— "Captain Cook, who sailed from Plymouth in July, 1776, on board the *Resolution*, in company with the *Discovery*, Captain Clerke, in order to make researches on the coasts, islands, and seas of Japan and California, being on the point of returning to Europe, and such discoveries being of general utility to all nations; it is the king's pleasure that Captain Cook shall be treated

as a commander of a neutral and allied power, and that all captains of armed vessels, &c. who may meet that famous navigator shall make him acquainted with the king's orders on this behalf; but at the same time let him know, that on his part he must refrain from all hostilities."

It is said, indeed, that this idea of M. Turgot's originated with Dr. Franklin, then American minister at Paris, who issued a similar order to the ships of his nation, dated at Passy, near Paris, ten days before that of M. Sartine. But whether this be so or not, we apprehend that the fact itself, which is indisputable, established an undeniable claim upon the liberality of the British government to grant, at least, a return of similar indulgence to two French ships.

Again, a note in p. 378 of the voyage before us records another debt of this kind, under which the French government had placed us. It runs thus, "Even in a time when every principle of honour and justice was forgotten or overlooked in France, the National Convention decreed that the vessels of Vancouver should be respected, and that every assistance of which they might stand in need should be liberally afforded to them." This fact is also confirmed by the testimony of Vancouver himself, who mentions it in his able and scientific work, towards the end, as we think, of the third volume.

But even were these facts not upon record, we apprehend that it would have been a paltry and contracted policy, altogether unworthy of a great and enlightened nation like Great Britain, to be so far influenced by a dread of the naval and colonial rivalry of France, as to preclude her from entering the lists of fair competition in making discoveries for the benefit of mankind. Surely the policy and morality of nations had not suffered so complete a revolution in the twenty years preceding 1800, that what it was generous, honourable, manly, and politic, for France to do in 1779, should be duperly, imbecility, and impolicy, when performed by England in 1800. Nor were Mr. Pitt and Lord Spencer very worthy of reproach in not supposing, without proof, that the first consul in this last year would surpass even the National Convention of 1794 in disregard of public principle.

For our own parts, we should sincerely rejoice that the attention of France was turned to these distant objects, being convinced that they are so many guarantees for her good behaviour during peace, and so much subtracted from her exclusive attention to Continental politics. But we fear that the tyrant of Europe has no such views at present: nor should we be much afraid of his success if he had. We have reason, indeed, to believe that the south coast of Australia is not so dangerous as

French exaggeration represents it; neither the *Western Port* nor what they pretend to call *Port Champagne* offering any particular danger to approaching navigators. But great obstacles to a successful colonization of either of these places are to be found in the soil of the surrounding countries, the general sterility of which could only be compensated by such a commerce as it would take ages to establish in those remote regions.

The insinuation that the Western Harbour at the extremity of Bass's Straits is the spot fixed on by the French government "for the establishment of an *Australian Pondicherry*" appears evidently hyperbolic; because even M. Péron, ready as he is to lay claim to other men's discoveries, plainly acknowledges this to belong to England; and although he admits its advantages, he does not even pretend to more on behalf of the French expedition than their having verified former discoveries and corrected a few errors. Moreover it appears in p. 326, that M. Péron, (who, whatever the views of his government might be, of course had his eye directed to a French settlement on what he is pleased to term his *newly discovered coast*,) points out the port he denominates "*Champagne*," in the gulf he calls "*Bona-parté*," and which he claims as a French discovery, as the most favoured spot of the *Terre Napoléon*. An excellent port and fine anchorage, surrounded by land of a moderate elevation, fertile, well wooded, and (what is uncommon on these coasts) plentifully supplied with fresh water, render it (as he says, but not with perfect accuracy,) "a place of the highest importance, and one of which it may be affirmed without fear of contradiction, that of all the points of this coast, it is the most eligible for the settlement of an *European colony*." p. 326.

It is necessary here to observe, that this gulf and port is some degrees west of the Great Western Harbour, and unquestionably within the line of Captain Flinders's discoveries; consequently that the French have no sort of claim to it on the score of priority of investigation. Thus much for the *policy* of the permission granted to the two ships.

That Mr. Pitt and Lord Spencer did not grant it without inquiry as to their destination appears from the following circumstances. We know from good sources of information, that the plan of Captain Flinders's voyage was laid and the Investigator commissioned a month before those ministers went out of office, and had not the delay of Captain Flinders's passport, and perhaps of some other circumstances, kept him in England, he was ready to sail and would have sailed in March or April 1801; and in all probability would have completed the investigation of the whole unvisited part of the south coast of Australia before the French

had seen any part of it. It is moreover upon record, that in July 1801, when Mr. Addington was *really* first lord of the treasury, and Lord St. Vincent at the head of the admiralty, and as soon as the necessary arrangements upon taking possession of the government would afford time for completing the preparations already begun, these last-mentioned ministers were *good-natured* enough actually to dispatch Captain Flinders in the Investigator sloop of war, (as M. Péron states,) “pour rivaliser avec nous.” An object which that excellent and active commander so effectually fulfilled, that before the French expedition entered upon its career of *real discovery*, the English had forestalled it in 840 out of 900 leagues of coast which it proposed to investigate. We cannot help observing, however, that the pretension that Captain Flinders was sent out to *rival* the French expedition is a characteristic and ridiculous trait enough of national vanity. Our readers need not to be informed, that no English navigator will be likely to take a French one for his model, or be content with doing no more than they have hitherto done.

With respect to the *real origin* of this French expedition, we think it quite clear that it is to be ascribed to the overweening national vanity of the philosophers composing the Imperial Institute of France, at whose exclusive suggestion it was undertaken; and that a superabundant motive is to be found in the first paragraphs of the work before us. It is there observed, “that since scientific discoveries have been justly considered as conferring the principal TITLE to the glory and prosperity of a people,” (rather an odd phrase certainly,) “a generous rivalry has existed in this career among the enlightened nations of Europe.” That the English *scavans*, by the successive labours of Banks, Solander, Sparman, the two Fosters, Anderson, Collins, &c. were about to bear away the palm of glory; *therefore* the national honour of France, and the progress it had made in the sciences, imperiously called for an expedition of discovery to the countries of Australia. And the French Institute thought it their bounden duty to propose the object to their government.

If any thing in addition to this clear exposition of the views of the Institute were necessary to prove what was the chief object of the voyage, we think that the following plan, traced out by the French government to the navigators, will amply supply it. Nor do we suppose it possible that our ministry, (if this plan was submitted to it, as we have no doubt it was,) could have hesitated to grant its licence and protection to the ships, under the circumstances of previous obligation just stated.

“ According to this plan, we were to have touched at the Isle of France, there to have taken a third vessel smaller than our own. We were then ordered to proceed towards the southern extremity of Diemen's land, to double the South Cape, and visit d'Entrecasteaux's channel in all its parts. We were to explore and ascend as far as possible all the rivers in this part of Diemen's land, to reconnoitre all the eastern coast of this great island, to penetrate into Bass's straights, through those of Banks, and fix with precision the places for entrance and departure in the first of these straights. We were then instructed to complete the examination of the Hunter isles; and making the south-east coast of New Holland, to proceed along it to the point where the admiral d'Entrecasteaux had stopped; to penetrate behind the isles of St. Peter and St. Francis, and examine that portion of the continent which is concealed by them; where was supposed to exist a straight, which from this point would communicate with the head of the great gulf of Carpentaria, and which, consequently, would have been found to divide New Holland into two large islands nearly equal.

“ This part of our business being terminated, we were to have reconnoitred the cape Leuwin, and the portion of unknown coast towards the north of that point, *verifying* the principal positions of the land of Leuwin, as well as those of Edels and Endracht, which had been but imperfectly examined by the oldest navigators, and the geography of which was consequently liable to all the imperfections belonging to the methods and instruments of their time. We were next to have ascended the river of Swans as far as it should be practicable; to lay down an accurate chart of the isle Rottneest and the coast in its vicinity; to visit the formidable Abrolhos, so fatal to Pelsar; to complete the investigation of the great bay of Sharks; to verify various stations on De Witt's land and along the rest of the north-west coast, particularly about the entrance of King William's river, and the islands of Rosemary, &c. At length we were to terminate this long first *campaign* at the north-west cape of New Holland. From this point making sail for the Moluccas, we were to have wintered at Timor or Amboyna. The following year we were to have proceeded from one or the other of these islands, and passing to the north of Ceram, we were ordered to make the south-west coast of New Guinea, to investigate it as far as the point at which Cook had stopped, behind which there was supposed to be a straight, dividing New Guinea into several islands; then returning towards the Endeavour straights, we were to have made the eastern point of the great gulf of Carpentaria, to have entered it, and reconnoitred its principal stations, to have fixed the position of the several islands which are marked upon the old maps, and visited the mouths of that number, of supposed rivers which overcharge the ancient plans of this gulf, into which no navigator had penetrated for so long a time. Then coasting along Arnheim's land and North Diemen's land, we were to have finished this second *campaign* at the same north-west cape where the first would have been ended. Then traversing the Indian ocean, and



fixing the yet uncertain longitude of the *Trial rocks*, we had orders to touch a second time at the Isle of France; from thence in our passage back to Europe, calculated for the spring of 1803, the investigation of a portion of the eastern coast of Africa, upon which there yet remained some geographical uncertainties, would have usefully terminated the course of our extensive labours."

The result of the whole expedition was expected to be, "the examination of above *five thousand* leagues of coast, either wholly unknown, or very imperfectly explored before," coasts so inhospitable, that the destruction or imminent danger of all preceding navigators held out a dreadful warning to the present adventurers. "The history of the dangers we incurred (says M. Péron) will best shew the whole extent of the difficulties we had to encounter, and the loss of Captain Flinders's two ships\*, sent out by the English government to emulate our proceedings, furnish but too deplorable a proof of them. Nevertheless the geographical portion of our labours is not the less interesting, and doubtless it will be easy for me to prove, by the detail of our operations in this department, how *honourable* they are for the French marine." (P. 8.)

The *singular modesty* of this avowal makes us feel the less regret at the necessity which our sense of impartiality will lay us under completely to destroy the foundation of all this vain boasting, and to show from the indisputable authority of facts, that the only original researches made in this voyage, of which any *honourable* mention can be made, are confined to about sixty leagues of coast, instead of *five thousand*; and that very *dishonourable* measures indeed were had recourse to, in order to procure a colourable title to a more extended fulfilment of these magnificent promises.

In using this strong language, we beg leave to make an exception in favour of M. Péron *personally*. We understand that he *is now no more*; but those who knew him in his lifetime thought well of him; and *allowance made for a large share of French vanity*,—believed him to be an amiable man,—and had a good opinion of his talents, and his zeal for the progress of science. We are persuaded, therefore, that in the unjustifiable encroachments made upon Captain Flinders's discoveries, the tyrannizing influence of the French government had the principal, if not the whole share. On these accounts we beg to be understood, (as well in the preceding observa-

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\* The truth is (as will appear in a subsequent part of this article), that Captain Flinders lost no ship. The Investigator was condemned and left at Port Jackson, and he was returning a passenger in the *Porpoise*, when she and the *Cato*, a merchant ship accompanying her, were lost.

tions, as in any other inculpatory remarks which we may think it our duty to make,) not to impute the whole blame to M. Péron *personally*, but to apply the great odium to his government, where we believe it to be abundantly merited.

We shall now proceed to notice the voyage itself, as detailed in the work before us; and in order that our attention may not be often withdrawn in the sequel from the geographical and descriptive parts, we shall previously notice some of the results in the department of natural history, or, as that learned body the Imperial Institute are pleased to express themselves, "the objects of zoology and anthropology."

The report made to the emperor by the Institute, immediately upon the return of M. Péron to France, states, that Messieurs Péron and Le Sueur had collected and arranged more than 100,000 specimens of large and small animals: and as Cook only furnished 250, and Carteret, Wallis, Furneaux, Meares, and Vancouver, collectively not so many, *it follows* ("il en résulte") that Messrs. Péron and Le Sueur have *done more than all the modern navigators put together*. These only attended to one or two favourite classes, whereas the *French naturalists attended to ALL*, and "sous ce rapport de généralité," no work is to be compared with theirs.

Now we really must admit that "sous le rapport de généralité" M. Péron has far outstripped all competitors, if his precious "ensemble de grands caracteres" contain, as it is stated, besides 100,000 original observations and specimens in natural history, "researches into the temperature of the sea at various depths, the petrifications of the sea, the physical strength of savages ascertained by a new instrument, the *dynamometer*, the phosphorescence of the sea, the dysentery of hot countries, the use of the betel, the peculiar formation of the Hottentot women," (we do not hear that he imported a Hottentot Venus) "and lastly, upon the health of persons navigating the ocean:" on which point he was so successful, that of twenty-three philosophers exported from France on board these ships, three only returned\* safe to their native country. But so far as the truth of the pompous boast of new and improved arrangement, of accurate and scientific description, is to be estimated from this first volume, we feel bound to express an opinion, that the praise of being comprehensive has been sought very much at the expence of those more important qualities. In truth, with the exception of the fanciful instrument the dynamometer, for ascertaining the

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\* Twelve of them, as we shall presently see, quitted the expedition at the Isle of France.

relative force of the hands and loins of the different races of men, in which much accuracy of detail is entirely thrown away; and a disquisition concerning a new genus *pyrosoma*, there is not one description in the whole work that goes beyond an *enter-taining account*. M. Péron's "mode de description," so much praised by the Institute, is by far too loose and indefinite to admit of a satisfactory comparison with the accurate investigation of naturalists of real science.

The *Geographe* and the *Naturaliste* sailed from Havre on the 19th October, 1800, stored with all sorts of provisions, and furnished with "a code of health of the greatest interest, by M. Keraudren, first physician of the French marine." Instructions of this nature appear by no means superfluous, when we contemplate the immense confusion of materials heaped on board these unfortunate vessels. The catalogue is so curious, and so characteristic of the useless parade and empty magnificence of the "*great nation*," that our readers will not be displeased to run over the complete list.

"Filtres of the invention of Schmidt, furnaces, handmills, stills, were put on board each vessel. The most distinguished artists of the capital had executed numerous instruments of astronomy, physics, meteorology, and geography;—the necessary apparatus of the chemist, of the painters, and draughtsman were curiously put together;—an *extensive library* of the best works on the marine, astronomy, geography, physics, natural history, and voyages, was prepared for each ship. On the distant shores to which we were bound existed an interesting and an unknown people. The first consul was desirous that we, as deputies from Europe to this unknown race, should appear among them as friends and benefactors. By his orders, therefore, animals of the most useful races were put on board the ships, a crowd of interesting trees and plants were embarked for their benefit. We carried out to them the grains best adapted to the temperature of their climates, the instruments most necessary to man. Clothes also, and ornaments of every kind; even the *most singular and refined inventions of optics, chemistry, and physics*, were laid under contribution for their *advantage*, or merely for their *pleasure*." (P. 9, 10.)

Last of all was embarked a person well known at Paris, called A-Sam, a Chinese, and native of Canton. He had been taken prisoner on board an English East-Indiaman, by a French privateer, and through various depots at length found his way to Paris. The presence of a Chinese in the capital produced sensation enough to come to the ears of the first consul; "*from this moment* A-Sam was happy and free, and every kind of attention was lavished upon him during his residence at Paris." He seems to have occupied the same place in the amusements of the

Parisians, that his excellency the Mirza Aboul Hassan held among the natives of London in the spring of 1810. "At length the chief consul filled up the measure of his bounty, by ordering A-Sam to be restored to his country and his family. Embarked on board our vessels, he received all the attentions due to an officer; and the administrators of the Isle of France received orders to continue the same regards to him till they could procure for him a safe passage to China. Happy are the nations where such care is taken of unhappy foreigners—blessed is the sovereign who conducts himself in so generous and beneficent a manner!" (P. 11.)

It is truly dreadful to reflect, that notwithstanding the filters of Schmidt, and the various chemical apparatus, the want of water during the voyage was such as "to oblige some of the crew to drink their own urine;"—that, notwithstanding the great precautions said to have been taken as to provisions, they were often delivered to the crew in a state "so abominably putrid, that the half-starved sailors threw them into the sea before the captain's face, rather than swallow the disgusting morsels:"—That, notwithstanding the handmills, &c. "the biscuit was in a state so disgusting that it could not be eaten," nor was any other farinaceous substitute provided in its place. When we state these facts, it will surprise no one, that notwithstanding Mr. Keraudren's "instructions sanitaires," and Mr. Péron's researches "dans l'hygiène navale," the foulest and most putrid scorbutic ulcers broke out over the whole crew, which daily carried off some individuals, and which left the ships on the most stormy coast of Australia, with a crew too feeble to put them about without piping all hands upon deck.

The hardships they endured were such as to excite sentiments of compassion in the most savage hearts; yet so closely opposed to the above-mentioned parade of precaution, they assume an air of ridicule which even cruel sufferings, and death in its most hideous forms, are scarcely sufficient to counteract.

We trust that we shall not be accused of indulging in that national vanity which we have just been holding up to ridicule in the French, if we here in a very few words entreat the reader to recal to his remembrance the efficiency of the precautions adopted by the immortal Cook, to secure the health of his seamen, and the modesty with which he details them and their effects. "Here, (as Sir John Pringle says in one of his discourses,) are no vain boastings of the empiric, nor ingenious and delusive theories of the dogmatist; but a concise, artless, and uncontested relation of the means under which, by divine favour, Captain Cook, with a company of 118 men, performed a voy-

age of three years and ten days throughout all the climates of the globe, from 52 degrees north, to 73 south, with the loss of *only one man by sickness.*" That the same plan is still followed by our modern navigators will appear in a future page of this article, where we have the pleasure of stating the condition of Captain Flinders's ship on its arrival at Port Jackson, after he had fully accomplished the objects of his expedition. Such are the different modes of doing business, and of relating it, in two countries situated within ten leagues of each other; such the effects of a distinction of national character, the causes of which it is more easy to be thankful for, than to explain.

But if the grand parade of preparation made by the French government was ill calculated for its professed object of preserving the health of the crews, and for facilitating the researches of the men of science, it was admirably adapted to excite attention in France to the liberality and love of science of Buonaparté, and to furnish a splendid tirade for the pages of the *Moniteur*. These were probably some of the *real* objects of the preparations; and their effect in the meridian of France was at least as important in the eye of the government, as the benefits that might accrue in the more distant regions of Australia. "An immense crowd covered the shores to witness the departure of the vessels. Every spectator by words and gestures addressed to the adventurous navigators their parting wishes and benedictions. They emulated one another in *seeming to say* (*tous a l'envi sembloient nous dire*), Ah! may ye, less unfortunate than Marion, Surville, St. Allouarn, La Perouse, and d'Entrecasteaux, be one day restored to your country, and to the grateful caresses of your fellow citizens!" (*Voyage*, p. 12.)

After encountering some rough weather in the channel, and coasting along the shores of *Portugal*, or as M. Péron more figuratively expresses it, "of that Lusitania, whose happiness and fertility the elegant and feeling author of *Telemachus* so well knew how to celebrate, where we found the *purer air*, the *calmer seas*, the *softer* and *more wholesome temperature*, all combining to remind us of the smiling pictures of Fenelon;"—they arrived on the first of November at the Canaries. After some amusing details upon this archipelago of islands, which shew their present state to be very far from meriting the appellation of the Fortunate Islands, bestowed upon them by the ancients, M. Péron takes the opportunity afforded by his local situation, to associate some French sailors, with the exploits of the Spaniards, who successfully defeated *Tenériffe* from the mad attempt of Sir Horatio Nelson in 1796. The history of the voyage then continues; on the 13th November they set sail, passed the line on the 12th De-

ember, doubled the Cape of Good Hope on the 3d February, 1801, and arrived at the Isle of France on the 13th March, after a passage of 145 days.

M. Péron accounts for the length of this passage by a train of argument that would be rather amusing to one of our East-India captains. It is indeed a curious specimen of the reasoning of a man who does not understand the whole of his subject. He pompously describes, upon very good and *very old* authorities, what the greater part of masters of ships are now acquainted with; but leaves untouched what they do not know, and would be very glad to learn; that is, the best point at which to cross the equator, according to the season of year. As a philosopher, M. Péron should also have explained, that in the months of August, September, and October, when the Northern Africa has been thoroughly heated, the winds blow upon it nearly at right angles to the coast; and consequently that at that season an inner passage to St. Helena or to the Cape may be made more expeditiously than by crossing the equator between the longitude of  $25^{\circ}$  and  $28^{\circ}$ ; which he lays down as invariably the best. M. Péron does not usually profess to be a seaman; and in this case he is really unfortunate both as a seaman and a philosopher. He closes five mortal pages upon this subject with the following remarks. "In carrying on my researches I wish rather to *point out* than fully to discuss the merits of this *new career*; but the results which I have obtained from these first attempts appear to me of sufficient importance to be noticed, reserving all further details to other times and other publications." (P. 31.)

Then follows the account of several meteorological and atmospheric phænomena, which our limits do not permit us to enter into; also some observations on the temperature and phosphorescence of the sea, and the different degrees of salt in its water under different degrees of latitude. We are then favoured with a curious and rather interesting section upon the zoophytes and moluscæ of the ocean; which, by the way, appear to be the favourite objects of M. Péron's researches, contrary to the assertion of the Institute, who (as we have seen,) affect to distinguish him as the *most universal observer of nature*, giving no preference to any particular department. This section is illustrated by some explanatory plates, very well executed and neatly coloured.

The navigators remained above a month at the Isle of France. It is described as a place, which, though subject to occasional and destructive storms, is, from the fertility of its soil and the regular temperature of its atmosphere, a delightful and happy

region. Attempts have been made there of *late years* to naturalize many of the most useful productions of India and Australia, the teek-tree, the clove, the cinnamon, the cotton-plant, the nutmeg, and twenty or thirty others, some of which will probably never pass the bounds of the botanic garden of the governor.

M. Péron, however, is not perfectly accurate in this account. In point of fact, the cotton-plant has *long* been a productive source of commerce to the inhabitants of the Isle of France. The clove is becoming so, and in Bourbon it has for some years yielded a considerable revenue to the planters. The colonists of these islands had long groaned under the despotic and restrictive government of the mother country, and of the satellites which its master has sent to govern them. And they *have now shewn their proper feelings, and exhibited an useful warning to every other government*, by refusing to fight for their oppressors, against those who will be disposed to encourage their industry and their commerce.

On the 25th April, 1801, the expedition sailed from the Isle of France, and bent its course towards New Holland, but had scarcely cleared the port, when the commodore ordered the two crews, including passengers, to be put upon short allowance; "sad prelude," says M. Péron, "of the misfortunes which overtook us in the sequel."

On the 27th May they first descried the land of New Holland, stretching in the distance like a long dark coloured thread, a resemblance which M. Peron has been careful to preserve in the coloured profiles of the coast which are to be found in the first part of the atlas, and which constitute the sole delineation of the coast to be found in his work. They coasted the shore to Cape Leuwin, on the south-west of the continent, and first landed in *L'Anse Depusch*, which they found a little after they had made that cape. They could not rest satisfied with leaving Cape Leuwin in possession of its name, but applied to it that of "*Cap du Naturaliste*;" an early instance of that nominating mania, with which we shall see our *scavans* possessed throughout the whole of their wonderful discoveries. They occasionally landed and collected specimens of natural history, which they replaced by putting into the ground at different spots wheat, barley, oats, pears, apples, and other European productions. In these excursions they met with some of the natives, and such adventures occurred, as are usually recited by the navigators of civilized nations among the savage tribes. But as they consist of little but fear and distrust on one side, and ineffectual efforts to dissipate them on the other, they are not worth detailing. Hidden

rocks, shoals, and sudden and violent squalls of wind now began to annoy the vessels, and at length, on the 18th June, they encountered a tremendous storm, which endangered their safety, and induced the commodore to steer northward towards the equator, "that he might get into latitudes calmer and more genial."

This was the *first deviation* from his instructions, which directed him to proceed in the contrary direction along the south-west coast towards Van Diemen's land: had he followed this course, he would certainly have preceded Captain Flinders in the discovery of the unvisited part of Australia, instead of following that commander, as the French expedition did in the following year. "Thus ended," says M. Péron, "our first investigation of the land of Leuwin."

They coasted now for many days along a barren, flat, and inhospitable coast, beset with dangerous rocks and islands. The philosophers amused themselves during the passage with observations upon sharks, sea-serpents, zoophytes, and whales; and were spectators of a pitched battle by moonlight between a whale and a sword-fish, the result of which was unfortunately withdrawn from their observation by the *immense arena* (if we may be allowed the term) which the activity and prodigious leaps of the leviathan of the ocean occupied in the contest.

The whole of this coast of the land of Endracht is absolutely without fresh water, a deficiency which was partly supplied by distilling salt water in the stills brought out for the use of the chemists of the expedition. As some compensation for this want they picked up many new specimens of natural history, particularly on the island Bernier; among them were some rare varieties of the kangaroo species, of which there is a good coloured engraving. The author, in pursuit of these objects, of course encountered some hairbreadth scapes, and was once very near *killed* by a *wave*, which drove him against a rock, "convert de blessures, et de contusions, et inondé de sang;" but he was rescued and soon restored to life and health "par les secours que lui avoit menagés l'affection prevoyante de ses compagnons, qui ajouterent a son attendrissement et a sa reconnoissance."

Before they arrived at the north-west coast, the Naturaliste parted company, and while the Geographe was waiting for her in the bay of Dampier, she encountered another violent storm, which drove her back to the isle Bernier. Here the commodore pitched two tents and lay at anchor, in hopes of being joined by the Naturaliste; but finding these hopes fruitless, he set sail again on the 12th July, and steering northward passed the tropic of Capricorn for the fourth time on the 15th, and arrived on the 23d at the western extremity of De Witt's land, after



having, with characteristic vanity and ignorance, bestowed upon capes and islands long since visited, and known by other names, the modern French appellations of Murat, Rivoli, &c. &c.

We must here also take the liberty of remarking, that the French did not attempt to penetrate into the "*great opening*" which lies round the north-west cape, where Dampier supposed that a straight may exist, dividing New Holland into islands. This is one of the most remarkable points of that country with a view to the science of geography, and yet the French pass it without a single remark. They say, however, "*Derriere l'Archipel Forrestier les terres continentales semblaient former un grand enfoncement, que nous appellames aussi Baie Forrestier.*" They make no examination of the land which *seemed* to form a *deep bight*! But they do not hesitate to *name* what *seemed* to exist; and having so done, would induce us to think, no doubt, that they have given us geographical information. It is no fair excuse for their vanity to say, that it was the commander's fault that no examination was made of this *apparent bight* in the coast. They should either have ascertained that it was a bay, or otherwise should not have attempted to deceive us by stamping it with the name. It would, however, be endless to expose all the empiricisms of this kind; they occur at almost every page of the work before us. After the investigation, not of the north-west coast of New Holland, for it was scarcely seen, but of the scattered rocks and islands that lie off it, (most of which are honoured or dishonoured, as the reader pleases, with some revolutionary French name,) they came to what M. Péron is pleased to term "*the great Archipelago Bonaparte,*" which appears to have been cursorily examined like the others.

The pernicious consequences to science of this ridiculous affectation of new naming places in the distant regions of the earth are obvious. The only consolation is, that the names will probably not survive the duration of the paper on which M. Péron's voyage is printed.

The scurvy now broke out so inveterately on board the ship, and the want of water and provisions became so pressing, that these causes, joined to the expectation of stormy weather, and the hopes of meeting the *Naturaliste* at the place of rendezvous, induced the commodore to defer the ulterior investigation of the north coast, and to steer directly northward to the island of Timor. They arrived at Coupang bay in that island on the 13th August, 1801, after two days sail from the coast of New Holland. Thus ended the *first campaign* of Messrs. Baudin and Hamelin; the fair result of which appears to be, that they cursorily investigated an extent of coast stretching from Cape

Leuwin to the north-west cape, and occupying the whole western margin of New Holland, which we believe had not been visited since the time of Dampier at the end of the seventeenth century.

What the *French* saw can only induce us to suppose that the islands lying off it *and some points* of the coast are barren, rugged, inhospitable, destitute of fresh water, and altogether unfit for the purposes of an European settlement. It is however probable, that the *whole coast* may be of the same description; and this is the opinion of Dampier, who saw more of the *real coast* than our present voyagers. That the verifying of these circumstances, even so far as they were verified, is an object of some little interest to geographers we readily admit, and only regret that it was so imperfectly fulfilled; and that the disgraceful character of the commander, to which we shall presently advert, produced events which, perhaps, may have prevented a more accurate and scientific investigation of the coasts and islands which he saw.

At Timor they found the face of nature completely altered, and affording by its fertility and beautiful scenery a complete contrast with the sterile, rugged, and monotonous coasts they had left.

“ Stern winter smiles on this auspicious clime,  
The fields are florid with unfading prime:  
From the bleak pole no winds inclement blow,  
Mould the round hail, or flake the fleecy snow;  
But from the breezy deep the blest inhale  
The fragrant murmurs of the soften'd gale.”

(Pope's *Odyssey*.)

Here too of course every French Ulysses found his Calypso. The young ladies of Coupang “*remarkable for their beauty*,” one and all fell in love with their visitors, “*et voulerent par une espece de galanterie assez remarquable les faire chacune un petit present.*” A good engraving of one of these beauties, named Canda, in the character of a *water-bearer*, is given in the atlas. To a Chinese cast of countenance, she joins a form of some grace and symmetry, and is of a dark copper colour. On this theatre the national vanity of M. Péron bursts out with renewed vigour. The name of the French was unknown in Timor before the arrival of the expedition, but “*he will venture to affirm, that the French name will long be dear to those valiant men among whom the crew of the Géographe first made it known.*” A boast which, if true, indicates rather a singular result from the visit of a diseased European crew to an uncivilized tribe of people. We are rather sorry that the author has been

pleased to contrast this statement with the hatred borne by the people of Timor towards the English, whom they qualify (as he says) with the terms "*Rascal and assassin*," while the French were all "*good men and amiable youths*." Be this as it may, they were treated with great good humour and hospitality by the natives. "*Le bon Amaduna*," king of the island, often came and visited them; but, though a very civil gentleman, he was a great pilferer, and they with difficulty prevented him from secreting all the small articles about their lodgings.

We do not suppose that our readers will sit very uneasy under this alleged imputation of M. Péron's on the national character of the British. But if there be any who do, we have the pleasure to inform them from good authority, that English ships visited Timor within less than a year and a half after the French expedition had left it. They found there no marks of that antipathy which M. Péron states to exist against our nation; but were received in the same hospitable and friendly way, *FOR THEIR MONEY*, which M. Péron and his associates appear to have experienced. We rather think that the cunning Malays and Chinese took the liberty of playing a little upon the national weakness of our French friends; and finding them gratified with execrations against Englishmen, complied with their taste nearly in the way which M. Péron has the goodness and modesty to describe. For his exaggeration apart, we seriously believe him to intend to speak the truth *where he is at liberty to do so*.

The expedition wintered for three months at Timor in the midst of all these enjoyments, which they occasionally varied by botanical and philosophical excursions into the interior of the country; the result of which is a few desultory but entertaining descriptions. In this interval they lost some of their naturalists, amongst whom was a M. Riédle, principal gardener of the expedition. The corpse of this gentleman was buried near that of our countryman Mr. Nelson, the botanist who accompanied Captain Bligh of the *Bounty* in his unfortunate expedition in search of the bread fruit-trees, and in the perilous voyage which they performed from Tofoa, one of the friendly islands, to Coupang in Timor, in the *Bounty's* launch, to which they were consigned by the barbarity of the mutineers. Poor Mr. Nelson died of the hardships he endured soon after their arrival at the capital of Timor; and a Dutch soldier who assisted at his interment having marked out the spot, the Frenchmen buried M. Riédle by his side, and erected a monument, "*Commun au deux naturalistes réunis dans le meme tombeau*." The dysentery also made terrible ravages among the crew, notwithstanding "*les instructions sanitaires*" of the first physician of the marine.

It was so violent that *none* who were seriously attacked survived.

At length having built a launch for the *Geographe*, to replace the boat which she lost in the bay, called by the French after her name, the expedition sailed from Coupang Bay on the 13th of November, 1801; having been previously joined by the *Naturaliste*.

This vessel arrived at Tinor about a month after its companion, and is described as having been employed during their separation in the investigation of the coast of Edels' land, and the Isle of Rottneest, the land of Endracht, and the country south of De Witt's land, on the western coast of New Holland.

Upon every remarkable bay and island in these tracts, long since discovered by the Dutch, and since visited by Dampier and others, they persevered in bestowing new French names, in compliment to the officers on board or to distinguished Frenchmen at home. By the way, upon this subject of *names* there is an admirable remark in p. 203 of M. Péron's book. He attempts to excuse Dampier for giving the name of bay to what they describe as a continuation of gulfs, ports, and bays. Nevertheless in deference to Dampier, they condescend to preserve the name, however improper it may be, "in order to avoid the *great inconveniencies* that a *change of names* brings with it." This is a piece of good reasoning and forbearance in our navigators, which we are glad to notice; more especially as it is the only occasion on which we can pay them a similar compliment.

On the island of Dirck Hartigs on the coast of Endracht one of Captain Hamelin's people picked up two curious Dutch inscriptions, recording the first discovery of the country in the year 1616, by the ship *Endracht* of Amsterdam, commanded by Dirck Hartigs, captain, and a subsequent visit and investigation of the continental coast by the ship *Geelvinck* of Amsterdam, commanded by Wilhem de Vlaming. These inscriptions were engraved on a piece of pewter, and had been nailed to a post, from whence they were detached by the lapse of time. Captain Hamelin carefully repaired the post and replaced the inscriptions.

Of Captain Hamelin's activity during this separation we believe M. Péron has spoken too highly. He seems to have a propensity to raise this officer's merit above the truth in order to contrast more strongly with the negligence (to say no worse) of Baudin. Captain Hamelin, it should appear, caused a good examination to be made of Shark's Bay, in the course of which *abundance of turtle* were found; and we are a little inclined to suspect that this circumstance, joined to another we

shall mention, induced him to wait *fifty days* in the bay for the *Geographe* to join him. The other circumstance is, that M. Hamelin, partaking of the general dislike to his commander, was glad to have the opportunity of exposing his inconsistency, by waiting *at an appointed rendezvous* long past the time that the *Geographe* could have been reasonably expected. He had his orders to plead, and in the mean time led a quiet life, feasting upon turtle.

The vessels having sailed from Timor on the 13th November, experienced a prosperous and tolerably rapid voyage up the north-west and west coast of New Holland; and stretching across the ocean from Cape Chatham, came in sight of the "foggy tops" of Van Diemen's land on the 13th January, 1802. This was a most disastrous voyage for the crew. Overwhelmed with disease, and oppressed with intolerable heat, they suffered all the miseries which we detailed in the early part of this article. This circumstance appears to us perfectly inexplicable, as they had so lately left a plentiful country, where every comfort and convenience was placed at their disposal, and where a residence of three months must have afforded leisure and opportunity to lay in ample stores of every kind. But we apprehend that the *fact* may go far to relieve the minds of those over-cautious and jealous politicians, who, through fear of being outdone by France, would lay an embargo upon every French vessel proceeding upon a voyage of discovery. Some part of these misfortunes did however certainly arise from the personal character of M. Baudin the commodore. Upon this subject we are in possession of a fact or two, with which our readers must be made acquainted. They will assist them in forming an accurate judgment of the scientific discoveries which the expedition had it in their power to make; and will also correct some misrepresentations with respect to another Captain Baudin, who is said to have fallen, bravely fighting the battles of his country off Trafalgar; and with whom our miserable commodore has been confounded.

If any Captain Baudin died at Trafalgar in the manner asserted, we have great pleasure in rescuing the character of a brave officer from the imputation of being one and the same with our navigator.

Be it known then, that the "Capitaine Baudin," who commanded the French expedition, happened to be at Paris seeking preferment, when the Institute presented their "projèt" of a voyage of discovery to the French government. The wife or the mistress of the ex-director La Revellière Lepaux possessed at that time some influence with the government; and M. Bau-

lin, in the ordinary course of *solicitation* at Paris, had lately presented his patroness with a very beautiful basket of artificial flowers, which had the good fortune to be peculiarly acceptable to her. In return she could do no less than solicit for him the command of the newly projected expedition. Unfortunately for those who embarked in it, she was too successful. For M. Baudin was totally destitute of every valuable quality, either as a man, or a commander. From an early period of the voyage he treated the men of science with what may fairly be termed the utmost barbarity. Although (as usual in the French service) he was allowed table-money for the officers, among whom we suppose the philosophers were rated; he is said to have appropriated it to himself, and left them both to shift as they might upon the ship's allowance. In our service, officers and men have the same ration from the ship, and the officers provide themselves *out of their pay* with what more they wish. The French officers, relying upon the allowance of table-money made for them, had not done this, and were consequently exposed to great hardships and privations. In short Captain Baudin exercised a degree of vulgar tyranny towards the persons under his command, which induced twelve of those in the most valuable departments of science to quit him at the Isle of France; so that in truth he had not from that period a single *Ingenieur geographe* of any standing on board his ship. This fact is carefully suppressed in the work before us; but when taken in conjunction with the ravages, which disease and death made among the remainder of the men of science, we shall not be surprised at the utter ignorance and deficiency of all accurate knowledge and investigation, which are exhibited in every page. Neither shall we wonder any longer at the continual separations, and interruptions of the expedition, to which the blunders of the commodore gave rise, nor at the scandalous inhumanity to which we shall presently see that the French government had recourse, in order to set up a plausible claim to original discovery.

Having made this statement concerning Commodore Baudin, we shall now proceed to observe that he never returned to Europe; but that he died at the Isle of France, to the great joy, we fear, of all those who had sailed under his command. There were two other Baudins in the expedition besides the commander, and if any captain of that name was killed bravely fighting at the battle of Trafalgar, it might possibly have been one of these: of this however we have our doubts.

On the 13th January, 1802, they doubled the south cape and cast anchor in the great bay of Storms, near the Channel d'Entrecaesteaux, and in the midst of the islands, with which that

beautiful bay is studded. A few interesting sketches of this scenery and of its inhabitants are to be found in the atlas. Here their operations were principally confined to some amusing intercourse with the natives, which M. Péron describes quite in the lively style of his country.

“ M. Le Sueur sat off to enjoy the pleasures of the chase ; but I preferred remaining with the savages, that I might make such observations as would enable me to describe their physical constitution, and catch the idiom of their language. While we were warming ourselves at a fire, which we had kindled with their assistance, a young girl exhibited great surprise at a circumstance which, though frivolous in itself, should not be passed over in silence, because it is precisely by these little details, that one acquires the most exact and true idea of the condition of a people placed at the utmost verge of distance from our state of society. One of our sailors had on a pair of furred gloves, which upon approaching the fire he pulled off and put into his pocket. The young girl at this sight uttered so loud a scream that we were at first alarmed ;—we soon however discovered the cause of her fright, and could not doubt from her gestures and expressions that she took these gloves for real hands, or at least for a kind of living skin, that one might take off, put into one's pocket, and resume at pleasure. We laughed much at this singular mistake, but were soon obliged to change our countenance, when an old man who was present stole from us our bottle of arrack. As it contained nearly our whole provision we were constrained to make him restore it, a circumstance which pleased him so little, that he soon departed with all his family, notwithstanding our attempts to induce him to prolong his stay. During one of their repasts we sang the Marsillois hymn in parts, at which they expressed great surprise : the progress of the meal was immediately suspended, and they expressed their satisfaction by gestures and contorsions so singular, that it was with the greatest difficulty we restrained our laughter : a young man especially appeared quite beside himself ; he pulled his hair, scratched his head with both his hands, threw himself into a thousand attitudes, and repeated over and over again his expressions of admiration. After this martial hymn, we sang to them some of our more tender and lighter airs, but it was easy to perceive that this sort of music produced but a slender effect upon their organs.

“ When they had finished the repast we had thus interrupted, the scene assumed at once a more interesting character. The young girl, of whom I spoke, gained upon our affections every moment by the sweetness of her countenance, accompanied by an expression at once soft and sprightly. *Oûre-ou're*, although more slender than her brother and sister, was more lively and impassioned in her manner and appearance. M. Freycinet, who sat near her, was the particular object of her attentions ; and in order to captivate him the more, she thought proper to summon a little coquetry in aid of her natural

charms. Oûre-ouïre first made us acquainted with the nature of the paint used by the ladies of these regions, and with the mode of its application; we were admitted to all the secrets of the toilet. Having taken some charcoal into her hands, she reduced it by pressure to a very fine powder; then holding the mass of it in her left hand, she took some in her right, and rubbing it over her forehead and cheeks rendered them of a frightful black. We were particularly amused by observing the complacency with which she looked upon us after this operation, and the additional air of confidence in her beauty, which the consciousness of this new ornament spread over her whole countenance. Thus then the sentiment of coquetry and the love of dress are, as it were, innate wants in the heart of woman in every stage of society.

While this was passing, the little children imitated the grimaces and gestures of their parents, leaping with joy at the sound of our songs. They had insensibly become familiar with us, and towards the end of our visit treated us quite on the footing of old acquaintance. Every little present which we made them redoubled their officiousness. In general they appeared lively, frolicsome, and mischievous. It is curious to find at the further extremity of the globe, and in the very infancy of society, those amiable and touching traits which distinguish the early stages of life among ourselves. We have just remarked the analogous relations in the women of these regions, and we shall meet with other traits hereafter. We have no doubt, that from these and similar observations to be found in different writers, this important consequence may be deduced; that the character of women and children is much more independent than that of men of the influence of climate, the progress of society, and the empire of physical wants." (p. 226, et seq.)

M. Péron highly praises the accuracy of the charts, laid down under the orders of Admiral d'Entrecasteaux, of the channel that goes by his name, and of the bays and ports that open into it. But the portion of Van Diemen's land to the north-east of the channel did not pass under the admiral's observation, and left a blank which the present expedition attempted to fill up. How far they effected this is very much of a secret to the readers of the voyage; the chapters, in which the author professes to treat of them, being principally filled with accounts of the natural productions, and inhabitants of the land near the different anchorages. A few very jejune geographical observations are indeed interspersed, but as they are unaccompanied by any chart, plan, or intelligible description, they might with equal profit have been entirely omitted. In truth, if the researches were all conducted in the same manner with that which we are going to relate of the Riviér du Nord, (called by the English the Derwent, and where an English colony is now established), which is the only passage in this chapter upon which we have the means of form-



ing a judgment, we have no great cause to lament the scantiness of the remainder of their descriptions. M. Péron and M. Freycinet were ordered to ascend this river, and explore its course. They did ascend it as far as "le gros Morne," a considerable mount that overhangs an elbow of the river; here their further progress, (as they conceived,) was stopped by a mud-bank stretching across the stream, through which they in vain endeavoured to find a passage. M. Péron soon got tired, and left his companions in the boat while he made an excursion up the country. M. Freycinet also thought it more convenient to take a bird's eye sketch of the river from a neighbouring height than to persevere in his attempt to find by soundings a passage up its channel. He stated, "that he saw the *whole course of the river till it lost itself in the mountains to the north-west.*" The next day they renewed their attempts to penetrate up the river, with as little success as before; "after seven hours of excessive fatigue," concludes M. Péron, "we were obliged to renounce all further attempts and to return on board, carrying with us the *melancholy certainty that this river is as incapable of being navigated, as it is of furnishing those succours that a navigator might expect from it.*" We are now going to exhibit another specimen of the difference between English and French navigators.

Would the reader suppose, after this account, that a passage of between two and three fathoms in depth does really exist in this river, not only in the part where the French navigators sought for it in vain, but also, that a channel of the same depth continues up above the great elbow and for many miles in among the mountains, *where the water is fresh?* And yet the fact is incontestably so. We have before us a small memoir, with a chart, published in 1801 by Captain (then Lieutenant) Flinders, where is the following statement concerning this very river. (p. 6.)

"We could scarcely find so much as two fathoms water abreast of Mount Direction, ("le gros Morne") but when round the point, there is a channel by the starboard shore, with not less than four fathoms in it. Below the next point, on the same side, are some dry mud banks, and (except striking into the mid-channel to pass round there,) the deep water continues on the same side past Herdsman's Cove. The channel then becomes exceedingly narrow in proportion to the width of the river; and *keeps closer to the starboard shore, until the south-south-west reach opens.* The depth of water is from two to three fathoms above Herdsman's Cove, and continues to be so, as far up as our examination went."

Captain Flinders does not say, as M. Péron does, that he saw *the whole course of the river*; but contents himself with going

up in his boat, and sounding it some *five or six miles above where* it loses itself in the mountains to the north-west. This may serve to give our readers an idea of the intelligence displayed in the geographical researches made by this French expedition, *which surpasses every thing that preceded it.* By the way, this little memoir, with the chart, enables one to form a tolerable comparison between what was done for the geography of Van Diemen's land, by two French ships with their men of science, and by the little sloop Norfolk, of 25 tons, carrying a simple lieutenant of the English navy, with eight or ten sailors and three months provisions. We are in some degree compensated, however, for all this French ignorance in matters of real science, by the amusement to be drawn from the lively descriptions given of the manners and customs of the natives; and as we consider the voyage before us to be more a work of entertainment than of instruction, we shall make no apology for inserting the following extracts,

“Another day upon landing we met with a troop of natives (females), who at first sight ran away from us; but being enticed to return by our gestures, and by holding out to their view little articles as presents, they at first made signs to us to sit down and lay aside our arms. Having complied with this desire, they immediately came and squatted near us, and soon abandoned themselves without reserve to the vivacity of their character. They laughed, spoke all at once, had often the air of criticising our appearance and laughing at our expence, making, in short, a thousand gestures and contortions as singular as they were various. They were all naked, but disgustingly filthy, and covered with coal dust and ochre. One of them approached me with an obliging air, and taking some charcoal from a rush basket, reduced it to powder and applied a coating of it to my face, and to that of one of my companions. We appeared then to be great subjects of admiration to these women. They looked upon us with a sweet satisfaction, and seemed to congratulate us upon the new species of attraction we had just acquired. *Thus then,* that European whiteness of skin of which we are so proud is really but a defect, a sort of deformity, which in these regions yields the palm of beauty to the black of charcoal, or the sombre red of ochre and other earths.

“This additional charm which we had acquired in the eyes of the women would not, however, induce them to permit us to make any nearer approaches towards their persons: at the least symptoms of motion in us, they started up and ran away; and when we got up to proceed towards our boat, they walked abreast of us, but at a respectful distance, ogling and observing us, and making their remarks to each other. In this mode we proceeded along the shore, till at the turning of a point of land we unluckily fell in with their husbands, who gave evident signs, by their fierce and discontented

looks, that they were by no means pleased with the amusement their wives had been taking. The poor females were immediately struck dumb, and crouched behind their husbands with every symptom of fear and trepidation. They had been fishing before we met them, and had deposited the fruits of their labour in their baskets. These they offered to their husbands, who immediately devoured them without bestowing one morsel upon the females." (P. 252. et seq.)

"Perceiving a great fire upon a point of land on the Isle Maria, we immediately landed on the spot, and found fourteen natives, who received us with transports at once expressive of surprise, admiration, and pleasure. We sat down, and they grouped themselves around us, armed with clubs and spears. They laid these down by their side, and M. Rouget, who was the only person armed, did the same with his fusil. The arms being thus laid aside, we began mutually to consider one another. They were for the most part young men from sixteen to twenty-five years of age; two or three appeared from thirty to thirty-five, and one alone about fifty. They were all perfectly naked, except the last, who had a kangaroo skin thrown over his shoulders. In general, they were about five feet two inches high, well made about the head, breast, shoulders, and thighs; but with thin weak legs, ill-formed arms, and a belly too large and protuberant. Their physiognomy, like that of all the race, was very expressive, strongly portraying the rapid expression of the passions which agitated their minds: frightful and fierce in their threats, restless and perfidious when under the influence of suspicion, of a mad and almost convulsive gaiety in laughter among the young, but of a sad, hard, and sombre disposition among the aged. No individual among them could divest his countenance of a sinister and ferocious aspect, which could not escape the attentive observer, and which corresponds but too well with the fundamental defects of their character. After having passed a few minutes in examining one another, M. Petit began to amuse them with some juggler's tricks and exhibitions of sleight of hand. They were exceedingly diverted, and shewed the oddest symptoms of pleasure and enthusiastic admiration. But what surprised them most of all was to see M. Rouget plunge a pin into the calf of his leg, without shewing any symptoms of pain, or bringing out a drop of blood. At this prodigy they first stared at one another in silence, and then began to howl like madmen. Unfortunately for me, they had got about them some pins which they had begged of us as presents; and one of them, wishing to ascertain if I partook of the insensibility which had so strongly excited their admiration, came behind me without saying a word, and gave me such a prick in the leg with a pin, as made me utter a scream, not the less violent for the surprise which accompanied the sudden sensation of the pain." (P. 278, et seq.)

Then follows a very singular conversation, in which M. Péron and his companions, "s'aidant beaucoup du langage d'action," contrived to make them understand and give their synonyms for

some words, with which we certainly shall not contaminate these pages. But although they shewed much intelligence on these points, they disappointed their visitors very much in another, which is related in the following manner.

“ I cannot here pass in silence a very interesting observation which I then made. It is, that they appeared to have no idea of the action of *embracing*. In vain I addressed myself to many of them, to make them conceive what I wished to know; they could not understand it at all. And when, to leave no doubt of my meaning, I approached my body to theirs to embrace them, they put on that air of surprise which an unknown action excites in us, and which I had already observed among the natives of d'Entrecasteaux's channel. When really embracing them, I asked *gouănărănă*? (What do you call that?) Their constant answer was *nidegô* (I don't know). The idea of a caress was altogether as foreign to their minds. In vain I used every gesture calculated to explain that action: their surprise announced their ignorance, and *nidegô* confirmed me, once more that they had no conception of it. Thus those two actions so full of charms, and which appear so natural to us, are altogether unknown to these barbarous and ferocious tribes.

“ We were now to be reminded of the fickle character of these savages. While we were employed in the way I have mentioned, a sudden cry was heard in the forest, at which they started up and seized their arms. We perceived that it was caused by the effect which a disembarkation from our ships had had upon some other savages stationed in the woods to look out. We succeeded in calming their fury, but could not allay their suspicions. Insensibly their countenances became more sombre and ferocious; they appeared to meditate mischief, and were only restrained by our *imposing manner* and *the fusil* of M. Rouget. Their audacity increased with their distrust; they attempted to seize several little articles by force. One of them felt a longing for my great gold ear-ring; and stepping behind me without saying a word, passed his finger subtly into the ring, and gave it so violent a pull, that he would certainly have carried away part of my ear, had not the spring fortunately given way. Considering that these men had been loaded with presents by us, that I stripped my coat of every button to please them, their unjust and perfidious conduct was inexcusable; and we were at length convinced of the imprudence of holding any intercourse with such a race, unless accompanied by means amply sufficient to repress their encroachments.”

With some difficulty the party reached their boat, and resolved for the future to act upon this last-mentioned conclusion. In one of his excursions M. Péron stumbled upon some of the burying-places of the natives, which give rise to some ingenious and fanciful observations upon the connection, which he supposes to exist between the custom of burning the dead, and the

nature of the soil and state of society of those countries where that practice has been known to prevail.

Having passed along the south-east coast of Van Diemen's land, the expedition anchored for a short time in Oyster bay, before they attempted the passage of the straits.

The investigation of the eastern half of Van Diemen's land occupied them from January 13 to March 17, when they entered Banks's straits, forming the southern entrance to the great passage called Bass's straits. They continued till the 29th working through this last-mentioned passage, cursorily examining in their way the islands with which it is thickly studded. In this superficial examination they pretend to have discovered errors in Captain Flinders's chart of 1801, but which they have the justice to attribute to the peculiar circumstances in which that navigator was placed.

"On the 29th in the afternoon," says our author, "we found ourselves abreast of the island, which shuts up the fine Western Port discovered by M. Bass, but whose particular geography, as we shall soon see, was completed by our expedition. *Here end the discoveries of the English navigators, and here begins our long reconnoissance of the Terre Napoleon.*" Here also must begin our exposition of the arrogance and falsehood of this barefaced assertion. This is the only part of the voyage for which any serious pretension to original discovery is set up, and we shall soon see on what very slender grounds even this pretension stands. Yet to obtain a temporary credence to this assertion, the French government has not hesitated to engage in a tissue of fraud, cruelty, and ingratitude, scarcely to be paralleled in any annals but its own. To prove that we do not qualify their conduct in terms too harsh, we must observe first, that at the very moment the assertion was made, the French government, by whose command, under whose auspices, and at whose expence this work was published, *must have been* perfectly aware that seventeen eighteenths of this Terre de Napoleon had been previously discovered and visited either by Lieutenant Grant, or by Captain Flinders. The French government **COULD NOT** have been ignorant that of nine hundred leagues of coast, thickly set with bays, and harbours, and islands, to the original discovery of which this publication lays claim, about sixty leagues of uninteresting coast are all that is justly due to that claim; and that even this meagre tract was but very imperfectly surveyed before the accurate investigation made of it by Captain Flinders. So much *for truth.*

We proceed to remark, that in order to give currency to the falsehoods which they were resolved to propagate, and to secure

them reception and credit on the continent, the French government did not hesitate to keep Captain Flinders imprisoned in the Isle of France for more than six years. This able navigator, having worn out the ship in which he sailed from England, and being unable to procure at Port Jackson any vessel fit for his purpose, had embarked as a passenger, with his officers and people, in an armed vessel called the *Porpoise*, which the governor of New South Wales was sending to England. This vessel had the misfortune to be wrecked in the night upon a coral reef lying two hundred miles off the coast, and seven hundred and fifty from the port she had left. The lives of all were miraculously saved, as were also the greater part of the provisions, and most of the charts and journals, which Captain Flinders was bringing home to lay before the Admiralty. After waiting nine days upon a small sand-bank just above the water's edge, in the fallacious hope of being relieved by the *Bridgewater*, which had been in company, and escaped the fate of the *Porpoise*, Captain Flinders embarked with a few sailors in an open boat, in order to seek assistance for the companions of his misfortune. He reached Port Jackson, and in less than a fortnight afterwards sailed again for *Wreck reef*, with the ship *Rolla*, and two colonial schooners. In the first he sent Lieutenants Fowler and Flinders and the greater part of his people to China\*:—and in one of the latter, the *Cumberland* of 29 tons, carrying his charts, journals, and *passports from Buonaparté* with him, he pursued his voyage towards England through *Torres Straights*, of which he was desirous to make some further examination.

The *Cumberland* being extremely leaky, Captain Flinders put in at the Isle of France, in order to get his little vessel repaired before he attempted the passage round the Cape. He had no sooner presented himself to General de Caen, and shewing his passports and commission, requested leave to repair his leaky vessel, and purchase refreshments, than he was seized as a spy,—deprived of all his charts, journals, and papers,—his people put into a prison-ship, and himself and one officer shut up in a *close room* at Port Louis,—at a time that the sun was vertical, and that a number of scorbutic ulcers, brought on by excessive fatigue and long privations, rendered fresh air and exercise of the utmost importance to his life. He was thus kept *fifteen weeks*; nor could even the representations of the French surgeon that attended him procure any alleviation of this diabolical treatment. At length our suffering countryman obtained *as a favour*, through the intercession of his worthy friend Captain Bergeret of the

\* These officers and men were in the fleet attacked by the French Admiral Linois, in 1804, and greatly contributed to the brilliant achievements of that day.

French navy, his removal to the prison where the officers, prisoners of war, were kept; and here he lingered out *seventeen months* longer in sickness, and in suffering, under fresh occasional vexations from his relentless persecutor. At that period a cartel of exchange was established between the government of India and the Isle of France; and Captain Flinders had the mortification to find himself left by all his companions the only prisoner on the island. It was now, however, thought inconvenient to keep a guard at the prison for him alone, and he was therefore permitted to live in the interior of the island upon his parole. Here he remained *four years and a half longer*, still experiencing some fresh mark of the tyrannical caprice of the savage governor. We use this epithet, because we cannot conceive that any thing but a barbarous and savage antipathy to the pursuits of science could have induced him to select, as the object of his cruelty, an amiable officer of great talents and activity of mind, who had already conferred some benefits on mankind by his discoveries, and who was at this very time on his passage to his native country and to a beloved wife, secured by a passport from the French government, and laden with the fruits of a laborious and scientific research of many months, made at the risk of his life and at the expence of every personal enjoyment. We have not, indeed, in our vocabulary an epithet strong enough, in our opinion, to stigmatize the conduct of the man, who, without the shadow of justice, could prostitute his power to deprive such an officer, (under such circumstances,) for six long years, of all prospects of domestic happiness, and of advancement in his profession; and nothing surprises us more, than that even the firm and energetic character of Captain Flinders could prevent him from sinking under the weight of such complicated sufferings, both of mind and body.

On his liberation, all his papers were restored except one journal, which General De Caen refused to give up, and which the Admiralty has demanded from the French government, we fear, in vain. During this shameful detention of our countryman, many representations were made upon the subject by the British government to that of France, but wholly without any practical effect. Such was the conduct pursued by the French government, although the Captains Baudin and Hamelin were, (by their own admission,) treated at Port Jackson, (the port whence Captain Flinders had come to the Isle of France,) with a generous hospitality that has scarcely a parallel; and the English ships which they encountered, *including that of Captain Flinders*, were no less attentive to them, so far as circumstances would allow. And with what intention has France been induced to perpetrate all these acts of injustice, cruelty, and falsehood?

For the mere purpose of assuming an *ephemeral* superiority in the career of science, by pretending to, and publishing as her own, discoveries which were really made by the man whom they held in their chains until the iron entered into his soul.

We use the word *ephemeral*, for, fortunately for the cause of truth and science, Captain Flinders has at length arrived in England with his papers, &c. and has laid his case and his information before the Admiralty; who have authorised him to publish, under their patronage, the account of his voyage, and have agreed, with very proper liberality, to pay for the engraving of all his maps, charts, and embellishments. We may therefore congratulate our readers and the public on the prospect, that they will now have laid before them a really accurate and scientific account of all that remains yet unknown of the coast of New Holland. In the mean time we cannot but feel a sense of joy somewhat approaching to exultation at the news which has just arrived. (February 14.) M. De Caen, the injurious oppressor of Captain Flinders, Captain Hamelin, the commander of the *Naturaliste*, who repaid at Tapanouli with such deep ingratitude the kindness shewn to him by the English, and the Isle of France itself, for a long course of years the depository of French plunder and intrigue in the East, have all three passed into the possession of the English. With respect to the two former, although we do not think them susceptible of a generous impression, and doubt not that they think all generosity a species of duperly, yet we trust, for the honour of our country, that the capitulation will afford us sufficient power over their persons, to treat them with that consideration and kindness which they disdained to shew to our countrymen in distress. With respect to the Mauritius, that nest of privateers, which has for fifty years been the eyesore of all our eastern settlements, we feel confident that no consideration will ever induce the British government to restore it to France, until the reduction of her power on the continent shall again permit us with safety to share with her our maritime and colonial power. We shall now proceed to attend the French expedition along their boasted reconnoissance of the "*Terre Napoléon*."

We are sorry to observe that M. Péron begins his account with a jesuitical reservation. He begins by asserting that "*lors de notre départ d'Europe*," the whole coast from the islands of St. Peter and St. Francis to the great Western Port, were as yet altogether unknown to Europeans. Now it is true that Lieutenant Grant's discovery of a part of this coast in 1800 was not made public when they sailed from Europe, but it is equally true that long before the publication of M. Péron's book it was perfectly well known, that of the 140 leagues of coast along which the



French expedition had run from March 30th to April 7th, when they met Captain Flinders, 80 leagues had been previously discovered by Lieutenant Grant. And it appears, as far as can be made out from comparing M. Péron's *very general account* of the places, to which he attached French names, with Mr. Grant's discoveries, that the following places, discovered and named by Mr. Grant, were afterwards claimed by the French under the names which respectively stand opposed to them.

*Lieutenant Grant's names.**French names.*

Cape Schanck - -	Cap Richelieu.
Cape Albany Otway -	Cap Marengo.
Lady Julien's Island -	Isle Fourcroy.
Portland Bay - -	Bâie Tourville.
Laurence Island -	Isle du Dragon.
Cape Solicitor - -	Cap Montagne.
Cape Bridgewater -	Cap Montesquieu.
Cape Northumberland	Cap de Mont St. Bernard.

At a few miles west from Cape Northumberland begins the *real discovery* of the French; which extends about 60 leagues to the point where they met Captain Flinders in the Investigator.

These capes, bays, and islands were however part of 140 leagues of coast westward from the western harbour, which the French ran along from March 30th to April 7th; and together with the Bâie Talleyrand, the Cap Volney, the Piton de Reconnaissance, &c. &c. part of their real discoveries, were expected to hand down to distant ages the remembrance of this expedition. But we are now about to record some facts, which, *in strict justice*, would altogether deprive the French navigators of any right to claim as their discovery, or to affix names to any part of this coast, except the headlands which they might have perceived while sailing at a distance from the shore; and it will be observed, that they do not even pretend to have landed on any part of it. The circumstance, which led to the facts we allude to, is stated thus by M. Péron.

“We had been fishing for porpoises, which played round the ships in innumerable shoals, and had just harpooned nine of them, which appeared a blessing sent from Heaven to allay the ravages of the scurvy, that our rotten and worm-eaten salt provisions had engendered among the crew. It was the 8th of April, and our fishing parties had just returned on board, when a sail was discovered from the mast head. We at first thought it was the *Naturaliste*, which had parted company a short time before, but were soon undeceived. As the two ships were going on different tacks, we were soon abreast of each other. The stranger hoisted English colours, which we answered by hoisting the French flag.

“ The English captain hailed us, and asked if we were not part of an expedition, that had sailed from France on a voyage of discovery. Upon our answering in the affirmative, he immediately came on board, and we found that it was Captain Flinders, the same commander who had already circumnavigated Van Diemen's land. We learned that he had left Europe eight months before, with the design of completing the discovery of the coasts of New Holland; that he had been for three months at Nuyt's land; that having met with contrary winds, *he had not been able to penetrate* as he wished behind the islands of St. Peter and St. Francis, where was supposed to be the mouth of the river or straight dividing New Holland into two islands; that he had been separated from another ship which accompanied him from England by a violent storm; that he had been exposed to great danger in Bass's straits, and had lost his long-boat with his first lieutenant and eight of his best men. In giving us these details Mr. Flinders was *very reserved* upon his own particular operations. But we learned from some of his sailors, that he had suffered much from the south winds, which had been so favourable to us, and this gave us reason to rejoice in the *superior wisdom* of our instructions.” (M. Péron is silent as to the *superior wisdom* of entering upon the investigation of an immense tract of unknown inhospitable coast in the middle of April, the season which in the southern hemisphere answers to our October, and this in a latitude high enough to be exposed to violent storms throughout the autumn and winter). “ After conversing with us for more than an hour, Captain Flinders returned to his ship.” (Voyage, p. 324).

Before we make any observations upon this extract, it is necessary to premise, that no French officer was present at the conversation which took place with Captain Flinders except the commander; although from his own account one would naturally suppose that M. Péron was there. Having given M. Péron this fair chance of exculpation, we are bound to declare, from good sources of information, that almost every word of the preceding extract is absolutely false. In the first place, Captain Flinders, so far from being *reserved*, gave the French commander even more information than was requested of him. He told M. Baudin that he had explored the *whole coast from Cape Leuwin* to the place *where they met*, and particularly stated his having discovered and examined two great gulfs; in the first of which was what the French have since called Port Champagne, where he might obtain fresh water. He told him also of Kangaroo island, (their Isle Decrés,) where he might procure fresh provisions;— of rocks lying in the narrow channel between that island and the mainland, &c. &c. On the French commander's side, he told Captain Flinders, that he had coasted with fair winds and fine weather the whole shore from Western Port to the place of their meeting, *without having found a single place where a*

ship could anchor in safety. When Captain F. inquired after a large island said to exist in the western entrance of Bass's straight, M. Baudin declared that he had seen nothing of it. Thus they had missed King's island, and *Port Philip*: and yet this last is the port in Bass's straight, which M. Péron describes as *having been discovered in this first campaign* along the south coast of Australia; so cursory was their examination of it before it was investigated after them by Captain Flinders. They certainly appear to have returned *eight months afterwards*, and verified those discoveries, of which they got intelligence at Port Jackson, where they again found their *rival*, Captain Flinders.

Captain Baudin having recommended to the commander of the Investigator, (should he fall in with it), a boat which he had lost in Bass's straights, the two expeditions parted company, and the French proceeded along the coast which the English had just explored. Fires burning and smoke ascending at short distances from the shore, announced that the country was inhabited. But the shore itself, and the numerous islands that are scattered around it, exhibited a picture of desolate sterility, by no means less forbidding than the western coast. The reefs, shoals, and sunken rocks, and the violent storms so common in these regions, more than once brought the ship to the brink of destruction. The scavans did not once land, to satisfy their curiosity as to the inhabitants: no entertainment, therefore, of that kind can be extracted from this part of the history; and as to instruction, it is altogether as deficient. The French pleasantly enough persevered in bestowing the names of their principal revolutionary characters on the bays and promontories discovered a few days before by the English; but they did not even succeed in verifying those discoveries, where the attempt was attended with any difficulty. They could neither penetrate into the gulf they called Bonaparte, nor behind the islands St. Peter's and St. Francis, which the English had just before explored. Eight several days they renewed the attempt, and were as often repelled by "*the storms, the calms, the currents, the weakness of the crew,*" and probably by the gross ignorance of M. Baudin. At length disease, famine, and fatigue so reduced the whole crew, scavans as well as sailors, that they were obliged on the 8th of May to give up all further attempts at discovery, and make the best of their way to the nearest port. It was not till the following year that the investigation is said to have taken place, which they assert to have been made of this coast; and it is fair to state that no proof whatever of such investigation *having ever been actually made* appears in the work before us. Certain it is at least, that no *real information* on the subject was possessed by

the French, until after the communication which took place between them and the crew of the English expedition, when they wintered together at Port Jackson.

Winter now setting in apace, the expedition sailed on the 8th May for Van Diemen's land, which appeared in sight on the 19th in the morning. On the 20th they cast anchor in Adventure Bay, where they procured water and wood, and landed the sick. On the 22d the commodore gave orders to re-embark the sick, and weigh anchor; but such was the weakness of the crew, that they were four hours performing the latter operation. Having succeeded at length, they cleared the bay, which M. Péron represents as the best in Van Diemen's land for watering and provisioning ships. From this time till the 17th of June the ship beat up to the northward, tossed at the mercy of the most violent squalls and tempests, while its unfortunate crew was entirely overcome by fatigue, inanition, and a general affection of scurvy in its most dreadful and inveterate forms. On the 17th they fell in with an English ship on its passage to the whale fishery on the coasts of New Zealand. From it they learned, that they had two days before left Captain Flinders at Port Jackson; that the *Naturaliste* had also been there for some days, and had sailed again in search of them; that they were *impatiently* expected at Port Jackson, where the English government had sent out orders that they should be treated with all possible kindness, and that every useful assistance should be afforded to them. And lastly they learned, that an official account of the conclusion of peace between France and England had arrived at Port Jackson a few days before: upon which intelligence M. Péron makes the following observation: "Ce qu'on nous dit de ses conditions, ajoutant un nouveau prix à ce grand événement, les cris de la douleur furent un instant suspendus pour laisser éclater les transports de l'âlégresse, et ceux de la reconnoissance pour le grand homme, dont le nom venoit se rattacher à cette glorieuse pacification."

The French commander had been for some days abreast of Port Jackson without being able, from the extreme weakness of his crew, to navigate his ship into it. "How great then was our joy," states M. Péron, "when on the 20th we saw a large English boat making sail toward us." The officer commanding it informed us, that we had been observed for more than three days from the look-out on the coast, and that the governor, having concluded from our manœuvres that we were in the most pressing want of assistance, had sent the boat with a pilot, and the men necessary to take us into port. In effect, thanks to this powerful reinforcement, we very soon found ourselves safely at

anchor within it." We cannot resist the opportunity of contrasting this deplorable state of the French ship with that of the Investigator, which had shortly before arrived at Port Jackson; it will serve as a signal proof that the system struck out by the immortal Cook is still followed by *our* modern navigators. We happen to know, that after a passage out from England to New Holland, and after six other months employed in the minute examination of this same south coast of Australia, of which M. Péron gives such a dreadful account, Captain Flinders arrived at Port Jackson with *every man* of his crew doing duty upon deck, and in such a state of health, as to be distinguished in New South Wales for men who had arrived fresh from England.

Here ended the disasters of the French expedition, for this year at least. The sick recovered with the rapidity of magic. And the *Naturaliste*, (which had parted company on the 8th of March, on the east coast of Van Diemen's land, and before the *Geographe* entered Bass's straights,) returned to Port Jackson very soon after Captain Baudin's arrival.

The commander of the *Naturaliste* had been amusing himself during the autumn with visiting the various bays and islands in Banks's and Bass's straights, on the inhospitable shores of which they found the remnants of many wrecks, principally, we fear, of English ships. Nothing interesting occurs in the journal of these operations, except a pretension which it makes to the merit of having remarked some inaccuracies in the English charts of the Dalrymple river, and of that part of the northern coast of Bass's straights which lies between Wilson's promontory and the great Western Port; and a description of the habits and appearance of the natives in the neighbourhood of this port. With respect to the first, we have reason to believe that the *Naturaliste* had not in its possession Captain Flinders's particular sketch of Port Dalrymple, but only the small scale in the general chart of Van Diemen's land. When they say, therefore, "Il se trouve beaucoup d'incorrections, qu'il nous a été plus facile, de reconnoitre que de corriger," we may fairly consider it to be a mere fanfaronade; for they could not make a better survey of it in the little time they staid. In the Western Port they were the first that discovered, that the land at its head was an island, a thing of little importance, but to which they attach much; and indeed it does make some figure among the very little done by the *Naturaliste*. It is expressed in Captain Flinders's chart, that the Western Port there given is from an eye-sketch taken by Mr. Bass. Captain F. had never been in it himself.

With respect to the manners of the natives in the environs of

the Western Port, they appear to have but little resemblance to the inhabitants of Van Diemen's land, except in their habits of suspicion and perfidy, and in their custom of smearing their bodies and faces with pounded charcoal. Their language is very different, and they are most particularly distinguished by their countenance, the form of their heads, their long and glossy hair, their beautiful and regular teeth, the red and white circles and crosses which they paint upon their bodies, and by the custom of piercing the gristle of the nose, for the purpose of carrying in it as an ornament a stick seven or eight inches long.

They sometimes light fires incautiously in their forests, which, by communicating with the trees, extend their devastations in a most disastrous manner.

Bad provisions, and their usual concomitant the scurvy, were the lot of Captain Hamelin's crew, though in a more moderate degree than on board the *Geographe*. They had driven him to Port Jackson in the early part of the autumn, whence he had again sailed in search of his companion, and returned again on the third of July, when the two ships were equally rejoiced to find themselves quietly alongside of each other in the peaceful harbour of Port Jackson, and in the full enjoyment of every comfort and accommodation, which the most liberal hospitality could afford.

The French expedition remained five months at Port Jackson, from the 20th June to the 18th November, 1802, during which period the savans amused themselves in the same way, in which most men of common curiosity would have done in similar circumstances. They examined the surface of the colony, investigated the properties of its soil and natural productions, made excursions to the different villages, mixed with the inhabitants, and inquired into their laws and customs. They were exceedingly struck with the beauty of the port and its environs, and with the air of order, decency, and morality, which reigned throughout every corner of the territory: they could scarcely be brought to believe that the prolific, intelligent, and industrious mothers, whom they here beheld surrounded by healthy and affectionate families, were once the sterile, diseased, and ignorant refuse of the London stews. Nor could they refrain from admiring those institutions, which had converted robbers, once the terror of their country, into peaceful and laborious citizens; which by placing them between the certainty of chastisement, and the prospect of improving their condition, first gave an impulse to their exertions; and which by encouraging them to acquire property, and to assume the character of husbands and of fathers, at once gave them a permanent interest in the main-

tenance of order and justice, by the dearest and most powerful ties, by the feelings of conjugal and parental affection, and by the wish to preserve the possessions they had acquired. M. Péron expatiates upon all these subjects with the ardour and enthusiasm of his country, and with the admiration which such a spectacle may well be supposed to excite in the mind of a young and not unamiable Frenchmān, brought up in the midst of all the *social* miseries of anarchical or republican France. Comparing his descriptions with those of more sober historians of the colony, we find them a little exaggerated, but they are spirited and interesting; and did our present limits permit, we would enter into them a little more minutely. But we must hasten to the conclusion of an article which we fear has already been much too far extended.

M. Péron made the same attempt to pass over the Blue-mountains into the interior of the country, which every visitor of enterprise is tempted to undertake; and the same success attended his endeavours.—The further he penetrated the more yet appeared to be surmounted. He beheld

“ Mountain piled on mountain to the skies,”

and gave up the attempt in despair.

In short, he added one to the number of those, who are constrained to admit by the evidence of their own senses, that the interior of New Holland is altogether inaccessible, on this side at least.

We are ourselves much inclined to suspect that even if this barrier were surmounted, the interior of the country would offer obstacles still more absolute (though of a different nature) to further progress.

The collation and comparison of several facts scattered throughout the work, which we shall now briefly detail, have left very little doubt upon our minds, but that the whole of the interior of New Holland is an arid, sandy, and inhospitable desert, of the same nature with those in the interior of Africa.

In the first place, it has been observed, that whenever the wind blows from the centre of this immense island towards the coast, the blast is hot, dry, and so inimical to vegetable life, that there is scarcely any plant, which does not wither and die under its pestiferous and baleful influence. M. Péron was extremely surprised and puzzled to observe a wind of this nature descending directly from the ridge of Blue-mountains, at the back of the plains of Paramatta; concluding from analogy, that a north-west wind descending from an apparently interminable chain of high mountains should come charged with cold and wet, instead

of heat and drought. The same observation has been made at various part of the coast, so that a person circumnavigating New Holland would be witness in different places to the singular phenomenon of a hot, dry, and parching wind *blowing from every point of the compass*; a circumstance that appears to us altogether inexplicable, except upon the hypothesis we have ventured to suggest.

The supposition also acquires great additional probability from a contemplation of the nature of the different rivers, that disembogue themselves into the sea on the various coasts of New Holland. So long as it was possible, that a great river or straight might be found to divide it into two parts, from the gulf of Carpentaria to that which lies behind the islands of St. Peter and St. Francis, nothing could be predicated with certainty as to the deficiency of rivers in the interior; because it was possible that they might have drawn their sources from hills or mountains, situated beyond the actual researches of Europeans, and have emptied themselves into the supposed straight. But now, that Captain Flinders has ascertained that the island is (if we may use the expression) one continued and compact continent, and that all the rivers throughout its extensive coast are mere torrents, flowing in a contracted channel, with waters shallow in dry weather, but subject to sudden rises from the accession of land floods after heavy rains; that they exhibit, in short, every symptom peculiar to streams whose sources are at no great distance from their mouths; we cannot avoid the conclusion, that the interior of the country is altogether destitute of water.

“Nor springs nor rivers fertilize the land,  
Which stretches far and wide—a wilderness of sand.”

Lastly, if any doubt still lurked in our minds, we think it would be removed by the circumstance recorded in almost every page of the history of M. Péron's circumnavigation, viz. that the greater part of the coast is absolutely destitute of fresh water. Now, if this be so of the coast, *à fortiori*, it must be still more emphatically so of the interior; for we do not believe that the experience of any navigator will prove, that, where fresh water is not to be found in a country within a mile or two of the coast, a search further inland has ever been successful in procuring it.

We have communicated our idea with respect to the interior of New Holland to an eminent geographer, who is of opinion, that the data on which it is founded afford fair ground for concluding that the fact is as we suspect.

So far as a judgment can be formed upon a review of the volume before us, we are compelled to express an opinion, that as



the *History of a Voyage of Discovery*, M. Péron's work is perfectly ridiculous. Not one accurate geographical description, scarcely a point marked down with precision as to its latitude and longitude, not a chart or map of any kind (except a plan of Port Jackson), not a well-founded pretension to more than a slight and cursory inspection of the shores, along which they coasted! In short, however well qualified the combination of talent might have been for the purposes of the expedition, when it left the port of Havre, so much havoc had been made by disease, so many of the most valuable *scavans* had quitted the expedition in disgust at M. Baudin's brutality, that very scanty means of scientific observation remained, when the vessels arrived at the south and south-west coasts of Australia.

Charts indeed, and scientific observations, and accurate descriptions, are largely promised in a subsequent volume, of which even the table of contents is given at the end of this. But the first has now been published three years, and all we have heard of the second is as follows. A gentleman connected with the Imperial Institute, who was in London a short time ago, stated, that it was just printed, and the charts engraved; but that the government had laid their prohibitory finger upon the work, and suppressed its publication. Two reasons only could have induced Bonaparte to act thus: either he perceived some favourable expressions concerning our character and settlements in the East which displeased him, or he thought it more *convenient* to wait till the French author had had the benefit of perusing the work, and consulting the charts, with which Captain Flinders is about to favour the literary world. If M. Péron wrote the second volume, the amiable character which we understand he possessed makes the former supposition not improbable. But we are ourselves more disposed to attach credit to the latter. We think it more consonant with the modern French character and practice, in the departments of real science. Their characteristic qualities too often appear to be, great pretensions followed by very scanty execution, and attempts to raise up trophies to national vanity at the expence of the credit, and manufactured of the materials belonging to others.

This is emphatically the character of the volume now before us, and of the circumstances attending its publication, considered as a history of scientific and original discovery. As a desultory and entertaining ramble among a race of mankind little known, and rarely visited, a more favourable judgment may be given. With the exception of a few specimens of filth and indelicacy, which, we fear, are thought necessary to recommend the work to the debauched taste of Parisian readers, the descriptions

of savage life and manners are spirited and entertaining, and accompanied by engraved illustrations curious and well executed. Yet it cannot be denied, that the falsehoods and misrepresentations to be detected in the scientific departments throw a shade of doubt over the authenticity of the facts related in the lighter parts of the narrative, and go far to degrade it from the rank of a book of instruction to one of mere amusement. We are really sorry that a sense of impartiality compels us to rate so very low a work held out by the learned Imperial Institute of France, as surpassing in utility and importance the labours of all preceding navigators. We hope that the disappointment experienced on its perusal, will, ere long, be compensated by the real information and accurate knowledge, which Captain Flinders's work will impart to the world.

We trust that his work, when published, will be translated into French, and means taken to circulate it on the Continent, and if the charts are not already engraved, that French translations of the names will be inserted. We should be glad that foreigners should judge for themselves on the subject.

We have no fear that any impartial person, who, on perusing *this voyage*, will place beside him on his desk the works of Cook, Vancouver, Broughton, Captain Flinders, or any navigator of established reputation, or will hesitate to acquiesce entirely in the justice of our opinion concerning it's merits. We are persuaded that they will think that M. Péron's book is advanced fully up to its proper level, when placed in an English dress by the side of Sir John Carr's *Tours*, and other entertaining peregrinations, in an octavo collection of *Voyages and Travels*.

**ART. V.** *Six Lectures on the Elements of Plane Trigonometry; with the method of constructing Tables of Natural and Logarithmic Lines, Cosines, Tangents, &c.* By the Rev. B. Bridge, A.M. Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, and Professor of Mathematics in the East India College. 8vo. pp. 89. London. Cadell and Davies, 1810.

**T**HE science of Trigonometry was invented for the solution of plane triangles; and though by the accession of new theorems it continued gradually to enlarge its bounds, yet for many ages no idea could be formed of the rank which it would one day hold in mathematical pursuits. It was reserved for modern times to exhibit all its resources; and the progress of knowledge has at length assigned to it a very high degree of dignity and importance.

By the introduction of algebraical reasoning, many formulæ have been deduced, which are of essential service in the higher departments of analytics, in the various branches of mixed mathematics, and in the solution of problems in physical astronomy.

Plane Trigonometry may be divided into two parts; of which the one treats of the solution of triangles, and the other deduces formulæ and illustrates their use. Though the solution of triangles must ever be considered as forming a distinct and material part of the subject, yet a treatise, which should now be confined to that object, would be justly esteemed defective. Many of the most useful formulæ can easily be obtained; and the illustration of their use in the construction of the trigonometrical canon and of the tables, if judiciously executed, will neither add much to the length nor to the difficulty of the work. In the present state of science, every treatise upon trigonometry should comprise some portion of trigonometrical analysis. The extent to which it may be carried in every instance must be left to the judgment of the writer, who will best understand the nature of his own work, and the object for which it is composed.

It is by no means necessary that every student should apply himself to those parts of the subject which are useful only in the higher branches of the mathematics. The physical astronomer and the proficient in analytics will be anxious to derive from trigonometry all the aids which the science can afford; it is therefore of importance that they should possess many formulæ, which to an inferior class of students are of very little service. They will also be anxious to arrive at their conclusions by the shortest method; and, since the geometrical process must be somewhere abandoned, they will seek to get rid of it as soon as possible. Where the principles are familiar, no conclusions can be more satisfactory than those which are derived from analysis. But a very slight experience will soon convince us, that works of this nature are but indifferently suited to the class of ordinary students. Their very form is repulsive; the reasoning may in itself be clear, yet to the beginner it will long appear to be involved in obscurity; and, though the conclusions be just, yet will they frequently be admitted rather from authority than conviction.

According to the system which prevails in our universities, and from which no material deviation can be made, when a young man is furnished with the first six books of Euclid, and a slight knowledge of equations, he is ushered into trigonometry. His mathematical ideas are yet in their infancy; and the application even of the sixth book of Euclid, connected with the new terms which he is required to adopt, will in general require as much attention as he is able to bestow. He has not yet learned to generalise; and the analytical method, if applied in all cases where it

can be applied, would present difficulties, which he is yet hardly qualified to surmount, and which are adapted rather to discourage than to promote exertion. A single instance will illustrate this remark.

The well known problem, which requires to express the sines of the sum and difference of two arcs in terms of the sines and cosines of the arcs, admits both of a geometrical and algebraical demonstration. In the geometrical, the values are determined by means of similar triangles; the memory is burthened with nothing extraneous, and the application of a few plain principles in the sixth book of Euclid will serve the purpose.

The investigation of the same result by analysis depends upon the recollection of expressions deduced from two former propositions; the first of which gives the value of the cosines, and the second of the sines of the angles, in terms of the sides. The proof for the sine of the *sum* of the arcs (to which we here confine ourselves, for the sake of brevity), runs thus:

Let  $A, B, C$  be the three angles of a triangle,  $a, b, c$  the opposite sides. Then by former propositions,

$$\text{Cosin. } A = \frac{b^2 + c^2 - a^2}{2bc}; \text{ and Cosin. } B = \frac{a^2 + c^2 - b^2}{2ac}$$

Also  $\text{Sin. } A = \frac{N}{bc}$  and  $\text{Sin. } B = \frac{N}{ac}$ , where  $N^2 = 4 \times \left( \frac{a+b+c}{2} \right) \left( \frac{a+b+c}{2} - a \right) \left( \frac{a+b+c}{2} - b \right) \left( \frac{a+b+c}{2} - c \right)$ . From

these expressions we have  $\text{Sin. } A \cdot \text{Cos. } B + \text{Cos. } A \cdot \text{Sin. } B = \frac{N(a^2 + c^2 - b^2 + b^2 + c^2 - a^2)}{2abc^2} = \frac{2Nc^2}{2abc^2} = \frac{N}{ab}$  But  $\text{Sin. } c = \frac{N}{ab}$

and  $\text{Sin. } c = \text{Sin.}(180^\circ - A + B) = \text{Sin. } A + B$ , since the sine of an angle is equal to the sine of its supplement. Hence  $\text{Sin. } A + B = \text{Sin. } A \cdot \text{Cos. } B + \text{Cos. } A \cdot \text{Sin. } B$ . Q. E. D.

All this is perfectly legitimate; but how is it to be understood by a youth, qualified as we have already stated? It is not difficult to believe, that many a tyro might enable himself to write down the demonstration, who would find it a hard task after all, if a circle were drawn for him, to point out the arcs and the sines and cosines, respecting which he had reasoned.

The tendency of these observations is to shew, that one sort of book may be calculated for proficient, and another for beginners; that a rejection of geometrical proof in every case, where it can be rejected, is attended with inconveniences more serious than mere prolixity; and that the most useful work which can be presented to a student, who possesses neither extraordinary talents nor much knowledge of the subject, is one which consults perspicuity

in the first place, and in the second furnishes him with a reasonable view of the science, without entangling him in abstruse disquisitions or the application of difficult formulæ; these he will acquire from works more profound at some future period.

The treatise, of which we propose to give some account in this present article, may be recommended with great propriety according to this idea; its professions are modest, and the execution is highly creditable. It possesses sufficient originality to distinguish it from every other work on the same subject; the one which it most resembles is, perhaps, that of Le Gendre. The connection of trigonometry with the higher branches of mathematics is wholly omitted; but we are presented in a short compass with many of the most useful formulæ, and some elegant specimens of trigonometrical analysis.

Mr. Bridge has divided his work into six lectures. The first lecture proves that arcs are the measures of angles, explains the French division of the circle, gives the definitions of the sine, cosine, &c., demonstrates geometrically some properties of arcs and angles, deduces arithmetically certain sines, tangents, &c., and points out their relation in different circles. This chapter is neat and perspicuous, and furnishes a very good introduction to the following lectures. There is nothing difficult, nothing abstruse; and we arrive at the end of the 17th page without meeting with a single article which can alarm a beginner.

We would venture to suggest one alteration in the definitions; that of expressing them in general terms. We are aware that the method adopted by Mr. Bridge is sanctioned by the authority of Le Gendre, Woodhouse, and others; but the old method, as it appears in Vince and Lacroix, is surely preferable. The illustration can, with equal advantage to the learner, follow the definition. Our meaning will be understood by a specimen of each.—(Mr. Bridge): “FG, a line drawn from one extremity of the arc AP, perpendicular upon the diameter (AB) passing through the other extremity, is called the sine of the angle ACP.”—(Vince): “The sine of an arc is a line drawn from one extremity of the arc perpendicular to a diameter drawn through the other extremity. Hence MH is the sine of MA and of MD.”

The second lecture gives the investigation of formulæ for the construction of the tables. This comprises the variation of the sine, cosine, &c. in different quadrants, and a variety of formulæ founded upon the expression for the sine and cosine of  $A + B$ .

The proposition, which is the basis of these formulæ, is demonstrated by help of a figure. This mode is pursued both by Lacroix and Le Gendre, and it is certainly the easiest. By a similar process, the tangents of  $A + B$  might be deduced in terms

of the tangents of  $A$  and  $B$ ; but Mr. Bridge has inserted the algebraical. Vince has taken both: the chief reason for introducing the geometrical is, that the proposition for the tangents may be proved independently of the proposition for the sines. The algebraical demonstration, however, will in this instance be preferred. It is equally clear with the other, and much more concise.

From these two propositions are deduced the expressions for the sines and cosines, and for the tangents and cotangents, of multiple arcs. Several formulæ are obtained by addition and division, and serve to give a good idea of the manner in which others may be found. In these matters much depends upon a judicious arrangement; and it is but just to state, that in this point we think Mr. Bridge particularly happy. To hunt after formulæ, which are scattered and dispersed, is a tedious and perplexing business. Lacroix has arranged the principal formulæ in a table of two pages, so that the whole may be seen at one view; those of Mr. Bridge are not less clear, nor are they unreasonably extended.

Had the author intended this to be any other than an elementary treatise, he would probably have inserted in this lecture the series, which may be deduced for expressing the sine and cosine in functions of the arc: the expressions are not difficult to be remembered, nor is the demonstration very laborious: we think, however, that he has done right in omitting them. They belong to works of a more abstruse character.

In the early part of this lecture we have the variation of the sine, cosine, &c. found by the usual method. Lacroix amuses himself with deducing the same results from the expressions of the sine and cosine of  $A + B$ : as the proof is neat and concise, we shall here insert it.

$$\cos. A + B = \cos. A \cdot \cos. B - \sin. A \cdot \sin. B.$$

$$\sin. A + B = \sin. A \cdot \cos. B + \sin. B \cdot \cos. A.$$

Let  $\pi = 360^\circ$ ; and assume  $A = \frac{1}{2}\pi$

$$\text{Then } \cos. \frac{1}{2}\pi + B = -\sin. B$$

$$\sin. \frac{1}{2}\pi + B = \cos. B;$$

that is, if the sine and cosine of an arc less than a quadrant be positive, the cosine of an arc greater than a quadrant will be negative while its sine is positive.

The other variations may be obtained in a similar manner by assuming  $A = \frac{1}{2}\pi$  or  $= \frac{3}{2}\pi$ . The variations of the tangent and secant will be found from those of the sine and cosine.

In the third lecture, we have the construction of the trigono-

metrical canon and a section on the investigation of formulæ of verification.

These formulæ may be deduced in great variety. Mr. Bridge furnishes one, as a specimen, resulting from the 10th proposition in the fourth book of Euclid. After obtaining an arithmetical expression for the sine of  $54^\circ$  and that of  $18^\circ$ , he obtains by a former article the following equation :

$\text{Sin. } 54^\circ + B + \text{Sin. } 54^\circ - B - \text{Sin. } 18^\circ + B - \text{Sin. } 18^\circ - B = \text{Cos. } B$ , where different values may be substituted for  $B$  at the pleasure of the computist.

The fourth lecture explains the construction of the logarithmic tables, including the solution of the equation  $ax = N$ , the series for finding the logarithm of  $N$ , and the value of the modulus in any system of logarithms.

These sections, and especially the last, will appear to a learner the most formidable part of the book ; they are illustrated, perhaps, in as short a compass as is consistent with perspicuity, and certainly convey a very good general idea of the construction of the tables.

As a specimen of Mr. Bridge's manner, we shall here insert his proposition "On the investigation of the series for finding the logarithm of any number  $N$ ." The substitution for converting the resulting series into another of rapid convergence is neat and simple.

"It appears that  $x$  is the logarithm of  $a^x$ ; if, therefore,  $a^x = 1 + n$ , and if for  $b - \frac{1}{2} b^2 + \frac{1}{3} b^3 = \&c.$  or  $a - 1 - \frac{1}{2} a - 1)^2 + \frac{1}{3} a - 1)^3 - \&c.$  we put  $M$ , we have (by the last section)  $x$  or  $\log. 1 + n = \frac{1}{M} \times (n - \frac{1}{2} n^2 + \frac{1}{3} n^3 - \frac{1}{4} n^4 + \frac{1}{5} n^5 - \&c.)$

But it is evident that this series for  $\log. 1 + n$  is not a *converging* series; since if  $n$  be any whole number greater than *one*, its terms keep continually increasing, so that it is impossible to approximate to its value by summing any number of them; but, by means of the following transformation, we shall obtain a series of such convergency, that a few of its terms will answer our purpose for finding the logarithm of any given number. Thus,

$$\text{Log. } 1 + n = \frac{1}{M} \times (n - \frac{1}{2} n^2 + \frac{1}{3} n^3 - \frac{1}{4} n^4 + \frac{1}{5} n^5 - \&c.)$$

For  $n$  put  $-n$ ; then

$$\text{Log. } 1 - n = \frac{1}{M} \times (-n - \frac{1}{2} n^2 - \frac{1}{3} n^3 - \frac{1}{4} n^4 - \frac{1}{5} n^5 - \&c.)$$

— Subtract the lower equation from the higher; then,

$$\text{Log. } 1 + n - \log. 1 - n = \frac{1}{M} \times (2n + \frac{1}{3} n^3 + \frac{1}{5} n^5 + \&c.)$$

or  $\log. \frac{1+n}{1-n} = \frac{2}{m} \times (n + \frac{1}{3}n^3 + \frac{1}{5}n^5 + \&c.)$

Now let  $n = \frac{1}{N-1}$ ; then  $\frac{1+n}{1-n} = \frac{1 + \frac{1}{N-1}}{1 - \frac{1}{N-1}} = \frac{N}{N-2}$ .

Hence by substitution,

$\text{Log. } \frac{N}{N-2} = \frac{2}{m} - \left( \frac{1}{N-1} + \frac{1}{3 \cdot N-1} + \frac{1}{5 \cdot N-1} + \&c. \right)$

or,  $\text{Log. } N - \log. N - 2 = \frac{2}{m} \times \left( \frac{1}{N-1} + \frac{1}{3 \cdot N-1} + \frac{1}{5 \cdot N-1} + \&c. \right)$   $\therefore \log. N = \frac{2}{m} \times \left( \frac{1}{N-1} + \frac{1}{3 \cdot N-1} + \frac{1}{5 \cdot N-1} + \&c. \right) + \log. N - 2$ , which latter series converges

extremely fast, and is a very convenient one for finding the logarithm of (N) when it is any whole number greater than 2." (P. 44.)

The value of  $\frac{2}{m}$  in this series = .86858896. Let this = A;

then, as appears by p. 50,  $\frac{A}{N-1} + \frac{A}{3 \cdot N-1} + \log. N - 2$

will be the formula for calculating the logarithms of all numbers

between 23 and 400; and  $\frac{A}{N-1} + \log. N - 2$  of those above

400; by help of the latter formula the tables might be extended to any length whatever.

The fifth lecture shews the application of the principles already laid down in the solution of right-angled and oblique-angled triangles.

All the cases of oblique-angled triangles depend upon the three following propositions: 1. The sides are proportional to the sines of their opposite angles. 2. The sum of two sides : their difference :: the tangent of the semi-sum of the angles of the base : the tangent of their semi-difference. 3. The proposition, which gives the sine or cosine of an angle in terms of the sides.

The second of these propositions is here proved bot. by the algebraical and geometrical method. The algebraical is more concise, but we are glad that the geometrical is not omitted.

The case, in which the three sides are given to determine the angles, is solved by the expression for the sine or cosine in terms of the sides. The old proposition, which states that the base : the sum of the other two sides :: the difference of those sides : the difference of the segments of the base, is elegant in its proof,



but tedious in the application; since in every instance a perpendicular is to be drawn, the segments of the base are to be determined, and we must then have recourse to the rules for right-angled triangles. We are rather sorry to part with an old acquaintance; the proposition is retained by Vince, though, like most of the modern writers on trigonometry, he applies the other rule to the solution of cases.

A lecture on the mensuration of heights and distances, with about half a dozen questions for practice, closes the treatise.

The few pages given to this lecture would appear very inadequate in a larger work; but the evident object of the author is to furnish nothing more on this part than a general idea of the subject; and for this purpose a short chapter will suffice.

We cannot conclude this article without expressing the great pleasure, which we have derived from the perusal of the work before us. It is arranged with judgment, and is perspicuous in every part. The division of the subject into several distinct portions is of great advantage to the learner. He has an entire lecture before him; he makes himself master of a few pages and then arrives at a resting place, from which he can easily observe the whole of the road over which he has passed. We are disposed to lay the greater stress upon this clearness of demonstration and this felicity of arrangement, because they are not always the concomitants of knowledge. Whether a defect in these points is the result of negligence, or whether the art, which we are commending, is to be obtained only by a long habit of instructing others, and therefore of communicating knowledge in its simplest and most intelligible form, we presume not to decide. But the fact is indisputable, that far less attention is in general paid to these considerations than their importance demands. We have in our own language other valuable works upon Trigonometry, which comprise much more than the treatise of Mr. Bridge, and are calculated for a different class of readers. Extreme attention to arrangement and to simplicity of demonstration is therefore perhaps less necessary in them, than in a book which professes to be elementary: certain it is, that we have yet seen none, which is superior in those respects to the work before us.

We have discovered a few errors of the press, but they are in general undeserving of notice and are obvious at first sight. The calculations in the 5th page might be somewhat shortened, but probably with little advantage. We have proposed some alterations, which the author may possibly be induced to adopt in his next edition; and we conclude our remarks with a hearty recommendation of his book.

ART. V. *Tract on American Politics, entitled, A Sermon preached in Boston, April 5, 1810, the Day of the Public Fast.* By William Ellery Channing, Pastor of the Church in Federal-street. Published at the Request of the Hearers. Boston (America) printed, London re-printed.—Hatchard, 1811.

*A Brief View of the Policy and Resources of the United States, comprising some Strictures on "A Letter on the Genius and Dispositions of the French Government."*—Philadelphia, 1810.

WE hail with peculiar satisfaction the arrival of another piece of good writing from the United States. It will contribute to rescue the taste and literature of our American friends from the sweeping censure and unfounded prejudices under which they labour on this side of the Atlantic. The American publications are so little known, and so seldom read in England, that we have scarcely any opportunity of forming an estimate concerning the literary acquirements of that interesting people, except from such of their state papers and public documents as appear in our gazettes. Judging from *these*, we are not surprised at an absurd opinion which seems to prevail, that our clear and nervous language, rendered turbid by the concussions of a transatlantic voyage, and filtered through the pen of an American, is constrained (by a sort of physical necessity) to flow out confused, spiritless, and pedantic.

People often peruse in one and the same newspaper a message from the President accompanied by documents, and the report of certain patriotic orations fulminated east of Temple Bar. The artillery in both cases appears so exactly of the same calibre, the ammunition cast so precisely in the same mould, the engineers educated so much on the same system, and the effect produced on a mind well fortified with taste and judgment so very analogous, that we cannot wonder at the conclusions which have naturally followed.

We are ashamed to confess, that we had ourselves formed an unfavourable opinion of American literature, from the partial evidence of her public documents, coupled with the supposition that her public functionaries were selected from the men of the most acknowledged talents and acquirements. We had often speculated on the cause of this supposed degeneracy of the Americans, and had brought our minds to a sort of conclusion, that it might in some degree have been inherited from their ancestors. It is well known that those States, which are now most flourishing in arts, civilization and commerce, were originally

settled by men impelled to emigrate from their native soil by strong republican principles, rendered fierce and outrageous by the coarsest fanaticism. Among other laws equally extravagant, established by a démocratical province of fanatics, we find the following: "No man shall keep Christmas, read the common prayer, eat minced pies, or play on any instrument, except the drum, trumpet, and jew's harp." Now it is certainly not uncharitable to suppose, that these gentlemen were not endowed with much taste or genius. Nor, if we consider the respect and reverence with which the original institutions and characters of our ancestors, (particularly the first founders of our prosperity,) are looked back upon, would it be very easy to calculate in how many generations every atom of this spirit would have evaporated from the minds of their posterity.

But whatever might have been the case in former times, an ample store of evidence has been transmitted to us of late years, to prove, that in the United States, as elsewhere, national and individual excellence and refinement will follow their usually predisposing causes. Where interest, sensuality, or the inordinate pursuit of gain, have not devoured all greatness of soul, *there* will be found to exist generous sentiments. Where the neglect of liberal and polite education hath not introduced coarseness and vulgarity into the daily intercourse of life, nor the sense of weakness, joined to the goadings of pride, induced meanness and duplicity, alternate bluster and submission in the conduct, *there* will be found to reign a manly sincerity in thought and a nervous elegance in language. Where the finer feelings are fostered by classical literature, corrected by the influence of religion, and elevated by the fire of patriotism, *there* will be found to exist taste, genius, and true eloquence. Without entering into minute and invidious particulars, we would cite as proofs of the universality of these principles the moral, (or as we should rather call them, from their total absence of all reference to religion,) the *practical* writings of Franklin; and the correspondence, political and miscellaneous, of the immortal Washington\*. Neither should we omit the singular talents of Joel Barlow. His education was finished at a college where taste so little prevailed, that his first poem was written in celebration of a custom at that time prevalent, viz. "The challenge annually given by the *Freshmen* to the *Sophomore* class to a combat at snow-balling." Yet his genius and the greatness of his mind rose supe-

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\* Many of General Washington's letters during the American war were supposed to be from the pen of the illustrious Mr. Hamilton, who, to the regret of every true American, fell in a duel with Colonel Burr. Mr. Hamilton was in the suite of General Washington; his side-du-camp, we believe.

rior to times and circumstances, and at an early age he delighted the world with his vigorous but irregular poem, "The Vision of Columbus." It is lamentable to reflect, that the talents of this man were rewarded by his country with the *consulship* at *Algiers*; and that even this was not bestowed upon him till he had wasted the best years of his life in ineffectual attempts to procure a competence.

But let us have recourse to evidence more complete in itself, more generally known, and more nearly affecting our present feelings and relations. The "Letter on the Genius and Dispositions of the French Government," electrified our literary and political circles, no less by taste and spirit of composition, and general purity of diction, than by the justness of reasoning, and the elevation of sentiment, which are conspicuous in every page. Of its effect in America the little "Tract" now before us is a gratifying proof. Another heavy shock was given to British scepticism with respect to American taste and genius, at Lord Somerville's public agricultural dinner, in March, 1810. On that occasion his lordship gave Mr. Pinckney's health, with a wish "that those who are united in language should never be divided in friendship."

This gentleman, who was present, immediately rose, and in an unpremeditated speech of about ten minutes, uttered the most appropriate sentiments, in diction as chaste and in taste as correct as we ever recollect to have heard. The country, which trained the man who made that speech, could not be devoid of genius, taste, and literature in their most improved state of existence. And we are happy to find in some American publications which we have lately seen a due appreciation of his talents. We trust that Mr. Pinckney will persevere in that conduct and those principles, which have gained him so many tributes of applause from the respectable part of society, both in his own country and in England.

Of the evidence afforded by the pamphlets now before us the reader will presently judge.

There is then no physical necessity, there are no Bœotian exhalations from the forests and morasses of America, which condemn her children to any mental or literary inferiority to the stock from which they sprang. They have already made considerable advances in emulation of the parent country, and to judge from some of the latter specimens, are rapidly tending to an equality in some departments of composition.

If, however, the pamphlets before us were distinguished by nothing but the merits of style, the first, from its brevity, would have been but slightly noticed, and the last altogether

omitted. But this is the least interesting view in which they can be contemplated. Although they contain nothing absolutely new to those who are intimately acquainted with American affairs, the practical tendency of their arguments, and the line of policy to be deduced from their conclusions, are most useful and satisfactory. The principles and sentiments are such as are often wilfully forgotten or overlooked, and of which the public therefore cannot be too frequently reminded. Flowing from the pen of Americans, and having been received with great approbation by those to whom they were immediately addressed, *i. e.* the inhabitants of the northern and middle states of the union, they should assume a peculiar interest in the estimation of the English reader. One of them is, generally speaking, inaccessible to him, but very few copies having been transmitted hither. And as we have received in addition two or three other publications, *no duplicates of which we believe exist in England*, we doubt not that we shall make an acceptable present to our readers, by extracting from their pages, and illustrating by a *very few* observations of our own,—the state of public sentiment in America,—the measures of public policy which the well-informed writers of all parties agree in recommending, and the general causes which have operated to induce the American government for some years past to adopt a line of policy diametrically opposite to the true interests of their country. We say the *general* causes, because our limits will by no means permit us to enter into a minute detail of the particular views of interest or ambition, which have assisted the operation of those general causes, and induced each State to acquiesce without resistance or remonstrance in the measures of the general Government. We shall trust for this detail to future opportunities. Our present object is simply to shew, *by American evidence*, the general causes which operate throughout the union, in every state equally, whatever its particular views of interest may be; and to take an enlarged and comprehensive view of the general interests of the whole society.

The great object of the author of the little tract entitled “a Sermon,” is to set before his countrymen the danger impending over them from the increasing power of France;—danger to their commercial prosperity, to their liberties, their laws, their morals, and their religion. The practical inferences he would impress upon them are that they should discipline their minds to submit to any sacrifices either of preconceived opinions, or of national and party antipathies, to secure themselves from that domineering power. He particularly recommends to them to exert this forbearance with respect to the prejudices too common among

them against a connection with England on reasonable terms, and with respect to the opinions which stand in the way of their own moral and religious improvement.

The object of the "Brief View" is not quite so easily defined. The style and reasoning remind us a little of the "drum, trumpet, and jew's harp." We know not whether its author would have argued with more precision and generosity, and written with more uniform taste, had his ancestors fed upon minced pies and listened to the sounds of the organ: but we are certain that a more exalted standard of sentiment and morals would have preserved him from many absurdities. He begins in a manner sufficiently trite to reduce all *public principle* in the conduct of nations towards each other to a level; which consists in an equal disregard of all morality, justice, and humanity, where they interfere with immediate interest. From these data he attempts to defend the conduct and policy of France, as arising out of the *ordinary operation* of great power on national councils. He has then the unparalleled effrontery to inform the Americans, that England is not less unjustifiable in the conduct of her maritime and colonial affairs, than France in her conduct by land, and in her treatment of neutral commerce; thus placing in the same degree in the scale of iniquity the defensive measures of England, the mad commercial decrees of Bonaparte, and his atrocious invasion of the peninsula. He then concludes that both England and France have practised towards the weakness of America every injury, that contempt and self-interest can suggest to powers, each unlimited in its separate department. It must be confessed, however, that he is not unfairly national in his strictures. The following extract will evince, that he is far from wishing to exclude his own country from the operation of his general principles.

"Even the tameness of the policy of Jefferson does not exempt America from the general opprobrium. Her embargo was intended to excite *misery* or *famine* among innocent slaves or manufacturers, as the means of coercing their rulers into the abandonment of a system injurious to her interests: rulers who, by the projectors of that measure, were deemed inaccessible to the pleadings of compassion."

So the clearsighted government of America actually thought to starve Great Britain and her colonies by the operation of its embargo!

The inference drawn by our author from this view of the conduct of the two great European powers towards his country is that it should forthwith make such exertions, as shall enable it to *depend upon itself* for protection, and shall give it force enough to make its diplomacy and its commerce respected. For these

purposes he recommends, that a national debt shall be created, and that the capital thus procured shall be employed in raising a *puissant navy*. His views extend to the formation of a fleet large enough to *cope with France single-handed*, after that power shall have *annihilated the fleets and conquered the territory* of Great Britain. "The fall of Great Britain in that case, *however deplored by all the humane and magnanimous*, might by *sound policy* be considered as propitious to the United States," (Brief View, p. 37.) because America would then occupy the place now held by Great Britain on the theatre of the world. This notable scheme, however, not being yet entered upon, and a necessity existing that *Great Britain* should not be *annihilated* till it is in some degree of forwardness, because she is at present the only effectual barrier between France and America; it follows, in our author's opinion, that the actual policy of America is to form a close alliance with England, even on what he is pleased to term the "degrading conditions" imposed by her maritime superiority. Thus he asserts, (and he corroborates his opinion by a reference to the well known policy of Washington,) to be the only rational conduct for America; since it is the single method by which she can ultimately rival the power which she envies, without exposing herself to ruin. In short, this gentleman represents himself to be an American of the old school of Washington; but unlike that great statesman, he is as French in principle and affections as he thinks consistent with his sense of morality and the interests of his country, and as hostile to England as he thinks compatible with the commercial prosperity of America, and with her ultimate views of ambition.

We have certainly no great cause to exult in the motives which would induce this American politician to smile upon us, since he has fairly confessed that (*politically speaking*) his nation may, in his opinion,

Smile and smile, and murder while she smiles.

But, for our own parts, we should be perfectly willing to accept her alliance, upon whatever motives it may be founded; and we will take the following just conclusion drawn by the author from his premises, as the guarantee for its continuance. "Until we shall have strength to stand alone against France, ruin must equally ensue from success or failure in a contest with Great Britain. Unless by our hostility we could diminish her naval power, our evils would be increased by exasperating her jealousy. And were we to humble her naval power, we should precipitate ~~our~~ *her* downfall, which, under existing circumstances, would expose us to a more dangerous enemy; who, by the double advantage of

a military and maritime force, would subject us to desolation and bloodshed, if not to slavery." (Brief View, p. 42.)

In truth, this gentleman's conclusions are so opposite to his professed predilections, that we are almost tempted to greet him as an English advocate in disguise.

Our readers will perceive from this slight and hasty sketch of the object of the two works under review, that however they may differ in detail, or in the grounds of their opinion, the practical conclusions of both are very much the same, viz. that it is the decided interest of America at the present moment to embrace the friendship of England, and to assist her in opposing the power of France. It may well be asked then, why is the public conduct of the State so decidedly the reverse of its true policy? Upon this part of the subject the "Brief View" is peculiarly satisfactory. And we think that some very interesting and instructive truths, drawn from the slavery in which that government is held by the most ignorant and degraded part of the people, will be struck out by the collision of the author's sentiments with those of his opponents.

In order to bring the subject fairly before our readers, we shall arrange it under the following heads.

1. The external power of France as it may affect America.
2. The views of France towards that country.
3. The best mode of frustrating those views.

1. We find in the little tract called "a Sermon" the following animated description of the power of France as it respects America.

"We see a mighty nation sacrificing every blessing in the prosecution of an unprincipled attempt at universal conquest. The result you well know. We now behold this nation triumphant over Continental Europe. Its armies are immensely numerous; yet their number is not the circumstance which renders them most formidable. These armies have been trained to conquest by the most perfect discipline. At their head are generals who have risen *only* by military merit. They are habituated to victory, and their enemies are habituated to defeat.

"All this immense power is now centered in one hand;—wielded by one mind;—a mind formed in scenes of revolution and blood; a mind most vigorous and capacious, but whose vigour and capacity is filled with plans of dominion and devastation. It has not room for one thought of mercy. The personal character of Napoleon is of itself sufficient to inspire the gloomiest forebodings. But in addition to his lust for power, he is almost impelled by the *necessity of his circumstances* to carry on the work of conquest. His immense armies, the only foundation of his empire, *must* be supported. Impoverished France, however, cannot give them support; they must therefore



live on the spoils of other nations. But the nations which they successively spoil, and whose industry and arts they extinguish, cannot long sustain them. Hence they must pour themselves into new regions. Hence plunder, devastation, and new conquests are not merely the outrages of wanton barbarity; they are essential even to the existence of this tremendous power.

“What overwhelming and disheartening prospects are these! In the midst of Christendom this most sanguinary power has reared its head, and holds the world at defiance.

“And now let me ask, how are *we* impressed in these disastrous times? Does there not, my friends, prevail among some of us a cold indifference, as if all this were nothing to us, as if no tie of brotherhood bound us to these sufferers? Are we not prone to follow the authors of this ruin with an admiration of their power and success, which almost represses our abhorrence of their unsparing cruelty? But we are not merely insensible to the calamities of other nations: there is a still stronger insensibility to our own dangers. We seem determined to believe that this storm will rage at a distance;—the idea that *we* are marked out as victims of this all-destroying despotism, that our turn is to come, and perhaps is near;—this idea strikes on most minds as a fiction. Our own deep interest in the present conflict is unfelt even by some who feel as they ought for other nations.

“It is asked, What has a nation so distant as America to fear from the power of France? I answer; the history of all ages teaches us, all our knowledge of human nature teaches us, that *a nation of vast and unricalled power is to be feared by all the world.* Even had France attained her present greatness under a long established government, without any of the habits which the revolution has formed, the world ought to view her with trembling jealousy: What nation ever enjoyed such power without abusing it? But France is not a common nation; we must not apply to her common rules. Conquest is her trade, her business, her recreation. The lust of power is her very vital principle. Her strength is drained out to supply her armies, her talents exhausted in preparing schemes of wider domination. WAR, WAR is the solemn note which resounds through every department of the state. And is such a nation to be viewed with indifference, with unconcern? Have *we* nothing to fear because an ocean rolls between us?” (Sermon, p. 5.)

Shall it be said that all this is mere declamation; let us see what the advocate for the French says upon the subject. We excuse his gratuitous accusations against England, in consideration of the admissions which are extorted from him against France. Arguing upon Mr. Walsh’s lively description of the power of France, and the danger thence accruing to America, he writes as follows:

“Consistently with the views which I have advanced, it must necessarily follow, that such a power, as that wielded by France, will

occasion every imaginable evil to those, who may fall within its sweep. The anxiety inspired by it, as regarding our own interests, can only be mitigated in proportion as we are removed from the sphere of its activity. *Far be it from me* to alleviate that anxiety, or to blame the author for his efforts to excite it. It is the *partial* tendency of his efforts that I inculcate. I blame him,—that while intent upon exhibiting the baleful influence of the power of one country, he almost wholly disregards the actual consequences of the power of another, or seems to hail it as a benignant sunshine, calculated, under the guidance of wisdom and virtue, to cherish and enliven us in our progress to prosperity!" (Brief View, p. 10.)

We shall presently have occasion to remark the inconsistency of these sentiments concerning the power of Great Britain, with those subsequently advanced by the author on the same subject. In the mean time we must express our opinion, that it is not any conviction in the minds of the American Government, that the power of England does not in fact "operate as a benignant sunshine, cherishing and enlivening the progress of America to prosperity," which induces its Gallican bias: no! It springs from a notion which the French emissaries have succeeded in impressing on the ignorance of the people, and which the neutral character of our own diplomatic agents has not been able to counteract, that England must shortly sink under the power of Bonaparte. Even Mr. Jefferson is reported to have said at his own table, on the 18th December, 1807, "that Britain would cease to be a nation in less than two years." But, (as the author who records this fact well observes\*), "Since he expected the speedy destruction of Great Britain, what motives had *he* to strain every nerve as he did to hasten it? It is demonstrable that our single hope of security is in the triumphs of the British Navy. While that rides mistress of the ocean the French can no more pass it to attack us, than they could ford the bottomless pit. But it is self-evident, in spite of the groundless and perhaps treacherous pretensions of faction, that our country is absolutely defenceless against Bonaparte when master of the sea. The French troops have marched through countries, having three or four times the population of the United States, with the quietness of a procession. Mr. Jefferson knows mankind; he knows Bonaparte too well to hope that the tyrant's hand will be the

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\* See "Bristed's Hints on the National Bankruptcy of Great Britain, and on her resources to maintain the present contest with France." *New York*. We believe that only one copy of this work has reached England. It is a long desultory octavo of 680 pages, containing a great deal of superficial reasoning on the politics of Europe, illustrated with ample extracts from the *Edinburgh Review*, the works of Mr. Burke, Mr. Brougham, and others, well known in this country. The only interest it can assume to the English reader lies in the record of several facts, which have passed of late years in America under the eyes of the author.

lighter for our merit in hastening the fall of Britain. If then she must fall, let Mr. Jefferson wear sackcloth;—let him gather a colony, and lead them for concealment into the trackless forests near the sources of the Missouri. Frost, hunger, and poverty will not gripe so hard as Bonaparte.” (Bristed’s Hints, p. 349.)

In concluding this view of the power of France as it affects America, we cannot refrain from inserting the following short but eloquent passage from Mr. Walsh’s Letter on the Genius, &c. of the French Government.

“ If we had seen the French emperor reconciled in any one instance by the final submission of a nation which had once resisted his will, we might, with some degree of reason, look for a refuge in his mercy, although no people, with the exception of the British, are so much the objects of his aversion, and *none whatever* has so strongly excited his contempt. But there is nothing rational or even plausible in this mere *reversionary* hope, when we contemplate the examples which stare us in the face,—of nations mercilessly beaten to the ground, and rapaciously plundered,—which had acquired—by every sacrifice of honour and strength—the fairest titles to his generosity and his compassion.” (Page 242.)

And is this the people, is this the government which there are “ hopes, and good hopes”\* of disabling by the wild fancy of keeping the world so *completely tranquil*, that France shall have no *cause* or *excuse* for war, no plots to punish, no resistance to dread? Is this the power which by non-resistance on the part of its victims can be deprived of objects for the employment of its troops, of lands to reward its leaders, of victories (manufactured by the editor of the *Moniteur*,) to amuse its people? Did the wolf ever want an excuse for devouring the lamb? In truth, we believe Bonaparte would very warmly second this system of non-resistance. Three-fourths of his work would then be completed to his hands. Having at his command the resources of the whole of Continental Europe, completely tranquil and implicitly bowing under his yoke, supporting his victorious troops with the produce of its territory, obeying with alacrity all his commands as to the disposition of its means for forwarding his ulterior views;—is it possible to conceive, that in a very few years he would not possess a fleet three or four times more numerous than those of England and America combined? With the storehouses of Russia and the Baltic at his disposal, with the forests of all Europe, and the population of the maritime states at his command,—with complete tranquillity over the face and

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\* See Edinburgh Review, No. 31. Article on “ Letter on the Genius and Dispositions of the French Government.”

coasts of Europe to enable him to convey their produce to the most convenient ports, with ample sea-room to train and exercise his crews after the vessels were constructed;—who shall presume to assert that four or five years would not give him such a navy as we have contemplated? That his views tend to this object in case of a *maritime peace*, and that he has been very minute in his inquiries, and correct in his calculations, we have proofs in our possession, which we shall take some opportunity of laying before the public. They are very far from proving the assertion, “that as to the marine, the very idea of a competition is absurd.” (See Ed. Rev.)

Supposing the superiority established however, the remedy, according to the above-mentioned system, would be at hand. It would only be necessary for America and England “to desist from disturbing the quiet” of the seas, to leave the ocean “completely tranquil,” and the French fleets “would be disabled for want of objects to contend with.” For “if we could but behold them inactive we might hope to behold them subdued. They are irresistible only when in motion,” and they could be in motion no longer if there was nothing to resist them. Really this new and compendious method of conquering France, this novel doctrine of preventing power from being IRRESISTIBLE by opposing to it NON-RESISTANCE, is so bright a discovery, that we should wish to generalize the principles upon which it rests, and apply them to the common intercourse of society. Would a neighbour, powerful enough to afford him a chance of overrunning me with impunity, enclose on half my field, I would give him the whole to prevent litigation with the longer purse. If a man encouraged he should take possession of my house and turn me out of doors;—I would quietly submit, conscious that when he had no longer any object of mine left to covet, he would cease from his encroachments.

It may be here to be answered with the argument “*cui bono*,” what possible advantage can accrue from offering a protracted resistance to power, which upon a previous calculation of means must, in all human probability, prove ultimately victorious? We say generally, that to resist injury and oppression *against all chances* is a SACRED DUTY:—that almost every thing great and noble in politics and power has sprung from such resistance;—that if pusillanimous calculation had always entered into the views and motives of the oppressed, and regulated their spirit of resistance, the nations to which the world is most indebted, from the republics of Greece to the limited monarchy of Britain, would never have existed. The minds of the Americans must be peculiarly accessible to this argument. To what do they owe the

independence of which they are now so proud, and which they are so tempted to abuse unto licentiousness, but to an apparently hopeless resistance against overwhelming power, carried to a triumphant issue by the energies of one man?

But not to multiply examples from past times, let us look to the present state of Spain and Portugal. Had the prognostics of the advocates for passive obedience and non-resistance to the French usurper been acted upon; had the opinions of those puny politicians been attended to, who asserted that "the Spanish chiefs had only their little hour to strut and fret" before they sat down tamely "under the rule of a kinsman or vassal of Bonaparte;" what would have been the probable consequence? Those interesting nations themselves would *now* have been groaning under the naval and military conscription, and fighting the battles of France. Every sinew of their hardy frames would have been *now* straining to the utmost in constructing ships for the invasion of Ireland and America. Every pistole would have been wrung from their hard hands to pamper the luxuries of the French chieftains, or to supply necessaries for the troops under their command. With respect to the rest of Europe, the French armies would *now* have been far advanced in the conquest of Russia and Turkey, the two next continental objects of the tyrant. Instead of wasting their strength on the desolate mountains, the deserted vallies, and the pestilential marshes of the peninsula, the three or four hundred thousand men, whose corpses are *now* rotting in those regions, would have been rioting in the palaces of the Autocrat, or languishing in the luxuries of the Seraglio. In short, Bonaparte would now have been *actually advanced* more than three years towards the accomplishment of all his views, and at least seven or eight nearer to the *prospect* of their *ultimate completion*. For we do not hesitate to avow an opinion, that the drain of his best troops which must still flow into the peninsula, (supposing the Spaniards to persevere, and Great Britain to pursue her present course of policy,) will incapacitate him for some years from great military exertions in other quarters of Europe, without giving up his present views upon Spain. The very able manner in which this subject is treated in another part of the present number\* precludes us from stating more in this place, than a fervent wish that those nations, who still remain unsubdued, may sheath the sword which they have drawn against each other at the instigation of France. We trust that they will unite in turning their attention to the peculiar

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\* We are sorry that this article is unavoidably postponed till the appearance of our next Number.

capabilities of defence, offered by the rugged frontiers of their own country, against the invasion even of a well disciplined enemy. Thus may a second act of the Spanish tragedy be performed on the frontiers of Russia and of Turkey; and although it *may* be undertaken against the probabilities of success to be drawn from cold calculation, who shall say that Providence, wearied with the gratuitous crimes of the *Great Nation*, and satisfied with the expiation, which the groans and miseries of Europe have offered for the offences, in which a long course of prosperity had plunged it, may not arrest the arm of the destroyer *there*, where the wisdom of man may least expect to meet with such a deliverance?

“In a word, the French have ever been a vain, ambitious, fraudulent people, and have always abused success with the most wanton insolence under every form of government. While they consider themselves as conquerors, no nation on earth is free from their aggressions. The only possibility of any country’s obtaining tranquillity in peace, is to impress France with a fixed conviction of the hopelessness of continuing the war with any beneficial result. This can only be done by continued hard fighting, and harassing her on all occasions and in every direction.” These observations, we apprehend, are strictly true, and they afford matter of serious reflection to those countries, whose independence has not yet expired under the gripe of the destroyer.

We now proceed to inquire,

2dly, How far the actual views of France contemplate the destruction or subjugation of America as an object agreeable to its policy.

If we consider the origin of the people, the language, the freedom of discussion and of the press, which prevail in America; if nothing existed to raise the fears and the wrath of Bonaparte but the very works now under discussion; we might be well convinced that his present conduct towards her is regulated with the fixed intention, first, to make her a tool for the accomplishment of his designs against England, and then, *as a matter of course*, to subjugate her entirely to his will.

“Will it be said that the conqueror has too much work at home to care for America? He has indeed work at home; but unhappily for this country that work ever brings us to his view. There is one work, one object, which is ever present to the mind of Napoleon. It mingles with all his thoughts. It is his dream by night, his care by day. He did not forget it on the shores of the Baltic or the

banks of the Danube. *The ruin of England is the first, the most settled purpose of his heart.* That nation is the only barrier to his ambition. In the opulence, the energy, the public spirit, the liberty of England, he sees the only obstacles to *universal dominion.* England once fallen, and the civilized world lies at his feet. England erect, and there is one asylum for virtue, magnanimity, freedom; one spark which may set the world on fire; one nation to encourage and hold up to the oppressed the standard of revolt. England, therefore, is the great object of the hostile fury of the French Emperor. England is the great end of his plans, and they of course embrace all nations which come in contact with England, which love or hate her, which can give her support, or contribute to her downfall. *We then (we may be assured) are not overlooked by Napoleon.* We are a nation sprung from England; we have received from her our laws and many of our institutions. We speak her language, and in *her language we dare to express* the indignation which we feel at oppression. Besides, we have other ties which connect us with England. We are a commercial people, commercial by habit, commercial by our very situation. But no nation can be commercial without maintaining some connection with England, without having many common interests with her, without strengthening the foundations of her greatness. England is the great emporium of the world; and the conqueror knows that it is only by extinguishing the commerce of the world, by bringing every commercial nation to bear his yoke, that he can fix a mortal wound on England. Besides, we are the neighbours of some of the most valuable English colonies, and can exert an important influence on those channels of her commerce, and those sources of her opulence. Can we then suppose, that the ambitious, the keen-sighted Napoleon overlooks us in his scheme of universal conquest? That he wants nothing of us, and is content that we should prosper and be at rest, because we are so distant from his throne? Has he not already told us that we must embark in his cause? Has he not himself declared war for us against England?

“Will it be said that he wants not to conquer us, but only wishes us to be his allies? Allies of France! Is there a man who does not shudder at the thought? Is there one who had not rather struggle nobly, and perish under her open enmity, than be crushed by the embrace of her friendship—*her alliance?* To shew you the happiness of her alliance, I will not carry you back to Venice, Switzerland, and Holland. *Their expiring groans are almost forgotten amidst later outrages.* SPAIN, SPAIN is the ALLY to whom I would direct your attention. Are you lovers of treachery, perfidy, rapacity, and massacre? Then aspire after the *honour* which Spain has forfeited, and become the ally of France. (Sermon, p. 8. et seq.)

• We conceive that this passage is no less remarkable for just and generous reasoning, than it confessedly is for its high tone of manly eloquence. But let us see what the reluctant author of

the "Brief View" is constrained to admit. Commenting upon Mr. Walsh's highly wrought description of the insatiable avidity for national power which pervades every class of the people in France, from the ruler to the peasant, he makes the following remarks.

"In the passage above quoted, from the Letter on the Genius and Dispositions of the French Government, there is a very lively, and no doubt very just, picture of the ambitious fury which now possesses the people of France. The author is certainly to be commended for opening to his countrymen a view which should make them shudder, when they reflect that for security from the ill consequences of this mania they are indebted to a foreign nation. But would not his merit have been *much greater*, had he demonstrated, that a spirit of domination was no less prevalent in England as respects the ocean, than in France as respects the land? While so attentive to the songs of the latter, does he forget the spirit exhibited in the songs of the former? Has he never heard the sky resounding with the cry of "Rule Britannia, Britannia rule the waves?"—Flattering sounds to a British ear, but for the same reason humiliating to those of an American. Many of the songs of this gallant people display a similar thirst for maritime power. That the ambition of the French is of a more malignant cast, and much more dangerous and horrible to those who are within its scope, I will not deny. For the ideas associated with the rule of the ocean do not so much familiarise the mind to cruelty or injustice as the associations connected with territorial subjugation. The former involves an arbitrary controul over the great highway of wealth, power, and luxury; but the latter pursues mankind to the most sequestered retreats of social life, and assumes a tyrannic command over all that is indispensable to human existence." (Brief View, p. 33.)

"What has the American nation to expect during the commercial supremacy of England? The answer is tremendous—commercial vassalage! Yet I do not hesitate to aver, that so long as France is to be considered as successor to the naval power of England, the destruction of this power is deeply to be deprecated by the American patriot; and that he is indignantly obliged to hail the partial and immediate restraints of the commercial vassal, in preference to the eventual shackles of the territorial slave." (Brief View. p. 35.)

It should seem from the puerile declamation of this writer against the commerce and naval power of England, that he really thinks it a very unjust and unfair dispensation of Providence, that a nation containing not more than six or seven millions of souls, which has not yet enjoyed thirty years of independent existence under a weak government, and is unprovided with distant colonies, should be compelled to hold a profitable and extensive commerce, in some degree upon the sufferance of another



nation, containing between sixteen and seventeen millions of inhabitants, with ships, colonies, and commerce, accumulated through a successful course of vigorous government for some centuries. We have already stated the absurd speculations into which this notion has led him. We would now beg him to reflect, that these vain ebullitions of pride are the only circumstances which can make the situation of the Americans appear degrading in the eyes of any man of sense, either in their own country or in Europe. There never can be any thing disgraceful in a situation necessarily arising from the natural operation of human affairs, so long as it is maintained with a spirit and temper suited to its exigencies and circumstances; (misfortunes incurred by vicious conduct are of course an exception to this remark). It is no disgrace for a man of small fortune not to ride in a coach and six; or that he does not possess the influence and command attached to a man of four times his fortune. But it is a very great disgrace to be consumed with useless and unavailing regret on these accounts, or to indulge in violent abuse of his neighbour, because he will not yield up to him the objects of his envy. His only way to be respectable is quietly to enjoy his own, or if he wishes to increase it by industry, to conduct himself with decency and civility to those whose assistance may be useful.

Just so with respect to America. No man of judgment, unless he has a sinister object in view, would go about to persuade her that there is any thing "degrading" in the necessary dependence of her mercantile navy on the powerful military one of England. Nor could any thing, but a long indulgence in privileges to which she has no natural claim, give a colour to such persuasions. It is no "humiliating" degradation from the male virtues and independent spirit of America, that she is compelled to exert them within a sphere limited by the superior power of the parent state. But it is evidently altogether inconsistent with those high qualities, to prostitute their language in low abuse of England, because she will not ruin herself at the froward bidding of her offspring. If any thing can add to the disgrace of such conduct, it is, that it is adopted in subserviency to a faction, whose opinions and practices, (whatever their motives may be,) directly tend to the slavery of their country, and consequently to the extinction of every principle of *real* virtue and independence. Are the people of America so very ignorant of all that has passed in Europe for the last twenty years, as not to perceive, that every step, which the French faction persuades them to take, is just an approach of one degree nearer to their own ruin? Are they so very blind to their *true* INTERESTS as not

to be convinced, that it is of more national importance to them *to be free*, than to carry coffee to Amsterdam? Can they not discover that, if England were ill-advised enough to second the views of France, and to deprive herself of her power of resistance, by giving up her maritime code, to put a few dollars into the pockets of the Americans, they would be the most short-sighted misers in existence to accept the bribe? To consent for base lucre's sake to weaken that barrier, which they should sacrifice every other interest to strengthen and support? Besides, there are many maritime privileges, many sources of commercial wealth, which America might enjoy in strict alliance with England, and without interfering with the rights essential to her safety.

This being the case, it is well observed by the author of the Brief View, that,

“To refuse those advantages which she is disposed to yield, because she will not grant us all, that in theory we might correctly demand, would be evidently impolitic;—as, on the other hand, it would be disgraceful if we could look forward with indifference to the permanency of that degrading predicament, by which the extension of our commerce is limited by its subserviency to her interest;—and the duration of our repose dependent on the continuation of her power. Some Americans may exclaim, let us rather abandon the ocean than enjoy such a partial and degrading participation in maritime advantages! To me, however, it appears, that a total renunciation of the ocean is the *lowest degradation*; and the utter impossibility of enforcing this abandonment in practice has already been demonstrated. A portion of our countrymen are amphibious, and we might as well forbid the birds to fly, or the fishes to swim, as deny them access to their favourite element. Besides, a total renunciation cuts off all hope of future, as well as of present commercial power; and should the command of the Atlantic ever fall into the power of any nation on whom we should have no tie of interest, our seaboard might be frequently subjected to the inroads of hostility, and its horrid concomitants, plunder and bloodshed.” (Brief View, p. 44.)

We close this exposition of the views of France towards America, with the following extracts from the work to which we have before alluded, and the document which they illustrate.

“Bonaparte will come then, or, which amounts to the same thing, will send one of his trusty generals to fraternize the United States. But the French will not come in the first instance to the New-England, or middle states, where they might expect some hard fighting on their arrival. They will prefer sailing up the Chesapeake, and landing in Virginia; from which, as a central point, they will be able to diverge in all directions, and take most effectual measures for the speedy subjugation of the federal republic. In order merely to show that the French are very well acquainted with all the most favourable points of attack upon the United States, I shall here in-

sert the instructions contained in a French national newspaper, which at that time was the organ of the French Executive Directory.

“ A fleet of light vessels, not drawing at the most above ten feet water, some gun-boats and bomb-ketches, will go into the river Savannah, in Georgia, as far as Tibec, and from Tibee to the town of Savannah. It will take possession of the magazine of stores, and burn the *farm-houses* on the right and left, to the mouth of the river. The same operation at Charleston in South Carolina. It passes the bar, and by the same operation burns Johnson's Island and the buildings on Sullivan's Island. The same operation at George-Town, in South Carolina, and Wilmington, in North Carolina; it then proceeds into *Chesapeak-bay*, and it is by that, perhaps, by which the operation must be begun: from Norfolk it will proceed to Alexandria, to the capital of Maryland, (Annapolis,) and to Baltimore.

“ The operation of the Chesapeake is an affair of eight days, and must begin at the most distant place, that is, Baltimore, whence may be drawn a large contribution: Savannah, Charleston, and Norfolk, have near them little earthen forts, which can be taken without great danger from the rear. Be cautious of advancing into the Delaware. One can burn on the left Lavingston. If one was sure, however, that the English were at a distance from it, one can at the same time burn *Philadelphia*. It is an affair of eight days.

“ Enter New Orleans with the consent of Spain, take possession of the port of Natches, call on the friends of liberty in the back parts of the United States, from Kentucky to the southern limits of English America. It will be necessary to make some presents to the savages; send back, by way of Spain, General Melcourt, chief of the Creeks; put in motion General Clark of Knoxville; call to the French standard the legions of Florida and America, raised by *Genet* and *Mangourit*; proclaim the liberty of *black slaves* in the United States; and give equality of rights to the people of colour.’

“ The French then would probably land in Virginia, where they would be likely to be well received by their friends, the democratic planters; and if not, it would be of no consequence; they would proceed to emancipate and to organize into an army the negroes of the Southern States. Meanwhile a vast body of jacobin rabble, already established in the United States, but originally imported from France and the French West Indies, from Ireland, from England, from Scotland, from Holland, from Geneva, and from other places, the scum and refuse of the world, the blast of anarchy and taint of crime, would all crowd to the Gallic standard.” (Bristed's Hints, pp. 266, et seq.)

The above-mentioned document does certainly bear strong marks of French romance, but not more so than many exposés of plans of conquests afterwards carried into execution. The Americans should also remember, that many of the men, who swayed the *Transatlantic politics* of France at that period, now form a part of her national councils. They should also recollect, that it is the opinion of an eye-witness of close observation, that no-

thing has since occurred to allay the enmity and contempt, which were then so openly displayed, but very much the contrary;— that the United States are at this moment designated in France “ as a nation of fraudulent shopkeepers,—British in prejudices and predilections, and equally objects of aversion to the Emperor, who had taken a fixed determination to bring them to reason in due time.”

We have now given a faint sketch of the power and views of France as they respect America. We wish that the regard due to the patience of our readers would have permitted a more copious use of the documents in our possession. It remains at present further to intreat their forbearance, while we inquire,

3dly, What is the best mode of frustrating those views.

We apprehend that our readers will find no difficulty in agreeing with the opinions of the American writers of all parties except the French faction, “ That the power of England is the only safeguard of America, and that it is therefore her interest to uphold that power.” Then this question naturally occurs; why, if the true interests of America are so clearly defined and generally admitted, has its government persevered for so many years in a conduct diametrically opposite to those interests? It is evident, that the answer to this question will also solve the problem at present under discussion, at least will point out the mode of solution; because the discovery of that, which has hitherto prevented America from frustrating the views of France, will of course point out the means by which that end may be accomplished.

Now in treating this question, we shall entirely put aside the specific grounds of dispute between England and America, because we are persuaded that they are very much a matter of party on both sides of the Atlantic. No British minister, (whatever he may have previously said while in opposition,) would dare to give up a single point of our maritime rights; because they are essential to our very existence. And if the fear of the French party and the factious spirit of the people would permit the American government to make reasonable concessions upon this essential point, no British administration could refuse to allow every other claim, not inconsistent with the safety of England; and surely this is all that any impartial American, *really attached* to the independence of his country, could wish or desire.

Omitting, therefore, all discussions of this nature, we think that a very clear and satisfactory answer can be given to the question involving the impolitic, and apparently unaccountable, conduct of

the American government. It arises in the first place from the nature of the constitution of the United States, by which the government is necessarily placed under the guidance of the mob. And in the next place, as we all know that the mob of a free country is necessarily under the guidance of the most active and enterprising of its factions, so that of America is entirely devoted to the partizans of France. In order fully to understand the force of this reasoning, we must enter into a brief sketch of the American constitution so far as it relates to popular election.

Every individual State in the Union has its separate government and legislative assemblies; but they are not all equally democratic in the mode by which they are constituted. We shall give a specimen or two of each extreme; the remainder will be found to lie between them in different degrees of approximation. In the northern states Vermont is a specimen of the most democratic form; the supreme legislative power is vested in a House of Representatives, *annually elected* by the free citizens. The supreme executive power is in a governor, lieutenant-governor, and twelve counsellors, all *chosen annually* in the same manner. Every person of the age of twenty-one, who has resided in the state one whole year before the election, who is of a quiet, peaceable behaviour, and who will take an oath to do what he shall in conscience judge best for the state, shall be entitled to all the privileges of an elector. Every seventh year thirteen persons are to be elected by the free citizens, and formed into a council of censors. Their duty is, to inquire whether the constitution is preserved inviolate; they may send for papers and persons, call a convention to alter the constitution, &c. &c.

In Rhode Island the members of the legislature are *chosen twice* in the year.

In Massachusetts and Main, the least democratic states of this division, the electors must have a qualification of *5l.* a-year, or an estate of the total value of *60l.* The election of the most numerous assembly is *annual*.

In the middle states New York is the most democratic; the house of representatives is *annually chosen* by freemen of *40s.* a year or of *20l.* total value. Also the freedom of the cities of New York and Albany entitle to a vote for the state assemblies.

In Pennsylvania the governor is elected for three years by inhabitants of seven years residence, and thirty years of age. The senate for four years by inhabitants of twenty-five years of age, and seven years residence; the house of representatives *annually* by free citizens twenty-one years of age, who have resided two years and pay any taxes.

In the southern states, Virginia is ruled by a governor *chosen annually*, assisted by a senate chosen for four years, and a house of delegates *annually elected* by free citizens possessing one hundred acres of uninhabited land, twenty-five acres with a house upon it, or a house or lot in some town. In Kentucky *all free* male citizens twenty-one years old, having resided in the State two years, or in their county one year, have a right *annually* to vote for representatives, and for the electors of the senators and governor. In North Carolina the senate is annually chosen by free citizens having fifty acres of land. *The house of commons* by free citizens who have resided a year, attained the age of twenty-one, and who pay taxes.

These are fair specimens of the elective franchise in the several independent states.

By the act of federal union the house of Representatives is chosen *for two years* by the people at large. The qualification of the primary electors is the same in each State, as for the *most numerous* branch of the state legislature, which, as we have seen, amounts nearly to universal suffrage. The senate consists of two senators from each State, who are chosen by the legislature of the State: one-third of the senate goes out of office every two years. The mode of taking the elections is regulated by each State individually.

Lastly, the President and Vice-President, in whom is vested the great executive power of the union, are appointed for four years by electors chosen by the people of each State, in such manner as their state legislature shall direct.

Thus we see that every public officer, from the person of the executive down to the lowest depository of political power, is the object of frequent popular election; that from the complicated nature of the federal and state governments the public functionaries are so numerous, that an election of importance comes on twice or thrice on the average in every year; and lastly, that the elections are so purely democratic, that, to use the words of an American, "No people ever so indiscriminately admitted genius or stupidity,—ignorance or knowledge,—virtue or vice,—the fugitive from justice, or the voluntary and respectable emigrant; and promiscuously invested a motley groupe of foreigners thus assembled with all the privileges of citizenship, with an universal enjoyment of the right of suffrage, unqualified by any restriction, which may tend to secure the competency of the elector to judge of the real tendency of his vote."

In short, we have been informed by a person well acquainted with America, that one election is no sooner over than a canvass begins for the next; our readers may therefore form some estimate of the state of things there, by referring them to their idea

of a *permanent general election* in England. For the frequency of the American elections rather augments than diminishes their violence. Demagogues are the better paid\*, and have more full employment.

We cannot better illustrate the practical effects of this feature of the American constitution than by recording a few anecdotes of their popular elections, and of the base servility of their public functionaries to the vices and outrages of the mob.

“ In order to secure the spring elections of 1809 in favour of democracy, our democrats issued handbills in all the towns and villages of the United States, announcing that Spain was *entirely conquered*, all the British armies in the peninsula annihilated by Bonaparte, and Britain herself on the point of being reduced under the yoke of France, and therefore all *honest republicans* should immediately go to the polls, and vote for Mr. Jefferson and his party.

“ The mob of Maryland, which was collected at Baltimore during one of their popular meetings, tarred and feathered a poor wretch, and tore out one of his eyes, for having said, that he hoped Bonaparte would never be able to conquer and enslave England. Eight of these rioters were tried and found guilty, but were *pardoned* by Governor W. This chief executive magistrate of an independent state, published his ‘Reasons’ for granting pardon to the destroyers of social order and civil liberty in his government. They were as follows:

“ ‘ That he did not in the present critical state of the world deem it expedient to check the generous enthusiasm of the people of Maryland in favour of liberty’ (meaning *France*); and therefore he pardoned those miscreants for having wantonly and wilfully maimed a fellow-citizen for life; and invited them to continue their murderous depredations upon the peace, property, life, and limb of every honest and respectable person in Baltimore, and elsewhere; lest for want of exercise, their ‘*generous enthusiasm in favour of liberty*’ might be checked.

“ In Pennsylvania this last spring, 1809, the democrats actually chose one *Simon Snyder* for the state governor, avowedly because he was a man of *no talents or information*, declaring in all their newspapers, handbills, pamphlets, speeches, and club resolutions, how very fatal all learning and sense invariably were to the ‘*pure cause of democracy*’; wherefore they invited their companions to elect the ‘*enlightened democrat Simon Snyder, and to put down all schools, and colleges, and seminaries of learning.*’

The *first fruits* of this precious election were, that governor Snyder called out a detachment of the Pennsylvanian militia, and ordered it to oppose the execution of a process of attachment issued from the supreme federal judicial court of the United States. Accordingly the militia marched under General Bright, and at the point of the bayonet prevented the marshal from serving the process. This he-

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\* All well informed Americans agree in stating, that the French are by no means sparing of money to their emissaries in America.

roic achievement was performed in the middle of the day, in the open street of the city of Philadelphia. Governor Snyder, not contented with this act of sedition, at least, if not of treason, against the general government of the *Union*, wrote and published in the newspapers a letter, setting forth his 'great satisfaction at the *patriotism and intrepidity* of General Bright, and the militia under his command, so worthy of the spirit of 1776,' &c. &c. Now General Bright had some hundreds of militia soldiers under his command, and the marshal of the supreme court was only a single individual. So much for governor Snyder's views of courage and patriotism.

"The western states beyond the Alleghany mountains are universally democratic: among a number of specimens take only one for the sake of brevity. The newspaper at Nashville, in the state of Tennessee, dated September 24, 1809, recommends a *leading democrat* as a suitable candidate for the *state legislature*, because he is a *lover of plunder*.

"'Mr. Bradford, you are requested to make known through the medium of your paper, that *Patrick Bingley* is a candidate for the assembly at the next election; his sentiments are *pure republican*, and he is decidedly in favour of an equal distribution of property.'

"In Louisiana the storm of jacobinical desolation is gathering fast. In consequence of the late immense importation of French banditti; black, white, and mulatto from San Domingo and Cuba, the *effective* population of New Orleans is now in the proportion of *fourteen* French to *one* American; and that proportion is daily increasing in favour of the French. The democratic governor of New Orleans industriously puts Frenchmen, who make no scruple of openly avowing their contempt and detestation of the government of the United States, into high and responsible offices under that government. The explosion of a political volcano may, therefore, shortly be expected in Louisiana.

"Indeed those persons who think most anxiously and profoundly upon the present aspect of affairs in this country, are looking forward with the terrible certainty of conviction to a repetition of the tragedies of Paris, Nantz, Lyons, and La Vendee, in these United States, within the lapse of a few years; allowing indeed for this, that popery and infidelity have not yet debased the individual character of Americans generally.

"The great sheet-anchor of hope to this northern continent is to be found in the steady habits, the superior intelligence, the sober morals, the daring enterprise, and the dauntless intrepidity of the *New England States*. Of this, however, the leaders of American democracy are fully aware; and are therefore with all industry and speed *cutting away* that sheet-anchor of our safety, and our hope, by *destroying* all the commerce of these States\*; well knowing that a *merely agricultural* people must always be too poor, feeble, and widely scattered, ever to make any *effectual* resistance to the desolation of jacobinical tyranny, which is rapidly pervading this country."

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\* This observation will afford a clue to the conduct of the American government in refusing to renew the Bank charter, &c. &c.



After these details from an American publication, we are not surprised to find, that even the author of the "Brief View" is under the necessity of drawing the following picture of the evils arising from "a policy which is prescribed by an ignorant though well-meaning multitude."

We make no apology for the length of the extract. The value of the sentiments is doubled from the circumstance, that they flow from the pen of one hostile to Great Britain. And as the work is not published in England, we are persuaded that they will be an acceptable present to the English reader.

"But while disposed to view the power of Britain with sentiments so different from this author, (Mr. Walsh,) no one can more bitterly deplore that ignorance and folly, which has brought us into premature collision with this commercial Colossus. No one can more regret that, instead of that silent and energetic course, which is indispensable to the creation of power in the presence of a jealous and overpowerful rival, we should have abandoned great and essential advantages,—that we might resent insults which we could not punish:—or contend for theoretic rights, which we had not the means to establish. How different was the conduct of that tutelary genius, whose wisdom and virtue are rendered if possible more conspicuous, by the terrible evils which have ensued from the policy of those, who dared to impeach the purity or correctness of his motives or measures! Never was a comparison more fairly made in practice between opposite political systems, than we have seen in the trial of the policy of Washington, and that of Jefferson and his successor. The great founder of American independence saw the impossibility of a successful struggle for those commercial privileges, which America might in theory claim, but in practice could not establish, till time should afford her maritime strength. He saw the necessity of our rising under the wings of that very power, whose jealousy, by our rivalry, we were destined sooner or later to excite. He saw that, as yet in our political infancy, to contend for all our commercial rights would cause the loss of every commercial advantage; and that early demonstrations of hostility, by alarming the fears of Great Britain, might give rise to a premature contest, and terminate not only the advantages we enjoyed from neutrality, but our rights as a commercial nation. In our imbecile state he saw that war could neither punish insult nor retaliate injury: but would lead to a deprivation of that access to the ocean, which is essential to our wealth or glory. He was convinced of the folly of that boasted warfare of commercial restrictions, which was proposed during his presidency by Madison, and which, when since tried in practice, has proved more injurious to ourselves than to our enemies. He knew that as commercial intercourse could never have arisen without mutual advantage, it could not be interrupted without reciprocal injury.

"Every friend of America, who contemplates her permanent interests with a dispassionate eye, must lament that in opposition to the precepts and practice of this illustrious chief we should have

embarked in that premature contention, which he so studiously avoided: but it is to be recollected, that the folly and passion in which it has arisen are the *inseparable* concomitants of *popular government*, founded on the *suffrages of the multitude*, who though *honest* are *ignorant*, whose impressions are excited by *feeling*, not created by thought; and least of all by the peculiar depth of reasoning, or elevation of view, which is indispensable to the attainment of political truth. In such governments we often behold the passions which give rise to the keenest resentment, but rarely find the wisdom or moderation, which is requisite for the discovery or pursuit of the only means which can lead to redress. But while the genuine patriot deplures these evils, resulting from an excess of that democracy, which under due modification is the *best foundation* of government; it is not the less his duty to pursue the only course, which tends towards melioration, or cure. And since Great Britain has by popular violence (on our part) been urged into a state of hostility; and as there is little probability that this disposition in her, or the *ANTIPATHY* of the *AMERICAN POPULACE*, by which it has been *excited*, will permit us to hope for lasting amity; we have little reason to congratulate ourselves in the contemplation of that greatness, which is thus brought into opposition with our interests, however uselessly or prematurely." (Brief View, p. 26.)

It is curious to observe the consolation which this author holds out to his countrymen for all these evils. Truly it must needs be great matter of joy to them, that although *ruined they must be*, yet they will perish in peace and quietness; that their progress to annihilation will be smooth and easy, and undisturbed by those popular ebullitions, which are apt to attend other nations in the same descending career.

"Though *from its entire submission to the will of the people our administration is limited to that short-sighted and erroneous policy, which is prescribed by an ignorant, though well-meaning multitude*; yet there are advantages which result from this state of things. We are rarely disturbed by riot, *for the wishes of the people being generally considered in preference to their welfare*, they have rarely the slightest incentive to such extremes. Had not the general government been supported by the popularity thus obtained, it could never have enforced the laws of the union against the state of Pennsylvania in the case of Gideon Olmstead. Supported by the populace, the governor would not have yielded,—and could not have been subdued. Possibly we were indebted for our tranquillity not only on this occasion, but on many others, to that confidence of the people in the general government, which results from its invariable obedience to their will; and to the sedulous pursuit of the system which is most agreeable to their prejudices. For the principles of true policy in government being as *recondite* as those of any other science, requiring for development all the subtilty of a metaphysician, they can only be displayed to those who have leisure to study. Hence the conduct of men

who are governed by these principles can never be understood, and of course cannot often be applauded by the mass of the people. To how much abuse was the great and good Washington subjected, for that treaty with Great Britain by which so many years of commercial prosperity were ensured to us! Had the opposite and more popular policy been adopted, all our present difficulties had overtaken us fifteen years ago, when we were so much less capable of supporting them." (Brief View, p. 95.)

We should be glad to see the leading words of this extract engraven in letters of gold, and placed over the rostrum from which our own democratic leaders harangue the British multitude. "Shortsighted and erroneous policy," forced upon government "by an ignorant though well-meaning multitude;"—riot prevented, by "the wishes of the people being generally considered in preference to their welfare;"—constitute an admirable illustration of the evils of democracy. We do not envy the feelings or the powers of discrimination of that Englishman, who, on considering the passage, does not exult, that he enjoys in his own person all the substantial advantages of freedom, without the risk of its destruction, which he sees incurred by the Americans. We cannot applaud his wisdom, if after this he is disposed, in the hope of curing *even one or two manifest evils*, to throw into the hands of the ignorant but well-meaning multitude powers, for the exercise of which they are not fitted, and which they can only wield for their own and their country's destruction. Let him recollect that the preceding picture of American misgovernment, with the sources from which it springs, is reluctantly drawn from a Native, who lives under its influence, suffers from its operation, yet still professes to admire the principles that have given it birth.

But the discovery of the true causes whence the absurd conduct of America towards our country is derived would be but an unsatisfactory task, unless a remedy can also be pointed out. We are disposed to suspect that the federal party has already begun to entertain some faint idea of the measures from which this remedy is to spring. To us it appears perfectly clear, that if the causes of the mischief may all be resolved into a democratic form of government, and into the uncounteracted endeavours which have succeeded in misleading and corrupting the populace; the remedy *must* be found on one side of this alternative:—either the form of government must be altered, or the opinions of the people must be changed. Neither of these is perhaps a very easy task. But as the Americans are probably attached to their constitution, as no change could evidently be made without violent struggles, which for a time would paralyze

the power of the state;—it remains, that every exertion should be used, every nerve strained, to disseminate throughout the mass of the people real knowledge as to their true political situation.

We are aware of the difficulty of effecting this in a country, where communications are difficult, where the proprietors are thinly scattered over the soil, and where there is scarcely any neighbourhood, (except in the great towns) sufficiently populous to keep up a regular intercourse of letters and periodical papers with the metropolis. We who behold every little nook and corner of our island pervaded by

—“The heralds of a noisy world,  
With spatter'd boots, strapp'd waists, and frozen locks,  
News from all nations lumbering at their backs,”

COWPER.

and teeming

“With daily news and all those vapid sheets •  
The rattling hawkker vends through gaping streets,

CRABBE.

have but a faint idea of the difficulties of transmission among a race of people, whose residences are sparingly reared throughout the forest, and whose laborious life and fully employed population leave them neither time nor means for the enjoyment of those political and literary luxuries. The planters perhaps come twice or thrice in the year to the elections, where the French faction is always predominant. They pick up what political information is thrown in their way, and return to brood over it in their sequestered farms, till the revolution of time brings round a repetition of the same visit.

But, (except that French principles have now got possession,) the two parties are in these respects on a par. With equal zeal and activity, each might produce an equal effect. That, which exhibits a superior degree of those qualities, now governs the country; and we trust that the opposite party will learn activity from its adversaries, and that those who have access to the periodical publications of the federal party will spare no personal exertions in spreading a knowledge of their contents among their more distant countrymen. We have now before us two American newspapers; the “Philadelphia Political and Commercial Register” prefaces the account of the capture and plunder of an American merchantman by a French privateer with these words;—“Bonaparte’s privateers love the Americans as ardently as their master.”—It also observes, that he is about to send 40,000 “pledges of his love” into Sweden. On the other side, the Maryland Republican states its opinion, “that in relation to America the conduct of Bonaparte has been OPEN, INGENUOUS,

and MANLY, and as such merits our approbation." Influenced by the above-mentioned considerations, we have received with lively satisfaction the first half sheet of a periodical work, published by Mr. Walsh in Philadelphia, entitled "The American Review of History and Politics\*." In this paper he very happily exposes the treacherous insincerity of Bonaparte's late "declaration of love" to America, and the mischievous consequences which the democratic party are endeavouring to draw from it. We doubt not that in the course of Mr. Walsh's addresses to his countrymen he will inform them, that *neutral rights* cannot exist after the *subversion* of all *public law* and all *political balance*. He will repeat to them that Bonaparte has fifty times declared that *no neutrals shall exist*,—that in his late official manifesto of foreign policy he has thrown off the mask, and avowed "the law of nations to be at an end,—the balance of power to be only a pompous illusion,"—and "the present war to be a contest between the empire of the sea and the empire of the continent." Mr. Walsh will urge his countrymen to take up the gauntlet upon these terms, and to bind it round their wrists with enduring thongs:—for he will further inform them that the same manifesto declares, "that France and Napoleon will never change,"—and "that this new order of things is to GOVERN THE UNIVERSE." Consequently England and America MUST CHANGE and SUBMIT, or carry on with France a bellum inter-necinum.

If it be said, that the Americans have all the evidence on this subject already before them, we answer, let it be urged again and again. Many who know the truth "need to have the convictions of their understandings converted into *active principles*, into convictions of the heart." "Many are blinded to the true character of the conqueror of Europe by the splendour of his victories, and repose a secret hope in his clemency." "They ought to know that he has risen to power in a revolution that has a peculiar influence in hardening the heart; that his character is unilluminated by one ray of beneficence; that he is dark, vindictive, and unrelenting; that he cares for no man's love, and asks only to be feared; and that fear and horror are the only sentiments he ought to inspire." "There are many who attach ideas of happiness to France, because they hear of the victories of the French armies. They ought to know that *France is drinking, even to the dregs, that cup of sorrow which she has mingled for other nations*. She is most degraded in her moral and religious condition, and wretchedly impoverished. She is ground

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\* Since this article has been put to press the first number of this American Review has arrived in England. It is well worthy of the attention of the English reader.

with oppressive taxes, her youth torn from their families to fill up the constant ravages of war and disease in her armies; her cities, villages, and houses thronged with spies to catch and report the murmurs of disaffection."

"These (says Mr. Channing) are truths of which we want a rational conviction fastened on the people;—and a steady and generous purpose to resist their danger by every means which Providence has placed within their power. Let me intreat all who are interested in this great object, the improvement and elevation of public sentiment, to adhere to such means only as are worthy of that great end; to suppress and condemn all appeals to unworthy passions, all misrepresentation, and all that abuse which depraves public taste and sentiment, and makes a man of a pure mind ashamed of the cause which he feels himself bound to support. Let me also urge you to check the feelings and expressions of malignity and revenge. Curses, denunciations, and angry invectives, are not the language of that spirit to which I look for the safety of our country. We ought to know that the malignant passions of a people are among the powerful instruments by which the enemy binds them to his yoke." (Sermon, p. 15.)

Such are the eloquent appeals which should be made to the American public. Upon their success seems to depend one great chance, (under Providence,) of restoring their country to its true line of policy. Nor do we think that any thing but a complete revolution in the opinions of the mass of the people can save the Federal Union from *dissolution*.

This may appear a strong expression. But if, instead of taking a large and comprehensive view of the general interests of the union, each particular State, and the different individuals in each State, shall persevere in acting upon a narrow prospect of private interest and ambition, they must continue to afford, as they have hitherto done, instruments for their own destruction to the hands of the French emissaries; who will not fail to use them so as to produce a final separation among the States. For the system directly tends to bring them into the condition of rivalry with each other. We have expressly disclaimed in the outset of this article all intention of entering minutely into the separate views and interests of the different independent States. We shall therefore merely exemplify the above-mentioned propositions by a reference to one or two facts. It is well known that the flourishing and commercial northern States are strongly attached to an English connection; that the southern States, (where slavery still exists in all its horrors, and which consists of planters who may be supposed to look with a wistful and jealous eye upon our West Indian settlements,) are altogether French. In case of the destruction of England, they probably consider

themselves as much the natural heirs of her colonial greatness, as our Philadelphian author considers his countrymen to be of her maritime power. It must be confessed that an *equal* degree of *foresight* and *judgment* distinguishes both speculations. The middle States partake of the opinions of both parties, in proportions bearing some degree of reference to their respective proximity to each. The western States beyond the Alleghanny mountains are also divided in interest and affection from the eastern, which border on the ocean.

Now the American writers assert, that the planters of the south, who are not exposed to the same risk of immediate detriment as their northern brethren from a war with England, do actually keep in pay emissaries in the northern and middle states, to assist the French in corrupting the populace, and in keeping up the outcry against English tyranny and oppression. They are moreover said to do this with a view of drawing the Union into a war with England, in the shortsighted hope that they themselves may reap some profit from her spoils. Now can any thing tend so directly to a dissolution of the Union as acts like these? Do the southern planters suppose, that the northern States will submit to become the victims of their private views?—that they will tamely behold their commerce and prosperity perish before their eyes, when they might preserve and increase both (in case of a war,) by withdrawing from the Union, and forming a defensive alliance with England? But this is only one specimen of the spirit which agitates the United States. Unless, therefore, one half of them are prepared to submit to France, and to carry on for her sake a war with the other half, let them cease to be the dupes of French artifice, and act upon a more enlarged and comprehensive view of the general interests of the Union.

We shall conclude this already too much protracted discussion, by a reference to the appeal made by the American writers to their countrymen, on the state of their morals and religion.

It is highly gratifying to receive the unanimous tribute of applause which they pay to the moral and religious state of England, and to the example which in these respects she holds forth to America. They assert that the evangelical religion prevalent in England affords them the firmest ground of their conviction, that she will ultimately triumph in this tremendous conflict. To avoid mistakes, we must here observe, that the word *evangelical* is not used as a *nickname* in America as it too often is in England. The Americans intend nothing more by the observation, than to remark the conformity of the doctrines of our established church with the truths of scripture, and the general conformity of the people's lives with the doctrines of the church. But we

fear that they a little overrate the real state of our people as to moral and religious conduct, and that their opinions, with respect to France, are more correct.

“I need not,” says Mr. Channing, “recal to my readers the blasphemies and impieties of the authors of the French revolution; but wherever French power extends, the same effects are produced. Did I think, my friends, that only political evils were to be dreaded; did I believe that the minds, the character, the morals, the religion, of our nation would remain untouched; did I see in French domination nothing but the loss of your wealth, your luxuries, your splendour; could I hope that it would leave unsullied your purity of faith and manners, I would be silent. But religion and virtue, as well as liberty and opulence, wither under the power of France. The French Revolution was founded in infidelity, impiety, and atheism. This is the spirit of her chiefs, of her most distinguished men; and this spirit she still breathes wherever she has influence. It is the most unhappy effect of French domination, that it degrades the human character to the lowest point. No manly virtues grow under this baleful and malignant star.” (Sermon, p. 10.) “I have heard truly affecting accounts of the depraved state of France, of the general insensibility to God which pervades the nation, of the selfishness and licentiousness of the rich, of the fraud and oppression of men in power, and of the want of mutual confidence among all ranks of people.” (Note to Sermon, p. 13.)

The fear of being thought prejudiced shall not prevent us from asserting, that upon an impartial and deliberate review of the American publications, the effects of the two schools of politics on the morals, and religion, on the minds and conduct of that people are apparent.

Where wild democracy and French predilections (a combination *now* no less heterogeneous in theory than true in fact,) prevail;—THERE will be found treachery, coarseness, falsehood, and a total dereliction of all moral and religious principle. Where the old Federal politics, or an attachment to a close alliance with England prevail;—THERE are generally to be found the friends of order, civilization, and religion;—the depositaries of the taste, learning, virtue, and genius of their country;—the salt, which under Providence, by insinuating itself into all the pores and ramifications of society, may yet preserve it from corruption. Perhaps these distinctions may appear illiberal and uncharitable to some of our readers. But we intreat them to reflect, that they are not drawn between persons professing to refer their acts to some common standard of morals and religion, and differing in trifling points of discipline or doctrine, but between one set of men professing to bind themselves in their conduct to others by the laws of the Christian scriptures, and



another set which glories in being emancipated from all such restraints, but which has not substituted any efficient principle in their room. If, therefore, we believe that some standard of morals, and some sanctions of religion, are necessary to the welfare of society,—if we see that the want of them is plunging into misery and destruction a great mass of population connected with us by the interesting ties of brotherhood; surely any endeavour to distinguish the good from the bad, in the hopes of securing the one, and reforming the other, exhibits the very reverse of an illiberal and uncharitable spirit. We confess that we are not ashamed to be wanting in that *liberality*, which greets with equal approbation the moral man and the libertine, the religious man and the atheist:—such is not the *liberality* nor the generous spirit which will raise a country to glory, or save it when in jeopardy. In truth, if it be not presumptuous in us to judge from the criterion just set up, there is, upon the whole, a lamentable deficiency of true religion in the United States; and the following animated address, with which we close our extracts, is by no means superfluous.

“ But as the most effectual method of exalting the views, purposes, and character of our nation, let me entreat you who are lovers of your country to labour with all your power TO DIFFUSE THE FAITH AND PRACTICE OF THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST. The prevalence of true Christianity is the best defence of a nation, especially at this solemn and eventful period. It will secure to us the blessing of Almighty God; and it will operate more powerfully than any other cause in making us recoil from the embrace of France. No greater repugnance can be conceived, than what subsists between the mild, humane, peaceful, righteous, and devout spirit of the gospel, and the impious, aspiring, and rapacious spirit of this NEW NATION. Christianity will indeed exclude from our breasts all feelings of ill-will, malice and revenge towards France and her sovereign; for these are feelings which it never tolerates. But it will inspire an holy abhorrence of her spirit, and designs, and make us shudder at the thought of sinking under her power, or aiding her success.” (Sermon, p. 16.)

These are truly noble sentiments; and if a struggle should take place for independence upon American soil, (which God avert,) the men who hold these sentiments will be found the bravest patriots in the hour of danger, and the sternest defenders of their native soil from injury and oppression.

We have now given from *the writings of her own Natives*, (and we beg our readers to bear that fact in mind,) as impartial an account as we could frame of the religious, moral, and political state of America, as far as they influence her present public conduct.

If the principles which we have in consequence ventured to recommend were generally spread among the people, and the Gallic dæmon which now tears and agitates their entrails driven into the sea, then might we really hope to see the American mind once more open to the dictates of reason and discretion. An alliance, conferring reciprocal benefits, might be cemented by affection between the parent state and the offspring which issued from its stock. The world might contemplate with pleasure and renewed hope a connection founded on the justest views of policy, and fortified by the best principles of human nature.

The parent and the child, united in the strictest bonds of friendship, might step forward hand in hand to the front of the battle;—might oppose their oaken bucklers to the further inroads of vice, folly, cruelty, and atheism. They might at the worst confine those detested monsters to the devoted shores of Continental Europe, and waft the bright remains of wisdom, virtue, religion, and humanity, to regions of happier promise. There may they effectually operate upon minds yet untainted with the effeminate vices of Europe! May they gain strength by the progress of society, and raise up a monument to the God of Christianity, that will endure in full vigour to distant ages;—to ages protracted long beyond the period, when the just judgments of that God shall have swept from the face of the earth, and blotted from the page of history, all traces of the monstrous deformity of those instruments, which have been employed among us in these latter times to execute HIS INSCRUTABLE PURPOSES!

ART. VI. 1. *Letter to the Most Noble the Marquis of Hertford, on Fiorin Grass; containing the necessary Directions for its Culture, the Periods and Modes of laying it down, and saving its Crops, &c.* By William Richardson, D.D. London, 1810. Hatchard.

2. *A Treatise on Fiorin Grass, with a short Description of its Nature and Properties, &c.* By John Farish. Dumfries, 1810. Johnstone.

3. *Essay on Fiorin Grass, shewing the Circumstances under which it may be found in all Parts of England, its extraordinary Properties, and great Utility to the practical Farmer.* By William Richardson, D.D. London, 1810. Phillips.

THESE Pamphlets contain the result of some ingenious observations, and experiments, made by Dr. Richardson, of Clon-  
VOL. I. NO. I.

fecle near the Giant's Causeway in Ireland, on a very interesting department of Natural History and Agriculture.

This learned gentleman is well known for the extent of his Geological Inquiries, and the variety of his opinions, concerning the original formation of the great wonder of Nature near which he resides. Satiated by the number, or wearied by the perplexity of these speculations, he has fortunately for the Public turned his attention of late to more practical objects of research. In the pursuit of these, he appears to us to have elicited from one of the most simple productions of Nature properties as important, as they are singular and unexpected; and which, we think, must even have astonished the shades of those men of mighty stature, who erst kept watch over their flocks, on the same verdant summits, which are now said to be covered by a vegetable of growth equally gigantic.

It is true, we anticipate the sneers that will play round the lips of an old practical Farmer, when he is informed that the discovery, of which we express ourselves in these terms, is no less than a scheme, set on foot in Ireland, for making hay at Christmas: and this, though the weather may be considerably marked by snow or rain. Nor shall we be at all surprised, if our more elevated Readers,

“ Intent on freighted wealth, or proud to rear  
“ The fleece Iberian, or the pamper'd steer,”

should be tempted at first sight, to class this Irish phenomenon with those celebrated discoveries concerning sunbeams and cucumbers, made by the ingenious philosophers of Laputa; or with their more practical device of ploughing the ground by the rooting of hogs' snouts after buried acorns, to save the charges of implements, cattle, and labour. But we humbly entreat their candour and forbearance, until we have endeavoured to lay before them, from the abovementioned works, as plain and perspicuous a statement as we can, of the facts and circumstances, which have extorted from our impartial judgment the opinion just avowed.

As the subject is one of practical importance, and the really useful information is scattered amidst much repetition throughout the three pamphlets, we shall endeavour to condense the information contained in them; and shall bring the authors' facts and views before the public, by making our own arrangement under distinct heads, briefly illustrating each with proofs and extracts from the works themselves. The extracts will be principally drawn from the Letter to the Marquis of Hertford; not only because it is the latest publication, and is intended as an epitome of all former works on the subject; but also because it is not published, (though printed for private distribution at the expence of the Marquis,) and therefore is not generally accessible.

The following division seems the most eligible :

1. The History and Description of the Fiorin Grass.
2. Its useful Properties, and the Mode of Cultivation.
3. The Advantages to be derived from it.
4. The doubts and objections which have been entertained concerning its value.

1. Dr. R. states " that his discovery of the *inestimable qualities* of the Fiorin grass can scarcely be called accidental." He had long considered the *grass department* as little understood by farmers, and was anxious, by his own experiments and example, " to bring this branch of Agriculture within the pale of utility." The results of his experiments he laid before the Irish Academy, who published them in their transactions, under the title of "*Memoirs on the Useful Grasses.*" " But Fiorin (says Dr. R.) remained, more extensive in its uses, and more diversified in its properties, than all the rest of the *gramina* taken together." This grass he had often heard mentioned under its own name *Agrostis Stolonifera*, and that of joint-grass ; and it was always spoken of in Ireland very favourably ; but no one had ever attempted to cultivate a distinct crop of it, or to institute any experiment relating to it. On the contrary, we believe, that the farmers both in England and Ireland, have been silly enough to use all possible endeavours, for these last five hundred years, entirely to extirpate this grass from their land ;—but, (as Dr. R. will perhaps think by the kindness of Providence,) entirely without success.

The difference, which the learned Doctor found to exist between the nature of this and all other grasses, is so important to the due comprehension, if not to *the belief* of the facts founded upon it, and is so fully stated in the following extract from his Letter to Lord Hertford, that we make no apology for inserting it at some length.

" Fiorin is the grass which botanists have distinguished by the name of *Agrostis Stolonifera* : some, it is true, deny their identity ; but it is only those, who having overlooked or condemned this *Agrostis* as useless, are ashamed to retract ; and defend themselves by asserting Fiorin, and *Agrostis Stolonifera*, to be different grasses.

" The pure (or *culmiferous*) *gramina*, are those which we generally cultivate.

" There is another description of grasses, called by Botanists, *stoloniferous*, endowed by nature with a third sort of produce in addition to the seeds and stalks. This tribe at their respective periods, emit long strings or runners, called *stolones*, which, creeping along the ground, when unsupported take root at their joints, thus forming new plants. The *stolones* of the Fiorin are very numerous and attain a great length ; Wray tells us twenty-four feet ;\* but I

\* Camden in his *Britannia* mentions the grass of the Orcheston meadow, which

must confess mine have rarely passed ten. In these stolones the whole value of the Fiorin crop consists; it is therefore (as in the former case) the period of their greatest perfection we must look to for the time of severing.

“Here we are not, as with other grasses, limited to a certain point, in the approach to which they improve, and when they pass it, fall off; the *quality* of the stolones is at all periods equal; we have to look to *quantity* alone; and that depends upon the length of the strings composing the crop. From this comparative view of the natural history of the stoloniferous and culmiferous tribes of grasses; it is plain that no reasoning from analogy will apply from one to the other, either in their cultivation or in the management of their crops; for no likeness whatsoever exists between them.” (pp. 11, 12. Letter to Lord H.)

Doctor R. then proceeds to state, that the stolones continue vegetating till Christmas; which is consequently the time at which the crop of grass is in the greatest quantity; that they continue perfectly sound, fresh, and sweet, if left uncut on the ground through the whole winter. Unlike the common grasses, which, when cut for hay, require that their aqueous juices should be evaporated in order to prevent fermentation; “The saccharine juices of the Fiorin are less volatile, and their cohesion preserved by the principle of life pervading for months every inch of the string,” whether the crop be left cut on the ground, or gathered into stacks. So that the stolones, though apparently dry for months, will immediately vegetate if cut in small pieces, or placed whole in the earth. The quantity of produce from a field of Fiorin in full vigour, is enormous, (as we shall see under a future head,) at least thrice that of an average crop of other grasses. This part of the account is strongly corroborated by the description of the Orcheston meadow\* given in the transactions of the Bath Agricultural Society. In this meadow, by what was supposed to be some singular chance, Fiorin seems for many years past to have obtained spontaneously, exclusive possession of the surface.

We are obliged to Dr. R. for some curious facts, illustrative of the nature of this grass, drawn from its easy endurance of privations fatal to other grasses. These facts also lead to the practical purpose of ascertaining the spots where Fiorin is generally to be found growing spontaneously.

The first of these privations is that of sufficient soil for the roots, “which leads us to the paved or gravelled high roads, that

which grew, as he says, to the length of 24 feet: he calls the grass, trailing dog's grass, and asserts that hogs were fed with it. It is, in fact, pure Fiorin.

\* This meadow is in Wiltshire, and is the property of Lord Rivers.

by means of new cuts cease to be used. We find on these, notwithstanding the scanty covering, that the Fiorin has always taken possession; and when such roads become green, (as they invariably do when no longer travelled upon) Fiorin is the exclusive, or at least the predominant grass. The sides, even, of all our common roads abound with it, when the gravel extends beyond the part travelled on and beaten: in this shallow, hungry, but undisturbed stripe, it soon establishes itself."

An observation of a similar nature was made by Mr. Price (see Bath Agricultural Society Report, vol. viii. p. 41) on the grass of the Orcheston meadow. It scarcely penetrates an inch below the surface, and the root takes such slight hold of the ground, that a great length may be severed from it merely by taking hold of the panicle or top of the culm. Upon examining the soil in various parts of the field, Mr. Price found that the grass was most luxuriant, *i. e.* there was a more exclusive growth of Fiorin, where the soil was *most shallow*. In all parts, flints are found within a very few inches of the surface, and prevent other grasses from thriving; but in the most flourishing part, there was scarcely more than an inch and half of earth above a compact bed of flints. These facts, combined with Dr. Richardson's observations, seem to account very satisfactorily for the mode in which the Orcheston meadow has been spontaneously covered with a growth of Fiorin.

The second privation is that of the sun's rays. "This leads us to the north side of all walls, where the green sod comes close up to its foot. Here Fiorin is uniformly found, shewing itself more and more as we approach the wall, and at the contact of the sod and wall it is nearly the only grass." The north side of a church comes of course under this description. Mr. Dickenson, member for Somersetshire, found Fiorin roots under the north wall of his parish church, and inclosed them to Dr. Richardson.

We beg leave to suggest here for the worthy Doctor's consideration, whether the capacious cellars of Ireland, which have become vacant since the union, by the great increase of absentees, may not be converted into profitable meadow! The Fiorin would certainly be secured here from all interference of the sun's rays, and the *paved* surface would be peculiarly favourable to its vegetation.

Fiorin, being of an *amphibious* nature, is generally found in all situations exposed to the alternations of wet and drought. The bottoms of ditches, wet in winter and dry in summer; winter drains, and even the irrigator's little conduits, are often observed to abound with it.

We shall state but one other fact, in which this curious grass

differs from all other vegetable productions of the same and similar genera. Mr. Farish states that

“ It comes into ear and produces panicles bearing seed, which come to maturity before the winter; and the slender stalk which supports the panicle from the stem appears white and dead, so that vegetation with respect to these is at an end. Nevertheless the stem itself, with the various branches or stolones depending thereon, continues to advance, increasing considerably in length from month to month, and adding uncommonly to the quantity of the crop. This quality we reckon peculiar to the Fiorin, as we know of no other vegetable that ever increases in length after the seed is ripe.” (Treatise, p. 32.)

Such is the natural history and description of the Fiorin grass; the main difference between which and all other grasses, evidently resides in its *active principle of life*, not to be subdued by those laws and operations of nature, which usually set bounds to the existence and increase of other vegetables; and under all the circumstances, we are only surprised that the face of these Islands has not been long ago *one wide waste* of Fiorin. We proceed

2. To its useful Properties and Mode of Culture.

It is stated upon “*irresistible evidence*,” that Fiorin is more grateful to cattle of all descriptions, (particularly to those giving milk,) in every stage of its growth, than any other grass; that although it was first known to thrive luxuriantly in moist situations only, yet the uncommon duration and severity of our late drought (1809) “disclosed a new and unexpected quality of this strange plant; viz. that however dry the soil may become, its verdure and luxuriance remained unimpaired.” This property was first observed in England, in the Fiorin transmitted to the Marquis of Hertford, which his lordship is cultivating with so much success. The same observation has also been made in other parts of England and Scotland.

We must remark, however, that we still retain some doubts upon this part of the subject; and are persuaded that a dry light soil offers a much more uncertain promise of success, and a more precarious profit, than moist and springy situations, such as the bogs of Ireland and Scotland, the Orcheston meadow, &c. &c.

With respect to these last spots *Doctor R.’s evidence* is certainly strong, and it may be said with truth, that “he does not dread the extreme of *submersion in water at any time*, be the crop standing or cut. Sufficient opportunities for mowing and carrying off are all that he requires.” So true is this, that on Nov. 15, he steeped part of his crop in a pond for thirteen days, placing it afterwards in separate cocks among the rest. The whole was then made into hay, and “*all distinction between the two ways was lost.*”

We confess that this last piece of information has relieved our minds from a regret and an uneasiness, under which they had long laboured. Considering the *alarming accounts* which we have frequently read of the rapid increase of population in England, and the *small quantity* of land now remaining for the further production of food; we have always wished to look to the surplus produce of Ireland as a resource for making up the deficiency. But as the inhabitants of the Sister Kingdom appear by no means less prolific than ourselves, and therefore likely soon to be in the same predicament, we could not help viewing with infinite regret the great expanse of Lake and River hitherto unproductive, which the map of Ireland exhibits. But the last mentioned discovery of Doctor R.'s converts this cause of uneasiness into matter of joy and exultation. For it plainly indicates that these extensive surfaces of water may now be converted, (as an Irishman might say,) into the most *productive land in the country*. It is only necessary to plant the beds of them with Fiorin strings, and to procure, (as Doctor R. may easily do on the fairy shores of Clonfacle,) a few Mermen to act as subaqueous haymakers; and the thing is done. Or if by any chance there should be found a deficiency of these labourers, and it be thought more advisable to consume the crop by grazing, the Irish government need only to send a special mission to Egypt, in search of the best race of Hippopotamos, viz: that which lays on the fat most rapidly on the loins and flanks; and we have little doubt that by a judicious cross with the *Irish Bull*, a breed may be procured, that will quietly graze at the bottom of the lakes, and afford excellent beef and butter for the supply of the Navy, and the English markets.

It follows from what has been stated, not only, that the most eligible time for cutting and making this grass into hay is *about Christmas*, but that it is perfectly feasible so to cut and make it, notwithstanding the weather which usually occurs at that period. It is also evident, that if green food for cattle, particularly those in milk, be an object of interest to the farmer *throughout the whole winter*, the grass will retain all its perfection and nourishment, and may be cut in small quantities as wanted. Nor is it by any means necessary that Fiorin should be eaten the day it is cut. The Doctor, by the advice of Sir Joseph Banks, permitted his to remain on the ground some days, and found it not deteriorated. "The juices are not volatile, nor is the sward disposed to ferment and heat." The produce is enormous in quantity. "The Right honourable Isaac Corry attended, and saw the crop from the water meadows at Clonfacle fairly weighed, amounting to *eight tons five cwt. and half, and twenty four pounds the En-*



glish acre; and this Mr. Corry confirms under his own hand." The Orcheston meadow contains two acres and a half, and is mowed twice. Twelve loads is the average of the first crop, six of the second; which about tallies with the above-mentioned produce, supposing that the whole crop were permitted to stand till winter, and to be cut together according to Dr. Richardson's system.

The title of this meadow of 2½ acres, has been compounded for at nine pounds sterling! We believe the Farnham hop grounds (of a garden cultivation) do not pay more than three guineas an acre for title. These results are all so extraordinary, and tend to purposes of such high utility, that we feel it would be doing injustice to the subject, did we not enlarge a little more on the facts which are supposed to establish them: for this purpose we subjoin the following extracts, chiefly from the letter to Lord Hertford.

"I made my notices public, not only in Ireland, but announced in the Gentleman's Magazine, London, and in the Farmer's Magazine, Edinburgh, that I should mow on the first and fifteenth of every month, from October to March; and that during that whole time I should have hay exposed to the weather, in the operation of making. I performed my promise punctually, in the view of every amateur who thought fit to call, as many did. On December 15, the snow was five inches deep on the ground; yet I proceeded, and was little molested by it, a toss with a fork at once shaking off the snow from the sward. January 14, a gentleman came to my house (this was Mr. Farish) sent from Dumfriesshire, with a letter of introduction from the venerable and spirited Patrick Miller, of Dalswinton. Curiosity had been excited in that county, and this expensive mode was adopted, of ascertaining whether my Fiorin crops were as enormous as I had stated; and if I also mowed and made hay at that untoward season. Through the evening of the 14th I was amused with perceiving that my visitor *suspected a hoax.*" (We are surprised he could entertain so improbable a suspicion.) "His doubts, however, were removed the next morning, when he saw the business proceeding regularly, and the hay, which had been cut on the preceding *firsts* and *fifteenths*, standing in the field in excellent order. Since he returned to Scotland, I have had letters both from Mr. Miller and him: he informs me he is preparing a publication, (the pamphlet whose title is recited at the head of this article) reporting what he saw, and confirming every statement he had met with in my different memoirs." (pp. 25, 26. Letter.)

"On the 15th December, 1806, I mowed as usual, and put my hay into lap-cocks the same day; on the 17th the severest snow remembered in this country came on, and covered the ground deep for five or six weeks; on February the 3d my friend Lord Viscount Northland, and the Provost of Dungannon came to examine my hay. They certify that my lap-cocks were in the best possible pre-

ervation, of excellent quality, and that it was deposed before them upon oath, that the lap-cocks had not been loosened since the day that they were cut, December 15th." (Letter, p. 28.)

"I selected a parcel of fresh well-flavoured natural hay, and an equal quantity from the Fiorin stack, put up in November. These parcels were placed equally within the reach of horses, cows, and stalled oxen, all of which ate freely and with relish of the Fiorin in preference to the other hay; and when the Fiorin was removed and the other left, the stalled cattle *refused to eat at all*. This property was likewise further confirmed by the sheep, upon two small ricks, the one of Fiorin, and the other of natural hay, put up within the sheep-walk, and to which they had access at pleasure. The author observed them every day feeding greedily at the Fiorin rick, whilst they appeared only to use the other as a *rubbing post*, (Mr. Farish, p. 16.) A small shock of Fiorin, which had stood uncut the whole season, and lay in Mr. Miller's room till it appeared white and withered, was carried into the stable, and part of it presented by the coachman to every horse along with a parcel of fine sweet clover hay, they not only eat the Fiorin with great relish, and sought eagerly for more, but refused the clover as a food they could obtain at any time." (p. 46. Treatise.)

"On December 22d, some young ladies, who took milk for supper, observed that it was remarkably rich and well flavoured; we all tasted, and agreed in opinion. I alone knew that my cows had been put upon green Fiorin three days before. The milk continued of the same quality through the winter, and was much enjoyed.

"In the month of March I went abroad for a week: on my return the 22d, Mrs. R. told me at supper the milk had lost its flavour, the Fiorin she supposed growing old. I could not deny that the milk was much fallen off, and its richness gone; fearing to my mortification that Mrs. R. had accounted for it. Next morning I inquired for the confidential labourer, who took care of my cows, and of my Fiorin. I was told he had been absent five days, sowing his oats. "Who cut Fiorin for the cows?"—A. "No one would venture in his absence and yours!"—Matters were soon set to rights: the Fiorin was restored to the cows, and the flavour to the milk, without any abatement until the end of April, when the crop was expended." (pp. 32, 33.)

"In Oct. 1806, in making a dam I flooded some Fiorin roots 20 inches deep; the water has never been taken off for a moment; yet these roots continue to send up stolones to the surface, apparently in good health. In April 1807 I put a root of Fiorin grass with very little earth about it, on the top of my garden-wall. It never has been approached since: yet, notwithstanding the severe drought of this season, the grass preserves its usual verdure." (p. 38. Letter.)

Concerning the Epicurean excellence of the flavour of Fiorin, the Irish cattle are certainly good evidence, more especially when corroborated by the delicate and discriminating taste of the Irish

ladies. But the last mentioned circumstance of the garden-wall, seems to cast a sort of doubt over the prolific tendencies of the Fiorin, particularly in arid situations. Considering what had been advanced, it is surprising that the whole wall was not covered, and we can only account for this apparent failure of prolific power, by the supposition that the Doctor's horses had occasionally grazed upon the wall, and thus checked the increase. He does not indeed state in any of his communications, that he ever saw his horses grazing on his garden wall; but we know, (in our character of sportsmen) what slight impediments those walls are to the progress of Irish horses, and conclude that a much smaller temptation than a plant of Fiorin would entice them to the top of one. *Venturing then to assume* this fact as proved, we beg leave to recommend the plantation of Fiorin upon the sides of all the brick buildings in Ireland; and we would propose a prize to the members of the Veterinary College for the invention of a shoe, to enable horses, oxen, and sheep to graze with their legs in a position parallel with the horizon. Thus may a considerable portion of surface now waste be converted to the production of food for man.

We shall not attempt to add any thing to this curious account of the properties of the Fiorin, but proceed to the mode of its propagation and culture. This is as singular as any of the properties we have already noticed. Although, as we have before observed, it produces panicles and seeds in the common way, yet it is impossible to obtain a crop by seed, the usual mode of raising other grasses. The seed is so diminutive and slow in vegetation, and the young tendrils protected with so much difficulty from weeds and other spontaneous grasses, that they are soon choked and disappear. To compensate this apparent disadvantage,

“ Harmonious Nature's secret working hand”

has bestowed on this “ favourite grass,” by means of the stolones which we have mentioned, a facility of propagation superior to that of any other vegetable.

We have stated and described the active principle of life by which the stolones are animated: to render it efficient for the multiplication of the species, nothing more is necessary than to take them either fresh torn up from the ground in their green state, or from the rick or loft even five months after mowing, to scatter them over a *raw* surface of soil, at their full length or cut into pieces, and lastly to sprinkle them over with a little loose earth. Taking root at every joint, and throwing out fresh strings from each root, they need not by any means be planted thick or in large quantities. Rows at intervals of a yard will in one season

cover the whole surface with a sward thicker and more plentiful than any old meadow.

To those who find any difficulty in procuring the plant in their own neighbourhood, the facility of transmission is very great. "Two strings or stolones were sent from Ireland in September 1808, to a noble earl in the north of Scotland in his common frank." (It is whispered that the stolones had vegetated so rapidly during the passage, that when the epistle was presented to the noble lord, he doubted whether his servant was not insulting him by mixing a green sod with his letters. And the wind happening to set *in the poop of the mail coach*, the effluvia which was carried to the nostrils of the *leaders* was so tempting, that the arrival of the mail was delayed several hours by the exertions which they continually made to turn round and graze. The coachmen thought that their horses had all run mad.) "In thirteen months they had so propagated as to enable him to plant out two acres."

The best season for laying down land with Fiorin may be ascertained by referring to some of its peculiar properties. It vegetates with *equal vigour* almost during the whole year, certainly till after Christmas; consequently it does not grow so rapidly in the spring, as some of those grasses and weeds whose principal vegetation is confined to three or four months. During that period very expensive processes of weeding and cleansing could alone preserve the young Fiorin from being smothered by its more prurient rivals. We must therefore consider at what season these rivals, being checked in their vegetation, are least likely to intrude upon our plant, while the latter at the same time retains its accustomed vigour of growth. It will be found to be from about the 20th September to the end of October; for in this season few weeds or spontaneous grasses will come forward, and even should they make a feeble effort, the weakly plant will probably be destroyed by the early frosts. While this enemy to vegetation, so far from destroying Fiorin, is generally unable entirely to prevent the elongation of its stolones. But the vegetative powers of the Fiorin being still in their strongest action in September and October, its stolones will instantly strike root, and establish themselves in vigour; they will therefore in the ensuing spring be able to commence their efforts in strength, and with great advantage over the Fiorin laid down at any other season. It may be observed, that this period is peculiarly favourable to the general arrangements of farmers. They have only to plow up the ground immediately after harvest, and to put the strings into the earth early in October, in order to secure a hay-crop the very next year, without losing the benefit of a single season. We have very strong doubts, however, whether this grass should be sown in land which it is intended

to bring recently again under the plough; *i. e.* whether it can ever be used in a course of crops as clover is at present. We would not venture to propagate it on any land of ours, except where we wanted a permanent meadow.

The principal expence attending the cultivation on fresh land, consists in fencing and weeding. And when once the plant is well fixed in the soil, there is every reason to suppose from the experience hitherto had, that a Fiorin meadow will not want breaking up or renovating for a long course of years; but will on the contrary, with very little care, continue gradually to improve in strength and luxuriance, and of course in quantity of produce.

The facts upon record relative to the Orcheston meadow, seem to be conclusivè on this subject. The nature of the grass accompanied by such descriptions as clearly demonstrate it to have been Fiorin, is first recorded by Camden in his *Britannia*, a work, the first edition of which was published in the year 1586. It was afterwards observed by Mr. Stillingfleet, early in the last century; since by Curtis and Swayne, and lastly by two correspondents of the Bath Agricultural Society. So that a regular series of evidence attests the continued existence of this grass in one place for more than two centuries, and this by its own spontaneous exertion, without any pains taken on the part of man to preserve it.

We trust that the preceding detail on this curious and interesting subject of natural history, has not exceeded the limits due to a fair consideration of the patience, even of those readers whose attention is not peculiarly called to agricultural subjects. The facts are in themselves *very extraordinary*, and evidently applicable to general purposes of practical utility.

3. The advantages to be derived from any new discovery are very apt to be over estimated by the first discoverers. A plentiful and nutritious green food in the latter months of winter, is, however, without doubt a great desideratum among farmers. The prospect of obtaining it from this grass, will be duly appreciated by all who have seen, on one hand, their stock of animals starving before their eyes, in a severe winter, while tracts of common, bog, heath, or other unprofitable waste, lie extended on the other,

“Smooth’d up with snow, and what is land unknown,

“What water, of the still unfrozen spring.”

The inhabitants of the fens in Cambridgeshire, of the mountains and bogs in Ireland and Scotland, of the heaths in the vicinity of London and other towns, may equally profit by the cultivation of a plant, which without manure, and merely at the expence of fencing and protecting, will, in a proper situation,

realize the poet's picture, where misery and death prevailed before ;

“ Around their home the storm-pinched cattle lows,  
 “ No nourishment in frozen pastures grows,  
 “ Yet frozen pastures every morn resound  
 “ With fair abundance scatter'd o'er the ground.”

Nor is it a trivial discovery to farmers in districts pervaded by a more perfect system of cultivation, which in the latter months of winter professes to

“ Baffle the raging year, and fill the pens  
 “ With food at will.”

Such is the general nature of the advantages held out, and we are far from wishing to make any important subtraction from them, (except when dry sandy heaths, like that of Bagshot, are recommended as the proper subjects for this culture.) If they have hitherto met with so little credit, it must partly have arisen from the injudicious manner in which Doctor R. has brought forward in support of his discovery, facts, which no reasonable man (*who has not seen them*) could bring himself to believe. We understand from good authority, that Doctor R. is a gentleman of high respectability, and considerable attainments ; and we are perfectly persuaded, that he has advanced no fact which he does not believe that he has himself ascertained. But he should have reflected, how extremely incredible those assertions, which we have taken the liberty to mark with some degree of irony, must appear to a plain man, who takes up the pamphlets merely with a view to gain practical information. We have ourselves encountered many a contemptuous sneer for attempting to advocate the cause of Doctor Richardson and his Fiorin. But we are nevertheless convinced in good earnest, that in the extensive tracts of moist heath land, and mountains in Scotland, Ireland, and some parts of England, the grass may be cultivated to great profit. And if (as often occurs in old enclosed farms) any unmanageable piece of wet spongy land should be found, that would cost more than its value to reduce it to the regular routine of cultivation, a small expence laid out on Fiorin, would probably raise it to an equal value with any land on the farm. We confess also that we would ourselves, on *any farm*, set apart a few acres, even of very valuable land, for the exclusive growth of this vegetable.

4. We now proceed to the objections which have been raised against the cultivation of Fiorin.

By much the larger portion of the most useful discoveries have been made merely by the novel application and improvement of simple and well-known principles, that have long continued dormant. The vaccine inoculation is an ingenious application of a

fact long known and observed in Gloucestershire, viz. that dairy maids, whose chapped hands had milked cows in a certain state of disease, uniformly served with impunity as nurses for persons afflicted with the small-pox. The Madras system of education is nothing more than an improvement upon an expedient often used by school-masters for shortening their labour, by making the more advanced boys the instruments of teaching their inferiors. Now it is of the very essence of human nature to be envious and jealous of such discoveries. The performances approach too nearly to the common level of genius and science, not to produce the reflection that *any man MIGHT* have made them. It may be said that it was merely that one thought of them before another; and Columbus's well-known reproof to his detractors, derived from the problem of the broken egg, may be applied on many more recent occasions. The same man, therefore, who will join in extolling the superior fame of a Newton, earned by severe study and acknowledged precedence of talent, will perhaps find his envy roused by the praises bestowed on a Jenner or a Bell, who, however acute and ingenious, have been enrolled in the list of benefactors to mankind without any very extraordinary pre-eminence of talent; *as we believe, by a peculiar ordination of Providence; but* as some may be disposed to think by *a lucky chance which might* equally have occurred to themselves. From envy to detraction the journey is very short; and if the above-mentioned characters have not escaped, much less can the humble discovery of our worthy Doctor hope to deprecate its fate. Accordingly the Fiorin has been ridiculed and reprobated under the nick-names of Red Robin, Couch grass, &c. &c. And some have affirmed that it is the *peculiar plague* of farmers. We are sorry to see such men as Mr. Arthur Young countenancing these follies; we respect his labours, his great talents, and the high estimation in which he deservedly stands; and we anxiously exhort him not to put them all to risk by an obstinate adherence to the opinion, that hay cannot be made *in Ireland* amidst all the frost, the snow, and the wet of a *Christmas harvest*: particularly as many of his enlightened coadjutors at the board of Agriculture have often declared themselves at that board, satisfied, both from actual inspection and intercourse with Dr. R. of the truth of many of the facts advanced, and of the probable solidity of the benefits to be derived from his discovery. But the best answer to these objections is to be found in the Doctor's letter to Lord Hertford. "When these gentlemen (says he) shall have made careful experiments upon the stolones of grass for four years, (as I have done,) they will then be intitled to attention, but no sooner." We trust that Mr. Young will immediately set about qualifying himself, by introducing Fiorin on his Suffolk farm.

With this answer we should rest satisfied, did not a certain resemblance which actually exists between the Fiorin and couch or squitch grass, (so that a superficial observer might confound them) call upon us to insert the following quotation from the essay, which clearly shews the distinction.

“ These grasses both produce long strings, with *green sprouts* issuing at intervals and at right angles from each, and thus have a resemblance; but a moment’s attention soon discovers the difference.

“ The *squitch* string is *pure root*, and never of itself reaches the surface, nor is seen, except when disturbed by the tool of the farmer.

“ The string (or stolo) of the *Fiorin* is a *production of the surface*, and would rise erect were it able to sustain its own weight; and like a creeper, it actually does rise, whenever it can catch support.

“ The *squitch* string, (being root,) is quite solid, while the *Fiorin* string is tubular.

“ The *squitch* string is *always white*. The *Fiorin* is green in summer, and whitens only in winter. Even then the whiteness is confined to the envelope, the interior tube is *always green*.

“ In the *squitch* string the small radicals form rings round the great root; while in the *Fiorin* string two or three small fibres issue from the lower side of the *joint* only.

“ As these grasses approach their inflorescence, their panicles are so unlike as to preclude all mistake.” (Essay, pp. 33, 34.)

This explanation is conclusive as to the difference of the two grasses; and the distinction is the more important as we believe the real fact to be, that cattle will not touch couch grass, if they can find other food; whereas our readers have seen *abundant proof* that they prefer *Fiorin to every other food*.

We have now to add that the success of Doctor R. reflects the greater credit on his ingenuity, as the simple object, from which he has elicited properties so singular, was previously submitted to the attention of such persons as Camden, Stillington, Swayne, Curtis, and the members of the Bath Agricultural Society, without any practical result having been drawn from it. The latter recommend its propagation by sowing the seeds, a mode which has been clearly shewn to be inefficient. The true mode by planting the strings or stolones, had been entirely overlooked. Again, one of the correspondents of the Bath Society, who wrote when it was the fashion to refer every thing singular in nature to electrical agency, ascribes the extraordinary growth of the Orcheston grass to the *circulation of electrical matter about its roots*; a solution which strongly reminds us of the theory of an eminent natural philosopher, who referred the production of darkness to “ the agency of certain obfuscating principles in the atmosphere; sometimes producing perfect tenebrosity, some-



times only twilight, according to the different degrees of intensity in their operation."

We cannot close this article without paying a just tribute of applause to the liberality of the Marquis of Hertford, in printing for distribution the pamphlet from which we have taken most of our extracts. It is an example of the *use* of money which should be strongly contrasted with a very common *abuse* of it made by many large proprietors of land, who are in the habit of converting their riches into a double-stitched panoply, "made after the exact pattern of the mail coachman."\*

We have also one observation to make at parting with the learned and amiable writer of the letter to Lord Hertford. We should not have been disposed to take the least notice of the style in which pamphlets on these subjects are written, did not the numerous latin quotations interspersed throughout the Letter, give reason to suspect that it is intended for fine writing.

Now although in a private letter to an accomplished nobleman, it may be very proper to enliven the dull monotony of the page by a few classical illustrations; yet we submit it to Dr. R. whether it is a fair or favourable specimen of Irish manners, to interlard a work compiled *for the exclusive use of practical farmers*, with phrases in a dead language, without even the assistance of a popular translation. Degrading as the confession may be, our anxiety for the general perusal of such pamphlets as these, constrains us to admit, that the author in this instance has considerably over-rated the literary attainments of our squires, yeoman, and farmers. We acknowledge, indeed, with gratitude, that he has had the compassion to select one or two of his quotations from the examples in syntax; but even this does not allay our fears. And we must, with all humility, entreat him, in his future communications, to spare our English ignorance; and if he wishes to let us know "that farmers when contented are a happy race;" "that seeds vegetate and grass grows in spring, and is much burnt up in summer;" that he will have the goodness to impart the information in our vernacular tongue.

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\* We have heard some over-morose persons express a wish, that the Yahoos should be fed upon Fiorin, and the Houyhnhnms (as the superior animal) installed in the boxes of the London coffeehouses.

ART. VIII. *The Pleader's Guide, a didactic Poem, in two Parts, containing Mr. Sur-rebutler's Poetical Lectures on the Conduct of a Suit at Law; including the Arguments of Counsellor Bother'um and Counsellor Bore'um, in an Action for Assault and Battery between John A-Gull and John A-Gudgeon.* By J. Anstey, Esq. Sixth Edition. 1810.—Cadell, London.

A WORK which has already arrived at the sixth edition must be so well known to the public, as to render any observations of ours on its merits unnecessary, and in some degree presumptuous. It is not therefore our intention, in the few remarks we have to offer, to interfere with the judgment which has already been passed upon this amusing performance. Though if it were necessary, we should readily concur with the public in admiring the *hereditary* felicity and humour, with which the author has adapted to the purpose of his poetry materials so little susceptible of poetical embellishment. It is the general and indiscriminate circulation, which the work has obtained, that calls for the few following observations.

The object of the poem is described to be to amuse the members of the legal profession, by a ludicrous representation of subjects, which they are accustomed to treat with gravity and seriousness. And indeed it should seem that without some explanation, no other persons could enter *properly* into the spirit of the work.

“Hear then, and deign to be my readers,  
Attornies, barristers, and pleaders,  
Shrieves, justices, and civil doctors,  
Surrogates, delegates, and proctors,  
Grave judges too, with smiles peruse  
The sallies of a lawyer's muse,  
A buxom lass, who fain would make  
Your sober sides with laughter shake :  
And, good my lords, be kind and gracious,  
And though you deem her contumacious,  
Ne'er to the Fleet or Bridewell send her;  
But spare a ludicrous offender,  
Who longs to make your muscles play,  
And give your cheeks a holiday.”

(Lect. 1. p. 7.)

So long as the circulation of the work was confined to the members of the profession, whose particular knowledge and habits had confirmed in them a reverence for the substantial excellencies of the law, not liable to be weakened by any ridicule, however well founded, or happily applied to some of its forms

and abuses, it could have no other effect, than that obviously intended of amusing *them* and making "their *sober sides* with laughter shake." But as the work has now obtained a much more general circulation, and has been extensively read beyond the bounds of the profession; it may probably fall into the hands of many, who may have no other knowledge of the subject upon which it treats, than what they derive from the work itself. There may be danger therefore of their considering the pleasantry of the author too much in the light of serious objection; a result far beyond his intention, and beyond what the truth of the case will warrant. And they may thereby conceive something of disrespect and contempt for the system of our laws themselves, for the mode by which a knowledge of them is acquired, and for those who profess and practise them. They may be disposed to call to mind the vulgar rhapsodies of Swift upon the same subject, and erroneously to conclude that our author, who had more opportunities of forming an accurate judgment, meant to countenance the same sort of satire by his example.

To obviate this possible evil of the work before us, and to divest it of all other effect, but that of contributing to harmless amusement, we propose to make one or two observations upon some of those points, (particularly of legal education,) which the author has selected as the objects of his ridicule. And we hope that we shall at the same time impart to the general reader a portion of information, which cannot fail to be useful and gratifying, considering that there is now scarcely a respectable family in the kingdom, that has not a connection employed either in the pursuit or practice of the legal profession.

In this country then, where the Law, and those who practise it, have so extensive an influence on public and private affairs, it becomes an extremely important inquiry in what way the study of it can be best conducted.

Every preparatory plan, arranged according to this just notion of the profession, pre-supposes what is commonly called a liberal education, that is, an education in the classics, ancient and modern literature, and philosophy, natural, moral, and political. In illustration of this opinion we may quote the words of our author, for such is the fair interpretation of the following passage, when it is translated from the language of wit and humour, into that of plain common sense.

" But chiefly thou, dear Job, my friend,  
My kinsman, to my verse attend;  
By education form'd to shine  
Conspicuous in the *pleading line* ;

For you from five years old to twenty,  
 Were cramm'd with Latin words in plenty,  
 Were bound apprentice to the Muses,  
 And forc'd with hard words, blows, and bruises,  
 To labour on poetic ground,  
 Dactyls and spondees to confound;  
 And when become in fictions wise,  
 In Pagan histories and lies,  
 Were sent to dive at Granta's cells,  
 For truth in dialectic wells;  
 There duly bound for four years more  
 To ply the philosophic oar,  
 Points metaphysical to moot,  
 Chop logic, wrangle, and dispute;  
 And now, by far the most ambitious  
 Of all the sons of Begerdicius,  
 Present the law with all the knowledge  
 You gathered both at school and college."

(Lect. 1. p. 8.)

Now presuming that the student is already prepared with these preliminary studies, he may enter more particularly upon his legal education, either by way of solitary study, or partly at least in concert with others. Of these two modes there can be little question that the latter is the best for almost all pursuits, but more especially for acquiring knowledge and skill in a practical profession. Solitary study is very apt to generate visionary ideas, little applicable to practical purposes; and even though it may supply sound knowledge, it fails of exercising those habits of mind so essential to the practice of this profession,—quickness of perception, readiness at seeing, taking, and answering objections, a power of various and familiar illustration, a faculty of promptly transferring the thoughts from one train of ideas to another; all these are very necessary to a practical lawyer, yet are never to be acquired in solitude and seclusion. A solitary student would be disconcerted by one much inferior in solid attainments to himself, from mere awkwardness in managing his weapons. From accident or inclination, he is liable to have his attention more forcibly drawn aside to a particular part of the subject, while all parts demand an equal attention. Whereas, if several are pursuing the same studies in concert, the attention of each is attracted by different parts, according to the bias of his particular disposition; and each brings under the notice of his companions, and makes the subject of discussion, that which most forcibly strikes his own imagination, but which might otherwise perhaps have escaped the rest. In this way every part of the subject comes successively under the consideration of all, and receives its due investigation. Add

to this, that the spirit, the animation, the reciprocal assistance, that belong to combined pursuits and exertions, give to social a decided preference over solitary study.

These advantages are well secured by the present mode of legal education, the most ordinary commencement being to place the student under a special Pleader, a gentleman whose business it is to draw up, correct, and revise the pleadings of a suit at law, i. e. those papers, which are necessary, in order to bring the matter in dispute to a precise point at issue, which may be submitted to the court or jury. He will here generally find four or five (*Five pupils were mystint,*) (Lect. 7. p. 81) others of nearly the same age and rank, and qualified with the same preparatory education as himself, who are engaged in similar pursuits. This they follow under the pleader, who being more advanced than themselves has begun to reduce his knowledge to practice. He is qualified to assist them in their progress by his instructions, to superintend their labours, satisfy their doubts, direct their inquiries into proper channels, and to point out to them, among subjects appearing of equal importance to the mere speculative inquirer, what is more or less material to practice. To practical utility, indeed, the whole method pursued is made subservient. No inquiry is entered into but what arises from real cases calling for immediate investigation, and is carried on no further than the actual occasion demands. It does not therefore deviate into speculative or idly curious disquisition, but is always bounded by real circumstances. If it sometimes leaves the curiosity of the student but partially satisfied, other cases will soon arise which will give him an opportunity of penetrating further into the subject, and more fully gratifying his thirst for information. In this way the whole course of instruction under a pleader having a constant reference to real facts, seems to be admirably fitted for forming the mind to a sound, unsophisticated, exact and practical knowledge of the profession.

Some persons, perhaps, may be disposed to object to this method of education, that it has a tendency to generate rather too technical a knowledge of the laws, and not to direct the mind sufficiently to the great principles of justice in which they are founded; and that the sort of knowledge it is calculated to confer, will be composed rather of a number of detached points than of comprehensive and enlarged views. But it may be observed, that the method of instruction here insisted upon is not held forth, as constituting of itself a complete system of legal education, but only as an excellent continuance of a system, the foundation of which must be laid in some preparatory acquaintance with the principles of natural justice, and some knowledge of the

general scheme of our own laws. These preliminary attainments ought to form a branch not so much of legal, as of academical education. And that perhaps to a greater extent than they do at present.

They would be found peculiarly useful to that numerous class of academical students, who, possessing independent fortunes or prospects in the world, are afterwards sent to study the law, not so much with a view to profit, as to qualify themselves for creditably filling the situations of senators, statesmen, magistrates, &c. &c. We apprehend that these are the gentlemen whom Dr. Adam Smith had in contemplation, when he asserted, that the law was the worst paid of all the professions: that, considering the sums expended in the education of its professors, the profits did not return more than a very trifling per centage; consequently that it was but a lottery, in which *a few* gained large prizes, but the majority drew blanks. Now this we do not believe to be true. We are convinced, on the contrary, that (rejecting those gentlemen who pursue the study, without any serious design of overtaking it,) the law, like all other professions in this free country, will invariably remunerate its professors in proportion to their industry and ability.

But an enlarged and comprehensive view of the science should not be carried too far in the earlier stages of a merely practical lawyer's education. Indeed, we are by no means clear that previous study by system and theory will be of much assistance to him, who looks to the profession merely with a view to practice and profit; nay, it *may* even prove an impediment to him.

The student who, without such previous study, has to collect his knowledge from practical points as they successively arise, will have his whole attention attracted to those points; and the consequence will be, that the law and the fact come to be intimately associated in his mind. It is true, this gives him a desultory knowledge of detached points, and little acquaintance with general principles. But he soon comes to acquire dexterity in the use of certain technical combinations, which being of more ready application to real business, answer his immediate purpose better.

Besides, one who knows much of the theory of the law before he comes to study it practically, will be in danger of running into speculation, and will be apt to have his understanding distracted between his theoretical notions, and his practical views. Instead of having his whole attention directed to the contemplation of things as they actually are, it will be too much diverted to the notions of them presented by his theory. And in comparing the one with the other, he will be perplexed by the

dissimilarity almost unavoidably existing between the two; and that, however well founded his theory may be. For theory and practice contemplate the same things in totally different lights. Theory is more conversant with the relations of things; practice with things as they are in themselves; the one looks rather to aggregate results, the other to particular consequences. Theory is more attentive to general tendencies; practice to precise effects. The former dwells chiefly on the operation of general causes; the latter attributes more to individual agency. It may be very possible to understand perfectly well the relations of things, how they are connected with other surrounding objects, from what causes they proceed, to what results they tend, by what rules they are governed, and yet to be ignorant of the real nature and use of the things themselves. The learned Professor Saunderson, who had been blind almost from his birth, knew enough of some of the properties of light, and the laws by which it was regulated, to be able to reason upon them accurately and ingeniously; and yet could have no just idea of what light was in itself, or of its most beautiful, striking, and useful properties. There can be little doubt, that had he recovered his eye-sight, it would have introduced considerable perplexity into his ideas at first, and rather have tended to embarrass than assist his understanding and his reasonings. In a way somewhat analogous, we conceive the theoretical study of the law might serve rather to perplex the student, when he afterwards came to consider it practically, with a view to profit in our English courts.

We will not deny that the justice of some parts of the reasoning in the preceding paragraphs is a subject of lamentation to us. We should be glad, if possible, to see the profession exonerated from the reproach of cramping the genius of its professors, and to see them, as in ancient Rome, not only the finest orators, but the most accomplished statesmen of their time. Experience seems, however, to afford but little hope of this.

The error of a too general and systematic view of subjects, is by no means the reproach of the common herd of practising lawyers. Theirs is one of an opposite nature. They are reproached, and justly, perhaps, for too little regard to systematic or general views, for having their attention too much confined to mere matters of practice. But if the foregoing reasoning is correct, there is in some sort a necessity for this; speculative notions will be so frequently at variance with matters of fact, and the labour of altering and re-adjusting the one by the other so painful and unremitting, that if a professional lawyer come into actual practice, he will have no leisure even if he retain inclination for such a laborious process; while a little prac-

tical dexterity is more easily acquired, and answers his immediate purpose much better. Moreover, from his attention being so perpetually engaged on minute points, the power of generalization is in danger of being lost by disuse. If, however, he do not succeed in procuring practice, he will probably soon be tempted to transfer his speculative powers to some subject more within the dominion of abstract reasoning, where the justness of his theory will not be so constantly exposed to the test of facts, and call so perpetually to be modified and restrained, or altogether abandoned.

These are among the reasons why the habits of practising lawyers incline and fit them for exact, particular, and practical views, so much more commonly than for general and abstract ones; and make it probable that there is some foundation for the charge that is made upon the profession, that it has a tendency to contract the mind. If, therefore, during the period of legal education, enlarged or comprehensive views of things must be rejected or forgotten, it should be the business of every one, after that period is expired, by unwearied personal effort to counteract the natural tendency of the profession to narrow the mind, by then forcibly expanding it into more general views. And, under the cautions suggested by the foregoing remarks, nothing would conduce to this object more than the habit, (now it can be adopted with safety,) of contemplating subjects by system and theory, and in their general principles. The man who is fortunate enough to combine with exact attention to the minute of things, and with such a constant reference to practice and real life as the profession of the law is peculiarly calculated to engender, the power also of forming general, abstract, and comprehensive views, will bid fair to arrive at the highest rank, not only of his profession, but also in the scale of intellect. It is an union of habits which has contributed to form some of the greatest men that the world has ever seen, whether for thought or action; which has had its share in producing a Grotius, a Bacon, a Clarendon, a Somers, and perhaps we may add a Burke.

It will be seen, therefore, that the objection which has been made to the method of legal education under a Pleader, as being adverse to the formation of enlarged views of the science, is one which belongs more or less to the profession itself, by whatever mode a knowledge of it is acquired, and which may be obviated, like most other practical objections, by superior industry and ability.

But after all, the best test of the utility of any institution is experience; and we find that the greatest ornaments of the bench and the bar have been trained to their present eminence



by the discipline of a pleader's office. We believe we may add, that when those who have had the longest experience of the profession, and have perceived what has advanced or retarded the progress of themselves and others, are called upon to advise a method of legal education for their friends, or to adopt one for their own children; the course, to which they have generally given the preference, has been a year or two of practice in a pleader's office.

Having endeavoured to convince our readers that there is nothing in this course of legal study that is really deserving of derision or contempt; we are no longer afraid of amusing them with our author's spirited caricature of it.

“ Still bent on adding to your store  
 The graces of a pleader's lore;  
 And, better to improve your taste,  
 Are by your parents' fondness plac'd  
 Among the blest, the chosen few,  
 (Blest, if their happiness they knew,)  
 Who for three hundred guineas paid  
 To some great master of the trade,  
 Have, at his rooms, by *special* favour,  
 His leave to use their best endeavour,  
 By drawing pleas, from nine till four,  
 To earn him twice three hundred more;  
 And after dinner may repair  
 To *foresaid* rooms, and *then* and *there*  
 Have *foresaid* leave, from five till ten,  
 To draw th' *foresaid* pleas again.”

[Lect. i. p. 10.]

Now as from the foregoing description the uninformed reader might be led to infer, that the practice here described has the interest of the pleader or tutor more in view than that of the student; we must just remark, that the essential utility of such a guide to their studies consists in the means which he has of giving them practical experience, by an insight into actual business, and by the circumstance of that business being the very object on which his success in life depends. By these means his diligence and the accuracy of his knowledge in every point, in which his instruction is required by his pupils, are secured by the surest of all motives; inasmuch as not only general carelessness or ignorance, but the slightest inattention or remissness in any one point, will be most certain and promptly detected and followed by the immediate failure of his clients, by disgrace to his professional character, and detriment to his personal interests. There is the greatest chance, therefore, of finding in the pleader a sort of tutor, who will be adequate to his functions, diligent,

accurate, exactly informed, forced to keep up the stock of his knowledge, from day to day, to the level of the latest improvements that are made in the science.

Another very fruitful topic on which the author has exercised the playfulness of his humour is, the various forms of the proceedings, the uncouth names of the writs, and the strange fictions which are had recourse to, in order to make them answer a purpose totally different from their original and ostensible designation.

“Light lie the sculptur'd marble o'er his breast,  
Blaz'd be his virtues, and his sins suppress'd;  
And wheresoe'er his bones be laid,  
'Thrice honoured be that lawyer's shade,  
Who truth with nonsense first combin'd,  
And equity with fiction join'd,  
And had the goodness to assign us  
Latitat, capias, et quo minus!” &c. &c.

[Lect. v.

Now, it is scarcely necessary to remind our readers that the state and circumstances of society undergo perpetual fluctuation and change. The stream of time is incessantly varying in its lapse the formation of its shoals, adding to them in one part by gradual deposits of new matter, and wearing them away imperceptibly in another. The mischief we would obviate by a legislative remedy has assumed a new shape, before the remedy adjusted to the first form, in which the evil appeared, can be well applied. The circumstances which called for the institution of a particular form of proceeding have, in the course of a few years, been so far altered, as to render useless much of what was essential to their former state, and to call for other provisions accommodated to their present appearances, which are soon in their turn to pass out of the bounds by which they were meant to be confined.

It would be hardly possible for the most active and vigilant legislature to keep pace with this rapid fluctuation of things, by corresponding alterations in the laws; any attempt to do it would only create endless difficulties and contradictions: therefore it must be left to the discretion of courts and judges to adapt the forms once established to new cases, as they successively arise: and in this way the forms of law are made to answer a purpose very remote from their ostensible design. The first deviations from the literal intent of the form may have been slight, but these paved the way for wider departures. In the course of this progress every step may have been so minute and gradual, that it is difficult to point out the time, when the original and osten-

sible purpose of the form entirely disappeared in fiction, to make way for the modern and real purpose. It is impossible to fix the period when that which is now fiction ceased to be reality.

So long, therefore, as these forms and fictions, however wild, awkward, and uncouth, can be made subservient to the purposes of justice, and are no real obstructions to its course; we confess for ourselves, that we should be sorry to see them entirely laid aside, notwithstanding the barbarism imputed to them, and the absence of all relation between the names, and the real purposes which the objects are intended to serve.

They remind us of the times in which they originated, and serve to connect the age in which we live with those that have gone before it. By constantly recalling to our recollection the high antiquity of our system of laws, they keep alive in us that reverence for them, which is by the constitution of our nature associated with our ideas of all that belongs to the age of our forefathers. They produce something of the same sort of impression which we experience, when we contemplate the grotesque figures of an old Gothic building, which, however uncouth, old-fashioned, or ludicrous in themselves, partake of, and perhaps contribute to, the prevailing feeling of veneration with which we contemplate the whole pile.

Besides, much of the ridicule which has been thrown upon our forms of law has arisen from ignorance of their real utility. When Swift says, that in a dispute between him and another about a cow, the lawyers "never desire to know what claim or title my adversary hath to my cow; but whether the said cow were red or black; her horns long or short; whether the field I graze her in be round or square; whether she was milked abroad or at home; what diseases she is subject to, and the like;" he is evidently employing the shafts of his wit upon that precision in defining the object of a suit, which, however difficult to arrive at, is absolutely essential to the impartial administration of justice. In short, we will venture to assert, that the only mode of dispensing justice *rapidly*, is through the instrumentality of absolute power; and that those who do not choose to run that risk, must be content to submit to the delay of many forms and fictions, which bind down the judge to an uniform and impartial course of proceeding.

But let it be recollected that we carry our respect for these forms no further than as they can be made subservient to the pure administration of justice, and we are inclined to agree with the author of the poem before us, that in our present system they have exceeded these limits.

In a multiplicity of useless forms in judicial proceedings answering no real purpose, many of which are retained merely because they have long existed, there are serious evils.

A multiplicity of forms requires a multiplicity of officers, and their remuneration enhances the expence of legal proceedings, and the consequent difficulty of obtaining justice.

The number and intricacy of the formal steps, through which it is necessary to pass in order to arrive at a judicial determination, enable either party who may wish to avoid doing justice, to keep out of sight the real merits of the case, and to interpose various delays to the final decision of the cause.

—“ Who all her healing powers abuse;  
Pain to their tortur'd clients bring,  
And make her pure and wholesome spring  
Foul as the pool which devils mix  
At Cheltenham, Harrogate, or Styx.”

[Lect. ii.

Even if these forms are not intentionally made use of to retard the final decision of the cause, yet as any irregularity in observing them may be either directly fatal, or be so in effect by reason of the expence of amending the error, they offer so many points for the decision of the cause apart from the real justice of the case. Justice on such an occasion is no longer the rule of law; fraud stands an equal chance with fair dealing; right is put upon a level with wrong; and as far as this abuse prevails, Courts of Law are perverted from the ends of their institution, and cease to be what they ought to be,—Courts of Justice.

Among the improvements, therefore, which are making, or might be made in our institutions, there is none which would be at once so sensibly beneficial in itself, and so certainly the parent of other extensive ameliorations in the condition of the people, as some measures for ensuring a more easy and speedy administration of justice.

If this could be effected, the sense of security under which each individual would enjoy his rights would enhance their value, and give additional encouragement to the further development of his natural energies in exertions to improve his condition.

The measures by which this desirable end might be attained would not, as it strikes us, be attended with much difficulty, or any material or hazardous innovation.

1st. The forms of proceedings might be rendered fewer and more simple, and the intervals between the different steps of the proceedings might be abridged. The increased facility of communication, which is now established between different parts of

the kingdom, would admit of a proportionate curtailment of the periods of returns, &c. adapted to a more tardy means of intercourse.

2d. All stamp duties upon legal proceedings might be abolished, and transferred to other objects, where they would fall upon the community at large, and not upon the suitors of the courts.

3d. The salaries of the judges and officers of the courts, and the other necessary expences of judicial establishments, might be wholly defrayed by the nation at large, instead of being partly paid by the suitors out of fees of court.

We are aware, that in hazarding these suggestions we are differing from the opinion of an eminent philosopher, who thinks that the expence of legal proceedings should be borne, not by the community at large, but by the suitors.

But it seems to us that all the subjects of the realm have a common interest in the cheapness, facility, and perfection of legal redress, in order that injustice may be more effectually discouraged and right secured. Every instance in which unjust gains have been refunded, and rights unjustly invaded have been re-established by force of law, operates as a general discouragement to all injustice and a general protection to all rights. Not only therefore the individual injured, but the people at large are interested that he should resort to law for redress, and that he should find it. They are likewise interested in dividing with him the expence, which, if it were suffered to fall wholly upon him, would prevent his having recourse to law, and deprive the community of one more safeguard to their common rights. In the proceedings of criminal law, properly so called, these principles are not disputed, and they seem to apply equally, though less obviously, to cases of civil proceedings.

If it be said that the cheapness of a recourse to law would encourage a litigious spirit, we answer, that the measures here proposed are not designed altogether to exonerate the suitor from expence, but to divide between him and the rest of the community some part of that, which now falls exclusively upon the suitor, and may tend to deter him from resorting to legal redress at all in the most galling of all cases, viz. oppression by a richer person.

The expence of agents and counsel, and of conveying and supporting witnesses for the trial, would still remain to be borne by him in the first instance; but this might be in some degree diminished by,

4th. Reviving or newly establishing limited and local jurisdictions, county courts, for example; or new modelling the courts

of quarter sessions and of conscience. Such courts might be ambulatory, and make circuits of the county at short intervals. So that every man resorting to them for justice, with his witnesses, might be taken from their several homes and ordinary business to as short a distance, and kept from them as short a time, as possible. We are glad to find that a bill has been lately introduced into the House of Lords containing a clause for this purpose\*.

The difficulties which would attend some arrangements of this sort would bear no proportion to the benefits which they seem calculated to ensure to the community. There is hardly a session of parliament which does not give rise to arrangements of much greater difficulty, complication, and novelty, for the security of our revenue, or our military establishments. We might instance the militia and local militia acts; the acts for the regulation and collection of customs, excise, assessed taxes, income and property duties, &c. We are sanguine in thinking that some such measures as those which we have ventured to suggest, would be sufficient to ensure to this country in the highest degree, what it already enjoys to a greater degree than any other, viz. the practical benefits resulting from the prompt and impartial administration of wise and equal laws. The great reservoirs of our system are fed and supplied from the purest fountains of natural justice; all that is further required is to cleanse and amend the ancient channels, and to form such new cuts and courses, as may convey the beneficial stream freely and rapidly to every part of the community.

We shall conclude these desultory remarks with a word of advice to the younger part of our professional readers. When, close packed in the student's box, they hear the rustling of the silk gown, and the sound of the ponderous blue bag descending upon the table within the bar, they may naturally enough form their idea of perfection in the professional character from the model of those, who have been so successful in obtaining its honours and emoluments. But if, as we doubt not, they are animated by the laudable desire of rising to stations, where they may confer benefits on their country, as well as on their clients and themselves, let them beware of too indiscriminate an admiration; let them not suppose that every quality, which brings custom from the attorneys and money into the purse, will lead to the bench, to the chancellor's robes, or to parliamentary eminence. On the contrary, many qualities, which are in high request within the

\* By the Right Honourable Lord Redesdale.

walls of the courts, are sometimes thought to savour a little of vulgarity and bad taste, and become insurmountable barriers to an elevation beyond those walls. We shall in conclusion extract a few descriptions of these qualities from the work before us, and leave our readers to laugh at, or to profit by them, as their views and circumstances may permit.

## ELOQUENCE.

“ Give him with fustian and bombast  
 So thick a fog o'er truth to cast,  
 With words of such due size and fitness  
 To badger and confound a witness,  
 That all who hear him shall confess,  
 For language, manner, and address,  
 He fairly equals in renown  
 The choicest heroes of the gown; [Lect. iii. p. 1.

To puzzle e'en by explanation,  
 And darken by elucidation;  
 For puzzling oft becomes his duty,  
 And makes obscurity a beauty.  
 And trust me 'tis of wond'rous use  
 By nonsense to improve abuse. \* [Lect. viii. p. 1.

## ACTION.

But when grown warm in your narration,  
 Proceed to loud vociferation,  
 Strong phrase, and bold gesticulation;  
 Then, like a prisoner from the bilboes,  
 Stretch out your legs, your arms and elbows,  
 'Till you manœuvre them at length,  
 With all the spirit, ease, and strength  
 Of some young hero first essaying  
 The noble art of cudgel-playing;  
 Or fugelman, an active part  
 Performing in the tactic art;  
 Flourish your brief, look boldly round,  
 And stamp your foot against the ground:  
 Then smack your forehead and your thighs,  
 Like one that's bit by gnats or flies,  
 And so go through your exercise.  
 For when a counsel tells his story,  
 As Tully says, 'de oratore,'  
 Arms, legs, and thighs must play their part,  
 And aid the rhetorician's art.  
 And nothing props a rotten case  
 Like strength of lungs, save power of face.

## WIT.

But wit, although the lot of few,  
 All counsel think their lawful due;  
 And when it fails, as wit is wont,  
 When too much labour's us'd upon't,  
 A witness, ever and anon  
 Serves like a hone to whet it on,  
 Or like a butt is fix'd and shot at,  
 That *truth* the better may be got at." [Lect. v. p. 11.]

ART. IX. *Exploratory Travels through the Western Territories of North America, comprising a Voyage from St. Louis, on the Mississippi to the Source of that River; and a Journey through the Interior of Louisiana, and the North Eastern Provinces of New Spain, performed in the Years 1805, 1806, 1807, by Order of the Government of the United States. By Zebulon Montgomery Pike, Major 6th Regt. United States Infantry. London, 1811, 4to. Longman and Co.*

BOOKS of voyages and travels, which are now become more numerous perhaps than works in any other literary department, may be divided into six classes.

1. The accounts of travellers who have discovered countries before unknown to the European public, and have thus enlarged the sphere of authentic geography. Such are the travels of Marco Polo, who first disclosed the vast empire of China, and other wide regions of the East; those of Strahlenberg, and others in Siberia; and, on a smaller scale, those of Turner, &c. to Tibet, and of Browne to Darfur.

2. Those which have given us far more authentic and precise information concerning countries before imperfectly known, such as those of Pietro della Valle, and Chardin, to Persia; and Symes to Ava.

3. Travels which are chiefly distinguished by the superior knowledge and information of the authors, such as those of Mons. Denon, in Egypt; of Bernier, a disciple of Gassendi, in Hindostan; of Pallas in the Russian Empire, and of Bourgoing in Spain.

4. Travellers who have distinguished themselves by skill in any particular department, as Young's Agricultural Journey in France; many Mineralogical Tours of the Baron De Born, Ferber, Faujas, &c. Such are also the tours describing the pictures of Italy, for the advantage of artists and amateurs.



5. Travels which are not so remarkable for the information they convey, as for their originality or singularity, or for some uncommon circumstances relative to the author; such as those of the Countess d'Aulnois, in Spain; those of a Duke of Saxony, to the Holy Land; those of Korb, to Petersburg, suppressed by special desire of Peter the Great; those of Montagne, in Italy; those of Sterne, in France, &c.

6. One half, or perhaps two-thirds, of the books of voyages and travels consist, as in the other departments of literature, of works which, falling under no definite description, afford neither instruction nor amusement, being the offspring of the vanity or the avarice of the authors.

On perusing the volume now under review, we believe that no candid reader will hesitate to class it under the first head. For we have only to compare Major Pike's information and maps, with those previously published, to perceive that the improvements which he has made in the geography of Louisiana, for a space of twenty degrees, or 1200 geographical miles, are such as to impart quite a new aspect to that extensive region. He particularly investigated the courses of three prodigious rivers: First, that called Platte by the French fur hunters, a corruption of the Spanish Plata, or Silver river, perhaps from its transparency near its source; and which our fur hunters have again corrupted into Flat river, from the French Plata. This is the furthest to the north. 2. The Arkensa, a stream of about 2000 miles in length. And 3. The Red River, of nearly an equal extent. These vast rivers are now clearly discerned, rolling their majestic waters from a chain of mountains on the north of New Mexico, (some of which equal Mount Blanc in height,) through the vast western extent of Louisiana, till they join the Mississippi, or more properly, the Missouri; thus opening a prodigious navigation to the United States of America, and leading to important settlements in that direction. It is delightful to contemplate the first accounts of these extensive regions, the climate and natural advantages of many parts of which may one day contribute to render them the seats of learning and civilization, and which are now peopled by a race, that offers the most tempting subject to the exertions of the philanthropist.

Before this country was explored by our author, the amazing length of these rivers was not even conjectured, and it was supposed that the chief streams directed their course to the Gulf of Mexico, so that the navigation and commerce would have been subject to impediments from a foreign power. The most fertile portion of the territory appears to be that in the neighbourhood of the United States; while to the west and south, there

occur great deserts, sometimes of sand like those of Africa, and sometimes resembling the steppes of Siberia. The sight of such vast plains void of trees, in the midst of the American forests, has suggested to travellers an idea that the trees have been destroyed by some accidental cause.

But our author has shewn that the cause is in the soil itself, which is either moveable sand wafted by every wind, or too thin to bear trees. Nor does petrified timber appear to be found, as in several parts of the deserts of Africa. The date-tree might perhaps be cultivated on the skirts of these American deserts. But our author regards them as advantageous, in an enlarged view of policy, as by preventing the progress of population towards the south-west, they confine the United States within such boundaries, as may afford to the people of that extensive country a fair prospect of maintaining the present form of government, instead of undergoing the political changes incident to an empire stretching over too wide a surface.

Yet, after weighing all the advantages above-mentioned, there is reason to doubt whether the acquisition of the two Floridas would not have been of more importance to the United States than that of Louisiana. Of land they had before a superabundance; and the extent of their territory is already such as only to wait for an adequate population to be divided under more than one government. But in the southern parts sea-ports are rare, and those of the Floridas are convenient and spacious. A few canals might soon drain the marshes of Eastern Florida, which can scarcely be more unhealthy than New Orleans the capital of Louisiana, itself situated in the midst of marshes occasionally overflowed, and subject to the yellow fever, in addition to the other diseases always abundant in marshy regions\*. The United States have already claimed, and probably seized, that part of West Florida, which is on the west of the Rio Perdido, a small stream which falls into the bay of Pensacola. In the present distracted state of the Spanish colonies, the few inhabitants of the Floridas, detached as they are from the other Spanish settlements, might perhaps be induced to seek the protection of the American government; or a treaty of assistance to the insurgents might insist upon the Floridas, as a pledge or a recompense. They are, in fact, of little importance to Spain or her colonies, except from proximity to Havana the mart and key of New Spain.

To return to a more immediate view of the subject; the wide

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\* See Schultz's Travels, New York, 1810, 2 vols. An instructive and interesting work.

regions of Louisiana may be said to have been first dimly described by father Hennepin, a religious missionary, whose voyage down the Mississippi is now chiefly remarkable, as giving an account of the numerous peach-trees which he observed in every direction, and which seem to have been indigenous, though the Americans continue to regard the peach as a foreign fruit. The unfortunate adventure of M. de la Salle at the same period, 1680-1690, is well known; but after the assassination of their chief, some of his men penetrated to the river Arkensa, where they formed a little post: and it is remarkable that this river, as well as the Red River, are tolerably well delineated, as arising in the mountains of New Mexico, by M. du Pratz, in the map which he constructed for his valuable history of Louisiana, published in three volumes, Paris, 1758; though the indications are so vague that he was not followed by succeeding geographers. It is also not a little remarkable that he represents the rivers, which fall into the Gulf of Mexico, as of a short and confined course, being divided from the Red River by a broad level of high land. His gold mine on the Arkensa, about forty miles below a fall or rapid of that river, has also escaped recent attention. M. St. Denis, and other French settlers, repeatedly passed from Mobile to the south of New Mexico, and even to the capital city of Mexico; and it is probable that, from their memorials, du Pratz formed his map, which was, however, clouded with so much doubt and uncertainty, that no dependance could be placed upon it. But by Major Pike's exertions and perseverance, through the greatest difficulties and dangers, the geography of this interesting country assumes, for the first time, a clear and authentic form, the rivers being laid down with all their surprising meanders, from actual and careful surveys, executed with the accuracy of modern science, and the precision of modern instruments.

The superior importance of the last journey of Major Pike has hitherto engrossed our attention; but this interesting work begins with his expedition to the source of the river Mississippi, which has imparted a very improved degree of accuracy to the former delineations of that important stream. We regret that he does not, with many men of science, regard the Mississippi as a tributary stream to the vast Missouri, whose course far exceeds that of the Mississippi in length. The sources of the former occupy so wide and extensive a space, that while one of them arises about latitude 50°, another, Head-water, (the Yellow Stone river,) originates in the mountains of New Mexico, about lat. 44°. Even the vast Mississippi shrinks into relative insignificance when compared with this prodigious course; and its name

has been imparted to the larger river, merely because it was first known.

On his voyage to the source of the Mississippi, Major Pike, (then a lieutenant in the American infantry,) embarked at St. Louis, below the spot where the Mississippi falls into the Missouri, on the 9th of August, 1805, with twenty soldiers. As he advanced he was greatly surprised to find that the North-west Company of Canada, whom he rather indistinctly, (p. 65,) calls "the people of the north-west," had extended their trade even to distant lakes, little better than marshes. Yet the frequent occurrence of French names indicates that the fur hunters of that nation had not confined their researches within a small circle. One object of this journey appears to have been to observe the progress of the North-west Company, who were encroaching on the boundaries of the United States, and even distributing flags and medals of the British monarch, which were generally given up on being demanded. The intention (if any existed,) of stirring up these savages against the Americans, in case of a war between them and the parent country, seems to proceed from an antiquated policy, at once cruel and useless; for it has been sufficiently proved that their rude hands can lend no effectual nor durable assistance, while their fury is chiefly directed against the helpless settlers, and their wives and children.

After contending with many hardships, our author at length reached the source of the Mississippi; but the reader may perhaps be pleased with his own expression of his feelings on this event, and the subsequent observations.

"Saturday, 1st February.—Left our camp pretty early; passed a continued train of prairie, and arrived at Leech lake at half past two o'clock.

"I will not attempt to describe my feelings on the accomplishment of my voyage; for this is the main source of the Mississippi. The lake Winipic branch is navigable from thence to Red Cedar lake for the distance of five leagues, which is the extremity of the navigation.

"I crossed the lake twelve miles to the establishment of the North-west Company, where we arrived about three o'clock. We found all the gates locked, but upon knocking were admitted, and received with marked attention and hospitality by Mr. Hugh M'Gillis, who provided for us a good dish of coffee, biscuit, butter, and cheese for supper.

"In ascending the Mississippi from Sandy lake you first meet with Swan river on the east, which bears nearly due east, and is navigable for bark canoes ninety miles to Swan lake, you then meet with the Meadow river, which falls in on the east, and bears nearly east by north, and is navigable for Indian canoes one hundred miles; you

next in ascending meet with a very strong ripple and an expansion of the river, where it forms a small lake. This is three miles below the falls of Packagama, and from which the noise of the shoot may be heard. The course of the river at the falls was N, 70° W. and just below the river is a quarter of a mile in width, but above the shoot not more than twenty yards. The water thus collected runs down a flat rock, which has an elevation of about thirty degrees. Immediately above the fall is a small island of about fifty yards in circumference, covered with sap-pine. The portage, which is on the east (or north) side, is no more than two hundred yards, and by no means difficult. These falls, in point of consideration as an impediment to the navigation, stand next to the falls of St. Anthony, from the source of the river to the Gulf of Mexico. The banks of the Mississippi to the Meadow river have generally been timbered by the pine, pinenet, hemlock, sap-pine, or the aspen tree. From thence it winds through high grass meadows (or savannahs) with the pine swamps at a distance appearing to cast a deeper gloom on the borders. From the falls, in ascending, you pass the lake Packagama on the west, celebrated for its great production of wild rice, and next meet with the Deer river on the east. The extent of its navigation is unknown. You next meet with the river la Crosse on the eastern side, which bears nearly north, and has only a portage of one mile to pass from it into the lake Winipic branch of the Mississippi. We next came to what the people of that quarter call the forks of the Mississippi; the right branch of which bears north-west, and runs eight leagues to lake Winipic, which is of an oval form about thirty-six miles in circumference. From lake Winipic the river continues five leagues to upper Red Cedar lake, which may be termed the upper source of the Mississippi. The Leech lake branch bears from the forks south-west, and runs through a chain of meadows. You pass Muddy lake, which is scarcely any thing more than an extensive marsh of fifteen miles circumference; the river bears through it nearly north, after which it again turns to the west. In many places this branch is not more than ten or fifteen yards in width, although the Winipic branch is navigable the greatest distance. To this place the whole face of the country has the appearance of an impenetrable morass, or boundless savannah: but on the borders of the lake are some oak, and large groves of sugar-maple, from which the traders make sufficient sugar for their consumption the whole year. Leech lake communicates with the river de Corbeau by seven portages, and the river des Funilles also with the Red river by the Otter-tail lake on the one side, and by Red Cedar lake and other small lakes to Red lake on the other. Out of these small lakes and ridges rise the upper waters of the St. Laurence, the Mississippi, and Red river, the latter of which discharges itself into the ocean by lake Winipic and Hudson's bay. All these waters have their upper sources within one hundred miles of each other, which I think plainly proves this to be the most elevated part of the north-east continent of America. But we must cross what are commonly

termed the Rocky Mountains, or a Spur of Cordeliers, previous to our finding the waters whose currents run westward, and pay tribute to the western ocean." (Page 8.)

It is to be regretted that our author did not publish a distinct map of the sources of the Mississippi, of which that from the Leech lake seems to be the most distant, and more important, than that from the Red Cedar lake, which is however the furthest to the north, and by Major Pike's observation, lat.  $47^{\circ} 42' 40''$ .

A considerable part of this work is occupied with an account of the savage tribes in this direction, and the number of their warriors, which may amount to eight thousand. The most numerous and formidable are the Sioux, who are often engaged in war with the neighbouring tribes. We insert the following short extracts as specimens of these descriptions.

"I then ate of the dinner he had provided. It was very grateful. It consisted of wild rye and venison, of which I sent four bowls to my men. I afterwards went to a dance, the performance of which was attended with many curious manœuvres. Men and women danced indiscriminately. They were all dressed in the gayest manner; each had in their hand a small skin of some description: they frequently ran up, pointed their skin, and gave a puff with their breath; when the person blown at, whether man or woman, would fall, and appear to be almost lifeless, or in great agony; but would recover slowly, rise, and join in the dance. This they called their great medicine, or, as I understood the word, the dance of religion: the Indians believing that they actually puffed something into each other's bodies, which occasioned the falling, &c. Every person is not admitted to take a part: they who wish to join them must first make valuable presents to the society, to the amount of forty or fifty dollars, and give a feast; they are then admitted with great ceremony. Mr. Frazer informed me, that he was once in the lodge with some young men who did not belong to the club, when one of their dancers coming in, they immediately threw their blankets over him and forced him out of the lodge. Mr. F. laughed at them, and the young Indians called him a fool, and said, 'he did not know what the dancer might blow into his body.'" (Page 24.)

"Saturday 21st September.—Embarked at a seasonable hour, breakfasted at the Sioux village, on the eastern side. It consists of eleven lodges, and is situate at the head of an island, just below a ledge of rocks. The village was deserted at this time; all the Indians having gone out up the lands to gather fols avoin. About two miles above, saw three bears swimming over the river, but at too great a distance for us to kill one of them; they made the shore before I could come up with them. Passed a camp of Sioux of four lodges, in which I only saw one man, whose name was *Black Soldier*. The garrulity of the women astonished me, for at the other camps they never opened their lips; but here they flocked around us with all their tongues going at the same time. The cause of this freedom must have been

the absence of their lords and masters. We passed the encampment of Mr. Fenebault, who had broken his perroque, and had encamped on the western side of the river, about three miles below St. Peter's. We made our encampment on the north-east point of the Big island, opposite to St. Peter's. The Mississippi became so very narrow this day, that I once crossed it in my batteau *with forty strokes of my oars.*" (Page 33.)

"A chief, called the Outar de Blanche, had his lip cut off, and had come to the Petit Corbeau and told him, 'that his face was his looking-glass, that it was spoiled, and that he was determined on revenge.' The parties were charging their guns, and were preparing for action, when lo! the flag appeared like a messenger of peace, &c." (Page 40.)

"We made the garrison about sun-down, having been drawn at least ten miles on a sledge by two small dogs, which were loaded with two hundred pounds weight, and went so fast as to render it difficult for the men with snow-shoes to keep up with them." (Page 88.)

"*Monday 10th March.*—Was visited by the Fols Avoin chief, and several others of the nation. This chief was an extraordinary hunter: to instance his power, he had killed forty elks and a bear in one day, chasing the former from dawn to eve." (Page 96.)

This part is terminated with observations on the trade, views, and policy of the North-west Company. The fur trade of Canada was always regarded as an object of the greatest importance to that colony. After its cession to Great Britain, the usual spirit of adventure encouraged the fur hunters to extend their progress considerably to the north-west, and from this circumstance a partnership was soon formed, called the North-west Company. By a late purchase of the king's posts in Canada they extended their lines of trade from Hudson's bay to the St. Lawrence, up that river on both sides to the lakes, from thence to Lake Superior, at which place the North-west Company have their head quarters; from thence to the source of Red river, and on all its tributary streams; through the country to the Missouri; through the waters of lake Winipic to the Saskatchewan; on that river to its source, up Elk river to the lake of the hills; up Peace river to the Rocky mountains, from the lake of the Hills up Slave river to the Slave lake.

In 1806 they dispatched a Mr. Mackensie on a voyage of trade and discovery down Mackensie's river to the north sea, and also a Mr. M'Kay to cross the Rocky mountains, and proceed to the western ocean with the same objects. A geographical survey of the north-west part of the continent has been conducted for three years by Mr. Thompson, with great zeal and perseverance. Thus we see a simple commercial company, whose name is scarcely known in England, exercising a commanding influence

over an immense tract of country, much more extensive than the whole of continental Europe.

The North-west Company pretend that the boundary between Great Britain and the United States must run in such a course from the head of the Lake of the Woods, as to touch the source of the Mississippi. This pretension, as Major Pike observes, would deprive the American territory of two-fifths of Louisiana; whereas if the line runs due west from the head of the Lake of the Woods, it would strike the western ocean at Birch bay in Queen Charlotte's sound. It is time that these differences were adjusted, as the value of the country will be increased in proportion to the discoveries. The correspondence between our author and the agent of the North-west Company does credit to both parties; it is alike distinguished by manly candour, and the mutual spirit of conciliation. The constant endeavours indeed of the American government to promote peace among the savage tribes, and gently enforce a reverence for civil institutions, have been of essential service to the North-west Company in the extension of their commerce, and the execution of their designs: and we trust that the accounts have been exaggerated, which state, that the return has consisted in excitements to the savages against the back settlers of the American States.

We now return to the second and most important journey of Major Pike, in which he explored to their sources the great rivers of Louisiana. He embarked on this expedition on the 15th of July, 1806, on the river Missouri, while others of the party occasionally followed various directions. He then ascended the Osage river, the banks of which are inhabited by a savage tribe of the same name, for some unaccountable reason always expressed in the singular, while the other tribes are named in the plural; as for example, "they consist of Osage and Creeks," instead of Osages and Creeks. In the usual spirit of conciliation, the American government had redeemed and returned many captives who had been taken in war by other tribes, a circumstance which tended greatly to interest the Osages in favour of the adventurers. The great village of the Osages is situated in a delightful country, intersected by several beautiful rivers. The party then proceeded by land; and after a winding course, came to the banks of the great river Arkensa, which they ascended to its source.

In a note the author has given some account of an expedition of the Spaniards in 1806, consisting of about six hundred troops, which departing from Santa Fe descended the Red river two hundred and thirty-three leagues; but not having met any American expedition, as they expected, they struck off to the north-east till they arrived on the banks of the Arkensa. This singular



expedition took place when there were symptoms of hostility between Spain and the United States. Some account is given of the manners of the Pawnees, the Panis of the Spaniards and the French; but when our author concludes that they are of Asiatic origin, because they have high cheek-bones, he loses sight of science altogether, as there is scarcely a region of the globe in which this feature might not be traced among certain races. The Pawnees cultivate corn and pumpkins, and have great numbers of horses of Spanish origin.

The course of the river Arkenza, with its meanders, Major Pike computes at 1981 miles, from its junction with the Mississippi (or rather the Missouri) to the mountains; and from thence to its source 192; the total length being 2173 miles: the former portion to the mountains may be navigated. It also receives several rivers, which are navigable for more than one hundred miles. The banks of the Arkenza swarm with buffaloes, elks, and deer, in numbers which seem inexhaustible by the hunting tribes. When the exploring party arrived near the sources of this river, they saw a prodigious mountain, well known by the savages for many hundred miles around. The altitude was observed on a base of a mile, and found to be 10,581 feet above the Prairie; and admitting the Prairie to be 8000 feet above the sea, the height of this peak would be 18,581 feet. But when our author on this occasion mentions the peak of Teneriffe, he forgets the authentic observations of La Crenne, and other astronomers, employed by the French king, who have sufficiently ascertained that the height of the peak of Teneriffe is only 1742 toises, or 10,452 French feet above the level of the sea. It is the detached and insular situation which makes this peak appear higher than it really is. If it approached nearly to the height of Mont Blanc, 15,500 feet, the difficulty of the ascent would be such, that four days would not be more than sufficient to go and return; whereas there is no hint of any such circumstance. But it is almost necessary to apologize for any such observations on the work of our enterprising traveller. One man cannot unite every quality; and a scientific traveller might have perished amidst the difficulties which were surmounted by his courage and perseverance. The distresses suffered by him and his companions, amidst those mountains covered with eternal snow, were terrible: famine daily staring them in the face; while their clothing was exhausted, the blood started from under the bandages of their snow-shoes, and some of the men even lost their feet by the severity of the frost.

In descending towards the south, in order to explore the sources of the Red river, by which they designed to return, our author unexpectedly found himself on the banks of the great Rio del

Norte, which he at first supposed to be the Red river. Here they were descried by a Spanish dragoon and a civilized Indian, who had only left Santa Fe four days before; and soon afterwards were surprised by a party of a hundred Spaniards, under two lieutenants, and conducted to Santa Fe, whence they were sent far to the south to Chihuahua, to the commander in chief. They were afterwards conducted by a Spanish detachment across the province of Coaguilla, by that of Texar, and lastly by St. Antonio, to the American boundary, which, for the present, is said to be the river Sabina, Natchitoches being the first American post.

Major Pike found means to continue taking notes even in the Spanish territory, and his observations concerning the parts through which he passed are of more authenticity than the remarks of Humboldt, who seems frequently to have been designedly misled by his Spanish informants. Our author's details, which are very interesting, are followed by a recent account of New Spain in general, seemingly derived from information which he obtained on his route, and which may be usefully compared with the statements of Humboldt. The account of the Spanish military in this quarter is the more interesting, as it is given by a military man, and competent judge of the subject.

“Corporal punishment is contrary to the Spanish ordinances; they punish by imprisonment, putting in the stocks, and death; but as a remarkable instance of the discipline and regularity of conduct of the provincial troops, I may mention that although marching with them, and doing duty as it were for nearly four months, I never saw a man receive a blow, or put under confinement for one hour. How impossible would it be to regulate the turbulent dispositions of the Americans with such treatment! In making the foregoing remark I do not include officers, for I saw more rigorous treatment towards some of them than ever was practised in our army.

“The discipline of their troops is very different from ours: as to tactics or military manœuvres, they are not held in much estimation; for during the whole of the time I was in the country I never saw a corps of troops exercising as dragoons, but frequently marching by platoons, sections, &c. in garrison where they serve as infantry, with their carabines. In these manœuvres they were also very deficient. On a march a detachment of cavalry generally encamp in a circle. They relieve their guards at night, and as soon as they halt the new guard is formed on foot, with their carabines, and then march before the commandant's tent, where the commanding officer of the guard cries the invocation of the Holy Virgin three times. The commanding officer replies, It is well. They then retire and mount their horses, are told off, some to act as guard of the horses, as cavalry; others as guard of the camp, as infantry. The old guards are then

paraded and relieved, and the new centinels take post. The centinels are singing half their time, and it is no uncommon thing for them to quit the posts to come to the fire, go for water, &c. In fact after the officer is in bed, frequently the whole guard comes in; yet I never knew any man punished for these breaches of military duty. Their mode of attack is by squadrons on the different flanks of their enemies, but without regularity or concert, shouting, hallowing, and firing their carabines, after which, if they think themselves equal to the enemy, they charge with a pistol and then the lance. But from my observations on their discipline, I have no hesitation in declaring that I would not be afraid to march over a plain with five hundred infantry, and a proportionate allowance of horse artillery of the United States' army, in the presence of five thousand of these dragoons. Yet, I do not presume to say, that an army with that inferiority of numbers would do to oppose them; for they would cut off your supplies, and harass your march and camp night and day to such a degree, as to oblige you in the end to surrender to them without ever having come to action; but if the event depended on one engagement it would terminate with glory to the American arms. The conclusion must not however be drawn, that I infer from this, they are deficient in physical firmness more than other nations, for we see the savages, five hundred of whom would on a plain fly before fifty bayonets, on other occasions brave danger and death in its most horrid shapes, with an undaunted fortitude, never surpassed by the most disciplined and hardy veterans. But it arises solely from the want of discipline and confidence in each other, as is always the case with undisciplined corps: unless stimulated by the god-like sentiment of love of country, which these poor fellows know nothing of.

“The travelling food of the dragoons in New Mexico consists of a very excellent species of wheat, biscuit, and shaved meat well dried, with a vast quantity of red pepper, of which they make bouilli, and they pour it on their broken biscuit, when it becomes soft and excellent eating. Farther south they use great quantities of parched corn-meal and sugar, as practised by our hunters, each dragoon having a small bag. They thus live, when on command, on an allowance which our troops would conceive little better than starving, never except at night attempting to eat any thing like a meal, but biting a piece of biscuit, or drinking some parched meal and sugar, with water during the day

“From the physical as well as moral properties of the inhabitants of New Spain, I do believe they are capable of being made the best troops in the world, possessing sobriety, enterprise, great physical force, docility, and a conception equally quick and penetrating.

“The modes of promotion in the internal provinces are singular, but probably productive of good effects. Should a vacancy of first lieutenant offer in a company, the captain commanding nominates with the senior second lieutenant (who by seniority would fill the vacancy) two other lieutenants to the general, giving his comments on

the three. The general selects two, for nomination to the court, from whom is selected the fortunate candidate, whose commission is made out and forwarded. As the letters of nomination are always kept secret, it is impossible for the young officers to say who is to blame, should they be disappointed, and the fortunate is in a direct way to thank the king only for the ultimate decision. The method is the same with the superior grades to the colonel.

“The king of Spain's ordinances for the government of his army are generally founded on justice and a high sense of honour. I could not procure a set from any of the officers to take to my quarters, consequently my observations on them were extremely cursory. They provide that no old soldier shall ever be discharged the service unless for infamous crimes. When a man has served with reputation for fifteen years and continues, his pay is augmented; twenty years he receives another augmentation; twenty-seven years he receives the brevet rank and pay of an ensign, and thirty-two years those of a lieutenant, &c. These circumstances are a great stimulus, although not one in a thousand arrives at the third period, when they are permitted to retire from the service with full pay and emoluments. All sons of captains, or of grades superior, are entitled to enter the king's schools as cadets, at the age of twelve years. The property of an officer or soldier who is killed on the field of battle, or dies of his wounds, is not liable to be taken for debt, and is secured as well as the king's pension to the relatives of the deceased.” (p. 380.)

An appendix contains the letters and papers referred to in the course of the narrative.

The style of this work may be said to be the more pleasing because it is rather impure, and stained with what some of our readers might be disposed to call *Americanisms*, which indicate the original pen.

The Reverend Mr. Rees, under whose superintendance the manuscript was committed to the press, has added a few notes, and prefixed an advertisement, in which he has explained the difficulties attending the copy, which must have been made by some young and ignorant amanuensis; but the American edition which reached him after the manuscript was sent to the printer is still inferior, as it swarms with numerous errors of the press.

We believe that most of our readers will join with us in opinion, that, authenticity being the chief merit of a work of this nature, it is much more interesting in the language of the original author, than in the adorned and formal style of a literary man. The immortal Cook regretted that Hawksworth had *painted* his first voyage, and superintended the publication of the second himself. But the language of Major Pike requires little apology, being always intelligible; and bearing, at the same time, genuine impressions of intelligence, integrity, and the kindest attention to the men under his care.

Two maps which accompany this work are sufficiently clear, though the scale is rather too confined. In that of Louisiana we have observed a few mistakes, as S.ta. Fee for S:ta. Fe, (Holy Faith); Massini for Massimi, Puerto for Puerco River. In the American maps, which we have also seen, there is a great deficiency in the names of tribes, &c. on the Arkensa and Red Rivers, which makes the map of that region assume an imperfect appearance.

We conclude with a strong recommendation of Major Pike's work to the attention of such of our readers as feel an interest in accurate geographical researches, or in original delineations of character among the uncivilized races of mankind.

ART. X. *The Madras School, or Elements of Tuition, &c. &c.*  
By the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell.—London, 1808.

WE are in the number of those who allow their full weight to the awful signs of the present times, and watch with solemn anxiety the dark and portentous clouds which have long been gathering around us. In the midst of our solicitude, however, we are cheered by some auspicious omens, which speak of better days, and prevent us from sinking into absolute despondency. Of this nature is the rapid progress of the new system of education, from which such inestimable advantages may be expected to result. From the fatal consequences produced of late years by a morbid activity in the adoption of theories, it was to be apprehended that an inclination to reject all experiment might prevail; and that a well-founded, but excessive jealousy of innovation, might lead to an invincible prejudice in favour of established systems. In more than one important instance, however, it has been proved, that this is not the case; and we sincerely rejoice in the discovery. We have seen, with heartfelt pleasure, the general diffusion of a practice, to the merits of which the bills of mortality bear ample witness, and which bids fair to banish from our island a disorder always troublesome, and frequently fatal. But in the proportion in which the sanity of the mind excels that of the body, is this pleasure exceeded by that which we feel, in contemplating the general diffusion of education amongst our fellow-subjects. We heartily coincide in the truly patriotic wish of the Father of his people, "that every poor child in the kingdom might be taught to read his Bible," and hail, with peculiar satisfaction, the discovery of means which promise to conduce so powerfully to this most desirable end.

We indulge the most sanguine expectations of a beneficial result from this great experiment; to the inventor and promoters of which, not only this country, but all the civilized world is deeply indebted. Without stopping at present to inquire who has the best claim to the first of these titles, we will take a concise view of the leading features of the work under our consideration.

This work has kept pace with the progress of the system which it details; having grown to the size of a respectable volume from a pamphlet, which the author published on his return from the East Indies, in the year 1797. His sole object, in the first instance, was to lay before the public the outline of a system of education, which he had practised with great success in the military male orphan asylum at Madras. He brought it forward, it seems, with little hope of its producing much immediate effect; but under a strong conviction, that it would gradually win its way with the irresistible force of truth, and by the weight of its intrinsic value. His hope has been realised, and that far sooner than he expected; and as the system has advanced into general notice, a clearer elucidation of its principles, more minute instructions for its application, and additional documents of various kinds, have been deemed necessary. In its present shape the volume forms a most important collection of matter, relating to one of the most interesting subjects that can engage the attention of the public.

The author's object may be stated in his own words.

“Of the experiment in education, more than twice nine years old, the author feels himself called upon by a host of pupils to fix the authenticity, to retrace the origin, to follow the progress, to vindicate the principle, and to mark out the bearings, at greater length than has hitherto been done. In this design, it is one of the objects of this fourth edition to form a record of the facts, proofs, and illustrations which go to demonstrate the powers, as well as to exhibit the construction of that machinery, by which children are enabled to instruct themselves, and one another.” (Adv. P. 5.)

In the introductory chapter we find an explanation of the principles on which the system is founded, and a general view of the results which it is calculated to produce.

“This system rests on the simple principle of tuition by the scholars themselves. It is its distinguishing characteristic, that the school, how numerous soever, is taught solely by the pupils of the institution under a single master, who, if able and diligent, could, without difficulty, conduct ten contiguous schools, each consisting of a thousand scholars.”

Again,

“It is the division of labour, which leaves to the master the

simple and easy charge of directing, regulating, and controlling his intellectual and moral machine. It is the uninterrupted succession of short and easy lessons; it is the adaptation of every task to the ready capacity of the scholar, which renders the yoke of learning easy, and its burden light. It is the perpetual presence, and never-ceasing vigilance of its numerous overseers, which preclude idleness, ensure diligence, prevent ill-behaviour of every sort, and almost supersede the necessity of punishment. It is example, method, general laws, and equal justice, which take hold of children, by their love of imitation, and their sense of fitness and propriety, and obtain an immediate and willing conformity. It is the choice of able and good teachers, which a large school furnishes, that commands the mind, and maintains an undisputed superiority, and acknowledged ascendancy. It is a laudable emulation, a sweet contention, a competition of places, which renders the school a scene of constant amusement and exercise to the scholar; his "*ludus literarius*," his game of letters, in which he delights; and exhibits a specimen not less novel and interesting to the beholder, than it is grateful to the master, and acceptable to the scholar." (P. 3.)

We must add one more quotation to complete the general view of the subject.

"To expedite the progress of education at the same rate of punishment to the scholar, of labour to the master, and of expence to the parent as heretofore, were an acquisition to a school not to be slighted; still more, could this be effected at a reduced rate of punishment, or of labour, or of expence. But to unite all these advantages is the great desideratum in education. It is accordingly the aim of this essay to combine in happy union the progress and amusement of the scholar, the ease and gratification of the master, and the interest and satisfaction of the parent." (P. 7.)

We have been thus copious in our extracts from an anxious wish to press this important subject on the attention of our readers; and in the hope that some benevolent hearts may kindly at the very mention of such desirable ends, and lend their prompt exertions to a consummation so devoutly to be wished for. With the same view, we cannot refrain from quoting a passage from the printed report of the trustees of the parochial charity-schools of St. Mary's, Whitechapel, 7th April, 1807. Let it be remembered, that the following observations, which so strongly corroborate Dr. Bell's statement, were made by men, who had tried the experiment, and had watched its progress with no common diligence of attention.

"The chief advantages of Dr. Bell's plan are, 1st. It completely fixes and secures the attention of every scholar; the indolent are stimulated; the vicious reclaimed; and it nearly annihilates bad behaviour of every sort.

“2dly. The children make a regular progress in their learning, which is daily noted, and registered; no lesson being passed over till it be correctly studied.

“3dly. It saves the expence of additional instructors; the eye of some intelligent master or mistress alone being required to see that their agents, the senior good boys and girls, do their duty in teaching their juniors.

“4thly. It not only possesses excellent mechanical advantages in communicating instruction generally, but it is particularly adapted to instil into, and fix practically in the mind, the principles of our holy religion; whilst it materially secures the moral conduct of the children, both in and out of school. And,

“5thly. By economizing time, hitherto so lamentably wasted in charity-schools conducted on the old plan, it affords ample and very inviting opportunity to add to the ordinary establishment, school industry.”

We shall have occasion to refer again to this report in the course of our remarks.

It is needless for us to enter upon more minute details, or to comment on a system which is so completely before the public. We would rather, on the old Horatian principle, refer our readers to one or other of the schools, at which they would see its benefits practically, and most satisfactorily illustrated. We know of nothing that is better calculated to bring conviction to the wavering, and to give zeal to the lukewarm, in this interesting cause, than a visit to the royal military asylum at Chelsea, where the Madras system prevails in all its beauty, under the regulating care of a voluntary superintendant, equally distinguished for his sound judgment and unwearied vigilance. There is little doubt but that the result of an accurate observation of the practical effects of this system will be a full conviction, that it is admirably calculated to facilitate and expedite the work of education; to “produce undiverted and uninterrupted application, and proportionate progress, with close habits of diligence, and obedience.”

A considerable portion of the volume under our consideration is devoted to an explanation of the “auxiliary practices,” which, though eminently useful, are not essentially connected with the original plan, and consequently may be adopted, or rejected, according to existing circumstances. The remarks and observations, which are blended with these details, are highly interesting; and carry all the weight with them, which is due to the results of the continued application of a strong mind to one subject. Whilst, however, we give our author credit for strength of judgment, and sagacity of observation, we must lament his want of that playful fancy, and luxuriance of imagination, which irradiate the lucubrations of Joseph Lancaster. How tame are



the moderate and rational improvements suggested by the one, when compared with the cages, hencoops, and appropriate nicknames of the other! Yet we are inclined, and that on Mr. Lancaster's own system of applying the punishments to the mind, rather than to the body, to doubt the wisdom of adding pain to ignominy, by assigning to the victor, in the contest for places, the invidious task of leading the vanquished to his inferior station by the hair of his head. Whatever diversity of opinion may exist with respect to the propriety of using the principle of emulation as a stimulus, we should have thought that there could be but one opinion about a practice so directly calculated to engender strife. In answer to the argument by which it has been defended, we cannot but think, that the cleanly and commodious system of close crops might be introduced into schools in a less roundabout way, and without the risk of fostering the growth of the worst passions that deform the human mind, and make inroads on the good order and comforts of society. We may be content with smiling at the mummeries before alluded to, but this practice we strongly condemn, as being fraught with tendencies decidedly evil.

It is impossible to read, without a lively interest, some of the documents brought forward in the latter part of this volume, for the purpose of "authenticating, and establishing the reality and success of the experiment" made in the East Indies. In addition to a strong body of evidence, from a host of respectable witnesses, in support of the efficacy of the system, we have here the "spontaneous and unequivocal testimony of its own disciples," after they had been enabled by experience to judge of the tree by its fruits. The address transmitted to Dr. Bell from those, who had been his pupils at Egnore, is no less interesting, as a strong trait of grateful and affectionate sensibility, than as an authentic and indisputable voucher to the beneficial tendency of his system. He states, in the following sentence, the reasons which induced him to publish these documents, and we do not think that he will be accused of having entertained groundless and unnecessary apprehensions.

"Were these original documents and facts suppressed, as many of them were in the two last editions, it is not impossible to conceive that, at some future period, or at some distant region of the globe, a question might arise in regard to the origin of this mode of tuition, by which one master may with the utmost facility teach a thousand or more scholars; that it may fare with this discovery as it has fared with many former discoveries, and that future and foreign writers may arise, and claim to themselves what did not originate with them." (P. 127.)

The danger, it seems, was nearer at hand, and nearer home, than Dr. Bell apprehended. The Madras has already been announced to the public under the title of the "British System of Education," and the name of Lancaster has very generally, though, we must think, very unjustly superseded that of Bell.

Before we enter upon this subject more fully, let it be understood, that, so far from wishing unjustly to decry Mr. Lancaster, or to lower his general estimation in the eye of the public, we would willingly hold him up as a bright example of persevering energy and useful activity. To the despondent, who are more inclined to lament over, than to encounter difficulties; to the dilatory, who say how much is to be done, but never think of setting earnestly to work, we would say, "see how much Mr. Lancaster has done in a few years, and from beginnings apparently so inadequate to the effect produced." We would point him out, in short, in the light of a zealous promoter of the system, as an object of praise, and praise-worthy emulation to all. It is only his claim to the title of its inventor which we dispute; and his assumption of that title, together with one or two of his real inventions, that we blame. Success, and consequent distinction, have generally been found very prejudicial to the memory; and in cases of sudden elevation we are all apt, like Faulconbridge, to forget even the names of our previous acquaintances. We fear that Mr. Lancaster has not been exempted from the influence of this oblivious spirit, that lurks in the train of prosperity; that he has forgotten his correspondence with Dr. Bell in the year 1802, his visit to Swanage in the same year, and the candour and liberality with which every requisite instruction towards forming a school, after the Madras system, and upon a great and extended plan, was afforded him. We are led to this suspicion by the striking change, which has taken place in Mr. Lancaster's mode of expressing himself on the subject of the system. In the year 1803 he wrote thus, in the first edition of his "Improvements in Education," part 3d, page 44.

"I ought not to close my account, without acknowledging the obligations I lie under to Dr. Bell, of the male asylum at Madras, who so nobly gave up his time, and liberal salary, that he might perfect that institution, which flourished greatly under his fostering care. He published a tract in 1798, entitled, *An Experiment on Education, made at the male asylum of Madras, suggesting a system whereby a school or family may teach itself, under the superintendance of the master or parent.* From this publication I have adopted several useful hints; I beg leave to recommend it to the attentive perusal of the friends of education, and of youth. I am persuaded nothing is more conducive to the promotion of a system than actual experiment. Dr. Bell had two hundred boys, who instructed them-

selves, made their own pens, ruled their books, and did all that labour in school, which among a number is light, but resting on the shoulders of the well-meaning, and honest, though unwise teacher, often proves too much for his health, and embitters, or perhaps costs him his life. I much regret that I was not acquainted with the beauty of his system, till somewhat advanced in my plan; if I had known it, it would have saved me much trouble, and some retrograde movements. As a confirmation of the goodness of Dr. Bell's plan, I have succeeded with one nearly similar in a school attended by almost three hundred children."

Such was Mr. Lancaster's tone in 1803, and the attentive reader who refers to the dates, will by no means think it too copious in acknowledging *the whole* of "the obligations he lay under to Dr. Bell." How greatly, however, even that tone is altered may be seen by the following advertisement, which appeared not very long ago in the Star newspaper.

"Joseph Lancaster, of the free-school, Borough-road, London, *having invented*, under the blessing of Divine Providence, a new, and mechanical system of education, for the use of schools, feels anxious to disseminate the knowledge of its advantages through the united kingdom." Firmly seated in the heights of popular favour, Mr. Lancaster spurns away the ladder which aided his ascent. This advertisement appeared *after* Mr. Whitbread's speech on the poor laws, in which it might otherwise perchance have caused some alteration. Mr. Whitbread having read, we suppose, only the first edition of Mr. Lancaster's work, speaks thus. "Sir, the meritorious person, with whom parts of the plan of education, to which I have alluded, have had their rise, who has had also the good sense *unostentatiously* to add the *acknowledged discoveries* of others to his own, is well known to many members of this house. The gentleman whom I mean to point out to you is Mr. Joseph Lancaster." Substance of a speech on the poor laws by Mr. Whitbread. (p. 34.) The same publication affords the following positive declarations on the point in dispute. "Dr. Bell, late of the establishment of Fort St. George, in the East Indies, and rector of Swanage, claims the *original invention* of the system of education practised by Mr. Lancaster." Here follows a statement of the dates of Dr. Bell's experiment and publications, and then the author proceeds thus: "Mr. Lancaster's free-school in the Borough was not opened till the year 1800; so that Dr. Bell *unquestionably preceded* Mr. Lancaster, and to *him* the world are first indebted for one of the most useful discoveries which has ever been submitted to society." (Note a, p. 98.) Mr. Lancaster, in a letter to Mr. Whitbread, dated March 2d, 1807, acknowledges the "obliga-

tions he has to Dr. Bell, wishes "not to detract from his honour or merit, nor to arrogate to himself any thing to which Dr. Bell is entitled:" at the same time he asserts, that many of the useful methods practised in his school are exclusively his own. On the other hand, Dr. Bell allows that, "to the zeal, perseverance, and address of Mr. Lancaster, the mechanical parts of the system are under the greatest obligations."—Letter from Dr. Bell to Mr. Whitbread, dated February 26th, 1807.

Mr. Lancaster's own ideas on the subject of his obligations to Dr. Bell having undergone so considerable a variation, it is probable that the public may give more heed to the acknowledgments made under the first impulse of gratitude, than to the omissions of subsequent forgetfulness.

But it may be said, that Mr. Lancaster's title does not rest merely on his own assumption, or on the partial award of his most zealous and avowed supporters. It has been confirmed of late by the sanction of high authority, by the fiat of a powerful junta, who hold nearly a despotic sway in the realms of literature. To transfer titles has of late been the favourite amusement of despots, but though they may confer the name and outward insignia on usurpers, we doubt their power to secure to them the respect and veneration which accompany the rightful claim.

We are jealous, and that in no small degree, of that spirit of controversy which is ever on the alert, and looking out constantly for opportunities of attack. But though our disposition be peaceable, we are not absolute quakers in our abhorrence of a state of warfare. Without sufficient Quixotism to undertake to redress the grievances of all the injured damsels and belaboured knight-errants who may have suffered the pains due to their temerity, we have enough of the spirit of chivalry to prompt us to espouse a righteous cause with fearless alacrity. If, as we hope to prove, a man, who deserves well of his country, has received hard measure, and that from a quarter which ensures an extensive circulation to the statement, and, in too many cases, implicit faith; if his sentiments have been misrepresented, his labours undervalued, and his merits depreciated; and if the shaft of insidious calumny has been aimed, beyond him, at the sacred body of which he is a member, we deem this an occasion which not only justifies, but demands our interference, and shall break a lance in such a cause with right good-will. It would have been well had the writers, who "wish they could avoid this controversy," and who deprecate "a protracted discussion" of the subject, been careful not to add fuel to the flame they would extinguish, by overstrained statements and gross misrepresentations. It would have been well too, had they extended their inquiries

rather beyond the mass of information to be derived from those publications, the impartial tendency of which is at once ascertained by the *fact* of their having issued from *Mr. Lancaster's free press*. That the contrary, however, has been the case, we will in charity suppose, to free them from an imputation of a much more serious nature. The attack upon Dr. Bell is conducted by the established maxims of polemical tactics. If your adversary be not himself sufficiently vulnerable, identify him with some one who is, by the best manœuvre your wit may suggest, and then abuse him by proxy. Whilst we admit, however, that the uniform practice of controversialists is in favour of this rule, we could scarcely have given credit to any one for the possession of sufficient assurance, to cover the present application of it.

To identify Drs. Mandeville and Bell, the one a most inveterate opposer, the other a most energetic promoter of the education of the lower classes, was one of those measures on which success stamps the character of boldness, and failure of temerity. Reviewers are generally supposed, like butchers, to become hard-hearted from the very nature of their profession, but as novices, we may be allowed perhaps, in a first number, to talk of our feelings; and we must say that we feel acutely for poor Dr. Bell, who is brought to the bed of Procrustes by two opposite parties. The opposers of the education of the poor will find it necessary to cut away by wholesale, before they can reduce a man to the proper standard who has dedicated the best part of his life to the promotion of what they deem mischief: and, on the other hand, those who rank him amongst the orthodox followers of Mandeville will think it necessary to stretch him even to dislocation, before he can be fit for actual service in the very cause which his "intrepid predecessor" so warmly opposed. Yet in this actual service is he busily engaged, and we cannot but esteem him one of its ablest and most zealous supporters, in spite of the solitary paragraph which has drawn upon him such heavy accusations.

Without determining the question, whether writing and arithmetic should be added to reading in the general education of the poor, we assert, that those who advocate the negative of this position are not necessarily liable to the charge of "inconsistency, feebleness, and bigotry." The great object of the education of the poor, their advancement in moral and religious knowledge, may certainly be attained without their being taught to write and cipher. It surely, therefore, betrays no inconsistency to maintain the necessity of the one, and not of the other; since it is evidently a distinct question, whether certain subordinate objects should be added to the great one already noticed; whether the means of rising in the world should be communi-

cated together with those of increasing in the knowledge of the great Christian duties.

The view of the subject, which is so strongly reprobated, seems to coincide with that entertained by a prelate, of whom "feebleness" was certainly no characteristic. The late Bishop of St. Asaph, after speaking strongly in one of his admirable sermons against the argument of Mandeville, which he calls a mean and dastardly policy, proceeds thus.

"Much serious consideration would indeed be due to the objection, were it the object, or the ordinary and probable effect of these charitable seminaries for the maintenance and education of the infant poor, to qualify them for the occupations and pursuits of the higher ranks of society, or to give them a relish for their pleasures and amusements. But this is not the case. Nothing more is attempted, nor can more indeed be done, than to give them that instruction in the doctrine and duties of religion, to which a claim of common right is in some sort constituted, in a christian country, by the mere capacity to profit by it; and to furnish them with those first rudiments of what may be called the trivial literature of their mother tongue, without which they would scarce be qualified to be subjects (even of the lowest class) of the free government under which they are born; a government, in which the meanest citizen, the very mendicant at your doors, unless his life or his franchises have been forfeited by crime to public justice, hath his birth-rights, and is entrusted with a considerable share of the management of himself." (Vol. i. p. 215.)

But perhaps we have been guilty of a mistake in quoting the words of a bishop, as he probably belongs to the "bigotted and persecuting classes of society." Be this as it may, it is plain that the power of reading would singly answer the purposes, which he thought attainable; and Dr. Bell may easily be content to share the imputation of "feebleness" with a Horsley.

We cannot think that the poor have much reason to complain of the obstacles thrown in the way of their education by a man who writes thus:—"In regard to the length to which instruction should be carried in charity schools, there has been, and ever will be a variety of opinions; but to uniting with the elements of reading, and the principles of our holy religion, manual labour, and the useful arts, I trust there will be few dissentient voices throughout the kingdom." But it is needless to quote single sentences from a book which is entirely written in this spirit, and which it is impossible to read without a conviction, that all the energies of its author's mind are concentrated in the promotion of the great end, which he has so much at heart. Every page is stamped with the impression of earnest zeal, and the whole composition bears the strongest evidence to its having been written

*con amore*. The author himself says, "that he shrinks not from the imputation of enthusiasm. If his enthusiasm be grounded on just principles of humanity, which challenge the strictest investigation, and on an uniform series of corresponding facts, which can admit of no dispute, he despairs not of adding daily to the numerous list of his fellow enthusiasts, of which he is justly proud." Such is the tone and language of his work on education, and such is the spirit which it breathes in every part. So much for the striking analogy between his opinions and those of Dr. Mandeville; an analogy first discovered by Mr. Joseph Fox, and afterwards ingeniously developed by an abler hand.

We now come to the consideration of a statement, which, by the help of a tissue of groundless assertions, establishes the originality of Joseph Lancaster's plan, and proves that Dr. Bell is merely the tool of a clerical, and, of course, a bigotted faction. It seems that these clerical conspirators, taking alarm at the rapid progress of the new system of education under the auspices of a quaker, thought, that

"In order to supplant the sectary there must be found a churchman; and the irregular, empirical scheme, already spreading with the rapidity of error, and the steadiness of truth, must be succeeded by some more correct, orderly, clerical system, which should at once resemble it, and coincide with the establishment. By this means the progress of the successful plan might be stopt, its misguided adherents reclaimed from their errors, and the royal patronage itself (the grand difficulty through the whole business) be either withdrawn or transferred to the regular establishment, or, at any rate, divided and weakened. It happened, most fortunately for this design, that, about the period alluded to, the Archbishop of Canterbury should have extended his patronage to Dr. Bell, whom he had called from his retirement at Swanage, to superintend a charity school; and that the Bishop of Durham still more munificently bestowed upon that gentleman a valuable preferment in his diocese, with the superintendance of a similar establishment for education." (Ed. R. No. xxxiii. p. 70.)

We had imagined, that no word was more accurately defined, or clearly understood in "the north countrey," than the word *patronage*, and that it always implied the communication of some substantial benefit, some tangible good. In this, however, it appears we were mistaken. But the accuracy of the above statement, and the existence of this formidable conspiracy of churchmen, will be most clearly established by a narrative of the real facts relating to Dr. Bell's call from "his retirement at Swanage."

In 1806, the trustees of the parochial school at Whitechapel, into which an additional number of children had recently been

admitted, having seen Dr. Bell's original publication, wished to advise with him on the best mode of reducing his theory to practice. Accordingly a letter was written to him by the rector of the parish, at the instigation of a public-spirited layman, requesting his advice and assistance; which letter this inactive recluse answered in person, by putting himself into a night-coach, and appearing in Whitechapel the next morning by eight o'clock. Before nine, he and the layman before alluded to were busy in the school, which in two months time was ready to be exhibited as a specimen of the Madras system. In the printed report, from which we have already made an extract, the trustees thus express their grateful sense of obligation to Dr. Bell: "The trustees hearing that Dr. Bell was in England, and would readily give them advice, applied to him by letter. Dr. Bell, with that zeal and philanthropy, which peculiarly mark his character, left his house in Dorsetshire, and hastened to Whitechapel, and has since, from time to time, given the trustees, and the school-master, his personal assistance; and his system is now so far matured, as to command the approbation, and excite the admiration of several eminent persons, both clergy and laity, many of them of high rank, and the greatest respectability. The disinterested and generous spirit of Dr. Bell allows of no recompence for all his labours; the trustees can therefore only thus publicly express their high and grateful sense of the inestimable service he has rendered to mankind, and particularly his benevolent and indefatigable attention to the organizing of this institution."

Such was the conspiracy which brought Dr. Bell from his retirement, a retirement, be it observed, not "*ignobilis otii*," but of devotion to duties, to which he was bound to give paramount attention, as long as he was entrusted with a parochial charge. Having been once brought into action, he was indefatigable in his exertions. He was invited to Lambeth, to Mary-le-bone, to the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea, and other public institutions, where he also planted the system. We retain Mary-le-bone in this catalogue in spite of an insinuation most unfairly thrown out against Dr. Bell, and founded on statements equally well grounded with those we have noticed. "Afterwards he (Dr. Bell) refers us to two other schools on his principles, as instances of their application to practice. But one of these, the Mary-le-bone seminary, was visited by Mr. Fox; and he found, to his no small surprise, that this school had been *organized by Mr. Lancaster on his own principles*, and that a vote of thanks to him, on that account, had been passed by the subscribers, the worthy Dean of Westminster in the chair." (Ed. R. page 79.)



How far this charge of dealing in borrowed plumes can be substantiated may be seen from the following documents; and we recommend this as a specimen of the dependance to be placed on the accuracy of statements coming from the same quarter.

Extract from the minutes of the trustees of the St. Mary-le-bone day-school of industry, of the 11th of April, 1808,

Present John Morris, Esq. in the Chair, &c. &c.

The right honourable Lord Radstock attended this Meeting, and laid before the Board the following Resolutions of the St. Mary-le-bone Institution.

At a meeting of the select committee the Reverend Dr. Bell having expressed his readiness to introduce his mode of instruction into the St. Mary-le-bone charity-school, and the school of industry, in case it should be desired,

Resolved, That Lord Radstock be requested to inform the governors of those schools, that if they are desirous of taking the benefit of Dr. Bell's assistance, this institution will give any assistance in their power.

Resolved unanimously,

That the Reverend Dr. Bell's method of instruction be adopted in this school, and that his services for his introduction be accepted.

Resolved unanimously,

That the thanks of this meeting be given to the select committee of the Mary-le-bone institution for their polite communication.

Resolved unanimously,

That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Reverend Dr. Bell for his readiness to introduce his mode of instruction into this school.

Resolved, That — be a select committee, to make the necessary arrangements for the introduction of the Reverend Dr. Bell's system of education into this school, with the power to call a special meeting of the trustees, if deemed necessary.

Copy, signed this 23d February, 1811.

HENRY MANWELL.

Questions put to Mr. Henry Manwell, present master of the school of industry in Mary-le-bone parish, this 23d day of February, 1811.

Q. How long have you been master of the school of industry in Mary-le-bone parish?—A. A year and a half.

Q. Do you know Mr. Lancaster, or did you ever see him at your school?—A. No, I do not know him, nor did I ever see him at this school; neither did I ever hear of his having been at this school.

Q. Has the school been carried on according to Dr. Bell's system, ever since you have been established as master of it?—A. Yes.

Q. Have you seen Dr. Bell frequently at your school, and did he ever give you any instruction as to the mode of carrying the Madras system into practice?—A. Yes, I have seen him very frequently at this school, both before and since I have been master of it; and

have received every necessary instruction from him towards carrying his system into execution.

Dated this 23d day of February, 1811.

(Signed) HENRY MANWELL.

Questions put to Mr. Robert Cox, present master of the Mary-le-bone charity-school, for the maintaining and educating one hundred children of the industrious poor parishioners.

Q. Were you master of the school of industry at the period in which Dr. Bell's system was introduced into that school?—A. Yes, I was.

Q. When did this take place?—A. About three years ago.

Q. Did Dr. Bell frequently attend the school at that period, and did he give you instruction as to the mode of carrying the Madras system into execution?—A. Yes, Dr. Bell attended very frequently at the first introduction of his system into that school, and also gave me every necessary instruction. Besides, I had a boy from the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea, upwards of four months, to assist me on that occasion.

Q. Do you know Mr. Lancaster, or did you ever see him at your school?—A. I do not know Mr. Lancaster, nor, to the best of my knowledge, ever saw him.

Q. Do you know Dr. Vincent, or did you ever hear of his being at your school?—A. No, I do not know Dr. Vincent; and I can also positively assert, that Dr. V. has never had any thing to do with the St. Mary-le-bone school of industry."

Our readers are of course aware that "the worthy dean of Westminster's" name is Vincent. Now we happen to know that there is in the parish of *St. George's* a very worthy layman of that name, who has much interested himself in the schools of that parish; and we are a little inclined to suspect that he was the *chairman* alluded to in the assertion which we have noticed. A controversial writer, at four hundred miles from the scene of action, might certainly confound *St. George's* with *Mary-le-bone*, and — Vincent, Esq. with Dr. Vincent, dean of Westminster; and if the mistake were innocently made, it would be severe, perhaps, to do more than lament in silence, that he had undertaken to write upon a subject with such very insufficient documents. But it is a little too much to make an assertion upon inquiry and information so loose, for the purpose of charging an innocent and praise-worthy man with a base falsehood, and with a mean assumption of credit due to another. We shall, however, merely state, that we have brought these documents forward at full length, from the knowledge, that the imputation, which they so directly and completely refute, had carried but too much weight with it, where its grounds could not be examined. We were also glad of such an opportunity of

convincing those, who are unhackneyed in the ways of controversy, that boldness of assertion, though it may demand, does not always deserve, implicit confidence.

Our readers are by this time, we trust, aware that Dr. Bell has had some hand, not only in the invention, but also in the promotion of the new system of education; that he is something more than the mere tool of a faction; and that he is actuated by a zeal worthy of the cause in which he is engaged. In the undertakings to which we have already alluded, he declined receiving the least remuneration for his various fatigues and heavy expences. Having, however, been once brought into action, he was found so powerful and able in the province, to which by his genius and habits he was peculiarly adapted, that it was thought a matter of regret that his whole time could not be devoted to this object. In the autumn of 1809, the Bishop of Durham, with a discriminating munificence that did honour to himself, presented him with the mastership of Sherburn hospital; on taking which he resigned a valuable living, and was thus enabled to give his undivided attention to the numerous schools established according to his plan, and under his direction. Of his success in the North we are permitted to publish the following testimony, extracted from a private letter written by an eminent counsellor on the Northern circuit, and dated August 27, 1810. "Dr. Bell is all life and spirits about his favourite system, and certainly no man has more the reward of success than he has in the North. I was told by several gentlemen in this district, who do not know him, that the success is inconceivable. Bishop's-Wearmouth and Sunderland schools were in a state of perfect savagism; now they are all decorum and improvement. At Bishop's Auckland the new foundation-schools of the Bishop are most flourishing; and at Gateshead every thing bids fair to produce a plentiful harvest."

Much has been said on the subject of Mr. Lancaster's superior œconomy, in teaching the lower classes to read and spell by the help of a card stuck against the wall; whereas Dr. Bell allows a separate card to each child. The value, however, of this card is only about two-thirds of a farthing. And, after all, the fair test of superiority in this point would be the effect produced. To decide the question fairly, we should ascertain which school would read best at the end of six, or twelve months: as to those who can read in either school, they must each have their bibles, or testaments; and it is then that the expence becomes an object. It has been asserted, that "Dr. Bell's plan educates the children of the poor at four pounds a head by the year." This assertion we will answer, as we have done others, by a fact. The free-

school at Gower's Walk, Whitechapel, which has been conducted with particular attention to all Dr. Bell's instructions, and at which from 160 to 170 scholars are educated, *supports all its expences* by uniting industry with education, with the addition only of an endowment of sixty pounds per annum. The perfection with which the higher classes in this school read and understand the bible, has been witnessed by many able judges with satisfaction and admiration.

We think ourselves now entitled to lay down the following positions by way of summary.

1st. "The merit of devising the new system of education belongs" to Dr. Bell, and *not* "to Joseph Lancaster;" who has plainly admitted, since the full establishment of his school, that he borrowed the system from Dr. Bell. Joseph Lancaster's subsequent denial of this fact, which is implied in his assumption of the whole merit to himself, can no more invest him with it, than it can divest him of the praise or blame of having discovered several auxiliary practices, concerning the utility of which there is a great difference of opinion.

2dly. Not "to Joseph Lancaster *alone* belongs the praise of introducing the new system into practice," but to him, with the assistance of, and in conjunction with, the eminent exertions of Dr. Bell. We are as willing, as any persons can be, to bear testimony to the zeal and assiduity of Joseph Lancaster in *extending* the knowledge and the practice of it.

3dly. The plan pursued by Dr. Bell has many "peculiarities which entitle it to a preference." It has, *upon the whole*, equal merit on the score of economy; it is highly preferable in the efficacy and liberality of most of its practices; and decidedly superior in its attention to the moral and religious improvement of the children.

We have thus ventured to take up a cause, which can only be supported, it seems, by "bigots and time-servers." In this age of nick-names, the most inert and unprofitable neutrality is the only security from some one or other of the many that are in vogue. We are warm advocates for the education, (nay, even for the *indiscriminate* education) of the poor, in spite of an ingenious plan suggested by a member of parliament, who recommends, that "the clergyman, the magistrate, and principal persons in the parish, should *select* such children, who apparently from natural faculties, or other causes, appear to them most likely to profit, and from circumstances are best suited for education." (See Observations on Parochial Schools, p. 28.)

To this plan we shall become converts as soon as ever we are convinced, that "the clergy, the magistrates, and the principal

persons" in all parishes are endowed with a miraculous power of discovering innate genius, analogous to that by which some gifted persons have been supposed to discover springs. In the interim, we shall steadily support the cause of general education, though we had rather that it should come before us, in future, in any shape than in that of controversy. We lament sincerely, that any controversy should exist on the subject; but we avow, without hesitation, our decided preference of the system, which we think most favourable to the cause of christianity, and to the welfare and support of our admirable establishment. We do not shrink from the imputation of being influenced by the "fear of dissent," as well as by that of "infidelity," however "pitiable" such an apprehension may be deemed. But our sentiments on this head have been so well expressed by another hand, that we will avail ourselves of the permission which has been kindly granted to us, and quote a passage from an able sermon preached recently at Whitechapel, for the benefit of the parish school.

"It is your peculiar praise, that when you had determined to adopt that comprehensive plan of education, which was best calculated to diffuse the benefits of religious instruction throughout the immense population of your parochial poor, you did not take it up as it had been planted, almost at your doors, in an open and common nursery; but it was your first care to rear it safe, amidst the inclosures of the church, under the auspices of one of her own ministers; who, having planted this goodly tree in the east, and seen its rapid growth and abundant produce, brought back the scyons of it to his native land, and has raised them to their highest beauty and perfection here. It is indeed essential to the well-being of the church, that the poor should be brought up, from early life, in the way of her ordinances; that the instruction which they receive should not be such as to make it appear a thing of no consequence to what christian communion they belong; whether to that, which, as members of the church of England, we believe to be the purest, the most true, and most perfect church; or to the various orders and denominations of those who have separated from it. I do not complain, if these prefer, as it is natural for them to prefer, an education of their own; if they wish their children to walk in the same paths, in which they have been trained themselves, where the road to heaven may seem to them either easier and more simple, or more characteristic of the right way. Let the conscientious dissenter educate his children in that religious persuasion to which he belongs: but let not the church commit the instruction of her youth to any other than the wise and virtuous among her own sons. I do not object to that attachment, which all men feel for their respective institutions, more especially in divine things; but I do object to that generalizing system of christianity, which, by admitting a preference to no form of religion, generates, for the most part, an indifference to all; and instead of

making an impression on the youthful mind, so strong as not to be effaced by the temptations of the world, leaves it a fearful blank for the world to make its impression upon, and commits it to chance, or perhaps to evil counsels to determine, what of all things is most important in life, the choice of religion\*. It is a hazardous experiment under all circumstances, but more especially to the cause of the establishment it is fraught with danger, and inevitable injury. For however it may have become the fashion of the present day to commend what is termed the liberal basis of all public education, it is evident, from its very professions of impartiality, that it is unfriendly to the just pre-eminence, which the church holds in all the concerns of religion within these realms. And if we had as much of the wisdom of the serpent as the innocence of doves, we should not be led, under specious notions of false candour, to compromise her interests, by consenting to have all things in common with those who envy her superiority, and would rejoice to subvert her power. While I therefore call you, as christians, to the cultivation and exercise of general beneficence, I may exhort you, as members of the church, to distinguish this charity in particular, by marks of your especial favour and good-will; which, while its enlarged sphere of action may be brought to comprise the greatest multitudes, is so well ordered, that all may be trained up in christian unity, and numbers 'added to the church daily.'" (Extract from a Sermon, preached at Whitechapel, by the Rev. Thomas Grimwood Taylor, Vicar and Lecturer of Dedham, Essex, February 18, 1811.)

In the same spirit which breathes throughout the foregoing extract, praying for the peace of the church, but praying no less fervently for its prosperity, we conclude this article with an earnest recommendation of the following passage from Dr. Bell's book to the attention of the clergy:—"Yet, in the outset, my hope of success in achieving such important objects by a new experiment—was faint, compared with what I should now entertain of producing, through the medium of the Madras system, *if placed under the superintendance of the parochial clergy*, (an order of men fitted for the purpose) a similar reformation among the lower classes of youth in this country, by a moral and religi-

\* It has been said, that "the children are to learn religion from their parents." But who are their parents? The poorest, and therefore the most ignorant of the poor; who, instead of being qualified to teach others, have the greatest need to be taught themselves, what are the first principles of the doctrine of Christ. It has been a practical benefit of our Sunday, and other charity schools, that the religious instructions which have been given to the children, have often been found, in a greater or less degree, communicated to the parents. But if this new system is to prevail, if our charity schools *will not* teach religion, and the parents *cannot* teach it, what will be the state of the rising generation among the lower orders! Will they not be in a condition infinitely more dangerous to themselves, and to society, than under all their former ignorance? Because they will be learned without being religious, and wise unto every thing but unto God.

ous education, and by habits of useful industry adapted to their condition and rank in life, to the demands of the army and navy, to the exigencies of the community, and to the state of agriculture, the handicrafts, and arts. In every instance under my observation in this kingdom, and in every report with which my brethren have honoured me, of the effects produced by the Madras system in their parishes, the improvement in the subordination, orderly conduct, and general behaviour of the children, has been particularly noticed, and must be regarded as infinitely the most valuable feature of its character." (Page 10.)

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ART. XI. *Grounds of Union between the Churches of England and Rome, considered, in a Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham, at the ordinary Visitation of that Diocese, in the Year 1810.* By Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham. Sold by T. Payne, Pall Mall, &c. 1810.

*Substance of the Speech delivered by Lord Viscount Castlereagh on the 25th of May, 1810, upon Mr. Grattan's Motion for a Committee to take into Consideration the Roman Catholic Petitions, to which are annexed Copies of the original Documents therein referred to.* Printed for J. J. Stockdale, No. 41, Pall Mall, 1810.

**T**O the venerable prelate who has led our thoughts to the subject of this article, we render the homage of our sincere thanks. It is impossible to peruse his charge without having our thoughts enlarged and corrected on the question we are about to examine, our prospects cheered, and our dispositions improved. We are obliged also to the speech above referred to, for ponding our attention more particularly, to some special topics, on which the fate of the question seems greatly to depend. While the reasoning of the noble lord presents an exterior view of the subject, and principally in its bearing on political arrangements, the considerations of the bishop, in the spirit of his holy vocation, are directed to the intrinsic differences between the two churches, and to the hopes and means of reconciliation; into the examination of which, he carries, together with the dignity and authority of his station, the characteristic gentleness of the Christian profession; limiting the controversy to substantial points; maintaining with Christian firmness, what, as a Christian, he could not surrender; and asserting the cause of truth in the language of peace.

The benefit to the public arising from the marshalled opposition of party arrayed against party, on all questions relating to the government of the country, is become almost an axiom among politicians: but it is a state of things which has also its inconveniences; and among these the most considerable is, its tendency to coerce the natural play of the understanding, and disfranchise it of the right of thinking for itself. It produces a subjection, which deprives all the topics to which it extends of every chance of being honestly inquired into and impartially discussed. The best education is ineffectual to secure our moral and religious principles against the vitiating prejudices of faction. With venal docility, we submit our faculties to the drill and dress of the regiment in which we enlist; and adjust the movements of our understandings to the word of command.

On the subject of the claims of the Roman Catholics to be relieved from their remaining disabilities, party considerations have had their usual undue influence. Political partizans have puzzled the subject with the common places of their puerile declamation. Minds however, of a better cast, have sometimes raised the subject above the medium of distorting prejudice. But it never escapes from the intermeddling of party reasoners, without being disfigured by the abuse of terms, and aggravated beyond its natural difficulties, by sophistry and misrepresentation. Emancipation, toleration, establishment, and many other terms of leading import, have been used to convey ideas very foreign to their proper signification, and for the purpose of erecting on fallacious foundations an argument which affects our latest posterity.

Emancipation applies to the case of those, who living in a free state, and charged with no transgression against its laws, are withheld from the enjoyment of some or one of the essentials of civil freedom. If this be really the case of the Roman Catholics either in England or Ireland, they have a good right to the term as descriptive of the object of their petition.

It may be allowed too as the language of *complaint* in the mouths of the parties interested, as it serves to express the view they take of their own situation figuratively and emphatically. But it can never be properly used by others in discussing the merits of the question; as in stating the question, it assumes that which if true decides it.

There was a time, when laws of exclusion and restraint, with penal sanctions, were found necessary to be adopted, for securing and perpetuating the deliverance of the country from its subjugation to a church, which experience had shewn to be at variance with civil and religious liberty. The line of the Stuarts was excluded, not because the bad conduct of the sovereign had forfeit-



ed his crown to his posterity, but because the religious principles in which that family seemed to be irreclaimably fixed by their education and connections, left no hope of safety to our Protestant establishment, but in their permanent exclusion from the crown. The quarrel of the country was with the practical tendency of tenets, the influence of which had been felt through a long course of experience. In like manner our attachment to the house of Brunswick was not built on personal affection, but on the wise preference of a Protestant family. It began in homage for their religion, it is continued and cemented by gratitude for their virtues. The creed of the Romish communion was irreconcilably opposed to the exterior and interior constitution of our church; but it had also been sufficiently proved, that that religion was then at least of a genius and character, utterly incapable of union with the state upon any other terms, than that of maintaining an overbearing ascendancy.

While the Stuarts were actively asserting their hereditary claim, it was judged necessary for the safety of the throne, which had been settled in a Protestant succession, to keep up most of those restraints and penalties, of which the maxims of self-defence seemed to justify the adoption in the infant struggles of the reformation. But as the character of our church is far removed from intolerance, the severity of the penal restraints was gradually softened, as the danger decreased; till at length the statute-book was cleared of all that could offend the eye of humanity or liberty in the shape of penal or positive restriction. It is for our legislature to take care that among the vicissitudes we have yet to experience from the versatile nature of all human establishments, a recurrence to similar extremities may never be forced upon us by a similar necessity. All that now remains of that preservative code, are some certain barriers, placed between the state, (which, since the reformation, is to be regarded as a community compounded of the civil and ecclesiastical constitutions) and the dissenting communions. The statute 13 Car. 2. st. 2. c. 1. usually called the Corporation Act, which disqualifies for offices relating to the government of any city or corporation, such as have not within a twelvemonth before their election received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rights of the church of England, and enjoining also the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and the 25 Car. 2. c. 2. (commonly called the Test Act) whereby all officers civil and military are directed to take the oath, and make the declaration against transubstantiation six months after their admission, and also within the same time to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the church of England, are the only disabling

laws to which the Protestant dissenters remain subject. To both of these the Roman Catholics in England continue liable; and since the year 1703, persons of the same persuasion in Ireland are subject to the test law. The Roman Catholics in both countries are excluded from seats in either house of parliament, by the necessity under which all persons are laid by the 30th Car. 2. st. 2. c. 1. of making the declaration of their disbelief of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and of their belief that the invocation of saints, and the sacrifice of the mass are idolatrous. And they are in this part of the united kingdom still obnoxious to the 7th and 8th W. 3. c. 27, whereby those who refuse to take the oath of supremacy are made incapable of voting at elections. But this disability in respect to the elective franchise, has been removed from the Catholics of Ireland by the 33d of the king, with some exceptions; and the same statute opens the door to all honorable offices, civil and military, except, it seems, about forty in number.

These are the disabilities from which the Roman Catholics seek to be set free; the subjection to which, is considered by them as political slavery; and in allusion to which supposed slavery they express the object of their claim by the term *emancipation*; a very natural and pardonable figure in the mouths of those on whom the disabilities attach, but grossly improper, as we have before observed, to be used by those who affect to discuss the subject as statesmen or politicians, and without any other feeling than for their country's welfare. The term is incorrect in its application, irritating in its tendency, and illogical in its assumption. Hard names constitute a cheap censure. They most prevail in times when principles are displayed as the badges of faction, and among those politicians who are more intent on the means of mutual injury than the common benefit. As reviewers, to whom the sobriety of language and the moral taste of the times, are, or ought to be, a principal care, we denounce all those words of execution and dispatch, which afford a vent to the misguided fury of vulgar assailants, and a fund for malice and dulness to draw from, without the cost or peril of thinking.

It would be well if the meaning of the word '*toleration*' could be permanently settled. Words that express the reciprocal rights and duties of the members of civil communities, should have a standing immutable sense, that we may not be led by sounds, into false impressions of political justice. We cannot help being surprised, therefore, at the sudden enlargement of the word *toleration*, when we are told to understand by it not only the undisturbed exercise of religious worship, the free and protected enjoyment of private property, immunity from partial bur-

thens, and the unrestricted choice of residence, society, occupation, and discipline; but an unqualified eligibility to places of power and trust in the state.\* If this, and nothing less, is to be considered as "full and absolute toleration,"† no state or commonwealth was ever founded or continued but on principles of intolerance. If such be the scope of the word, we admit, that we have never properly understood it, as we have never imagined we were persecuting by withholding the power to persecute. And if it be said, as we have heard it said, that contribution to the support of the state, gives a title to its emoluments and preferments, we must take shelter in the great authorities which have fixed us in ignorance of this maxim of polity, and confess ourselves to have learned from our reading on the subject, that the stipulated return for this contribution is the protection of our properties and persons, and not the actual or potential enjoyment of place or power. Vague and arbitrary expressions, and terms improperly applied, are the arrows of infuriate folly, which though they miss their mark, are mischievous wherever they fall.

We have heard something of 'implied persecution,'‡ and of the rights of all men indiscriminately to pretend to all situations. To adjust the rights of ambition is an undertaking beyond our pretensions, but we have always understood, and shall continue to hold, until we are better informed, that there is a supreme right in the state to settle the qualifications for civil power. Civil authority, it is true, may carry its restrictions and exclusions to a blameable excess, (and they are always excessive if they go beyond the presumptive necessity); it may be actuated by a base fear, or ungenerous suspicion, or vindictive hostility: but, that to compass as he can, by any means short of violence or fraud, his elevation to power, is the right of every individual, on which it is intolerance to impose conditions or qualifying tests, is a principle which appears to us to be at variance with the very definition and hypothesis of civil government. The existence of a right in every state, to settle the qualifications for the enjoyment of civil power, was never questioned but in this æra of emancipation from prejudice. We are still under the dominion of this prejudice. The existence of the right seems to us to be necessary to the existence of the state; and the exercise of the right in any particular case, to be a question of political prudence.

\* See the definition of this word in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 33, Art. 1.

† *Edinburgh Review*, *ibid.*

‡ *Edinb. Review*, *ib.*

Civil rights are all purely conventional. In a state of political union, no rights but the paramount rights of conscience are above our engagements with the state. Our natural rights are forced to give way to the arrangements of public interest, and corporate regulation. Thus the conventional right to the superfluities of acquired property, while individuals starve, rests on a basis of acknowledged power in the state, to take away the privilege of nature to be fed and sustained with the fruits of the earth, without a title beyond that which nature confers. Extreme necessity indeed bursts the barrier, and humanity vindicates the trespass; but is the hunger of ambition so imperious, is the 'Vocation to Glory,' a call so dispensing, as to give admission to the *plœa* of necessity, and to let in the common law of nature against positive institution.

We are humbly of opinion, that a religion may be said to be 'fully and absolutely' tolerated, though the paths to political power be not open to its professors, if it be perfectly at liberty to profess its faith, to promulgate its tenets, and to celebrate its rites; with a complete parity of title to the blessings of instruction, property, security, and justice. We conceive, too, that it is perfectly competent to every state without trenching upon the right of toleration (in the fair standard sense of that term,) to restrain by adequate penalties, the open profession and promulgation of any opinions, which appear to be calculated to disturb the peace of society, unsettle the foundations of public and private happiness, or endanger the stability of the government and laws. But we are most ready to join in opinion with those who maintain, that neither legal restraints, nor excluding tests, can be imposed, without a breach of the great compact of original justice, unless they can shew the warrant of necessity with the stamp and signature of experience.

We now enter with some timidity and awe into the consideration of what an established church truly is; and what the nature of its connection is with the state.

The necessity of some established church, seems not at present to be professedly in dispute. If there be any indifference on this subject in the *Protestant* advocates for the Catholic claims, it certainly would be very bad policy in them to let this indifference appear. We will not impute to any body of men, motives which they do not declare; nor uncharitably surmise that those among them who profess attachment to our protestant church are dishonest in that avowal: but can it be doubted that some are hostile to the exclusions complained of, from the proud persuasion, that all formularies of faith and worship are trespasses upon the rights of private judgment; and are careless about the remedy, so long

as the evil be removed: that some are ready to make a common cause with fanaticism, or infidelity, to carry their purpose against the forms established by law: and that others, with toleration inscribed on their banners, carry the axe in their hands, and vengeance in their hearts.

We will have nothing to do with these assailants, but will assume that the interests of religion and piety are promoted by an ecclesiastical establishment; particularly by one, whose spirit is on all hands admitted to be charitable and mild, whose constitution is agreeable to the earliest and purest standard, and whose doctrines rest exclusively on the authority of the scripture: and will consider what is necessary to maintain and uphold such an establishment; and whether, when the state has fixed its rites, degrees, and endowments, all has been done which is comprehended in the idea of the alliance of Church and State.\*

Our idea of it comprehends all this and a great deal more. To us it appears to be an union, in which sentiment and character are concerned. It resembles the friendship of individuals, in which parity of fortune, similarity of disposition, and reciprocal good offices, supply the motives of gratitude and esteem, and religion forms "the golden thread which ties their hearts together." "Our church is protestant, our state is protestant, our government is protestant in all its parts." It is not a mere mercenary connection, neither is it mere complaisance, or cold respect, which unites religion with polity, but an identicalness of views, and an internal correspondence of character, temper, and habit. The features of liberty, their common parent, mark and identify their origin, and the contract of their holy partnership has the seal of nature and truth.† The history of all ages proves this alliance. It is admitted by those who represent religion as the invention of states-

\* Edinburgh Review, No. 53, Art. 1.

† Among the nations of heathen antiquity nothing was better understood than the necessity for some established religion. But their religions being institutions of forms and ceremonies, with little or nothing of a dogmatic theology, a sort of inter-community of worship was easily granted to the gods of other nations, so long as the established rites and divinities were not denied by those who claimed this adoption and allowance for their own. The absolute rejection of this society of worship with the heathens was the true ground of the persecution of the Jews and Christians. The national, local, and tutelary deities, were entitled to the honours of state worship, and formed the established religion of the commonwealth. Oaths and tests for securing those national religions, and defending the institutions in honour of the gods of the country, were therefore very general. See the formulary of the oath taken by the Ephæbi in Athens, Potter. Edit. Edin. 1808, p. 180.

men.\* For wherefore do they call it an invention of statesmen, but because they perceive how inseparably connected it is with the passions and affections of our nature, and how powerful an agent it is, in the hands of the ambitious. It is true it has been a state expedient, and particularly in remote times, when it was united with the civil offices, and surrounded the brow of magistracy with its mystical terrors: when it laid the foundation of many of their civil polities in pious fraud and pretended inspiration: and was made use of to turn the fate of battles, to repress sedition, and reanimate despair.—So, when the church of Rome, with her imposing apparatus of confession, absolution, purgatory, and penance, her passports for heaven, and her spiritual thunder, became the arbiter of empires, her aid was borrowed to spread terror round the thrones of princes, to found tyranny upon ignorance, and to rivet the chains of subjugated man. But the Christian Apostolical Church of England, simple in its worship, pure in its creeds, modest in its pretensions, pastoral in its care, joining humility with inquiry, and tempering freedom with obedience; with a liturgy full of practical holiness, a discipline of plain and sound ordinances, and doctrines of peace and salvation; is formed to be the handmaid of justice, and the meet companion of good government; but as an engine of state contrivance, it is the worst adapted of all the religious institutions which have yet prevailed among men. With such a religion, the alliance of the state is noble, generous, and graceful.

To avoid the solecism of an imperium in imperio, the supremacy is vested in the civil magistrate. But this supremacy keeps within its natural bounds. It leaves untouched, the province of the ministry, its duties and its interior discipline; while it presides over and regulates the external economy of the church. Thus, there is a close alliance—without intermixture of office, or the interference of the magis-

\* To deny the magistrate a worship, to take away an established church, says Lord Shaftesbury,<sup>a</sup> is as mere enthusiasm as the notion which sets up persecution. Towards keeping mankind in order (observes another liberal thinker on these subjects) it is necessary that there should be some religion professed, and even established.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Charact. vol. i. tr. i. § 9.

<sup>b</sup> Woolaston. Relig. of Nat. 124.

† The nature of this alliance is well explained in the treatise of Bishop Warburton on that subject, which ought to be read, together with Stillingfleet's discourse concerning the power of excommunication, § 11; and Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, book 6, on Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; and book 8, on Ecclesiastical Dominion. From these sources, the attentive reader may learn the true spirit and origin of this connection between our ecclesiastical and civil establishment; and he will there find, that there is nothing in this equal alliance, which derogates from the spiritual liberty of the church; or its right to be considered in its origin and institution, as standing on grounds antecedent to all human appointments.

trate in matters purely ecclesiastical; and without the danger of a paramount priesthood, or factious hierarchy. Parallel gradations, and distinctions, clothe with dignity and gravity the ministers of religion, and match them in equal society with the civil orders, from the humblest to the highest ranks. The luxuriant harmony of our free state is accompanied, and controuled throughout, by the authoritative voice of truth and divine morality. Church and state, under this happy temperament, form but one society. Every member of the one is a member of the other; and liberty, law, and religion, is the triple ligature which binds the constitution round our hearts.

Thus we have thought fit, in this first number of our Review, to announce our views of toleration, establishment, and the nature of the alliance which subsists between our free church and free state. Nor can we conclude this part of the subject, without adoring the provident hand of Heaven, which has conducted our militant church through so many trials and escapes, to flourish, as we devoutly hope, the companion of our liberty, in perpetual peace.

We have dwelt the longer on the preceding subjects, because it is evident, that most of those who argue for the Catholic claims, set out with supposing the connection between the church and state to have no other cement than a principle of mercenary dependance, official decency, and political expediency. They seem to forget that man is a compound being, related to two worlds, and that his affairs are never well managed here, without reference to an hereafter. That it is impossible for him, in his collective state, to regard with indifference that part of the social economy to which the interests of the soul belong. That if he has no settled formulary of faith, or ritual to turn to, gloomy superstitious and errant fancies soon trouble his imagination and bewilder his reason: and that, on the other hand, if he has an establishment, and is educated in cold indifference towards it, his situation becomes forced and unnatural: he cannot rest in it; but being angry with claims which exceed his sense of duty, or the measure of his regard, he soon passes from vacillation to aversion, from equivocal friendship to decided hostility.

We are now come to the great question, how far, if our church and our state be so necessary to each other, the members of a different church, which is said to be of an intolerant character, under a foreign spiritual head, with captivating pretensions, and an indefatigable spirit of propagation, can, with safety to our own ecclesiastical and civil establishments, be admitted to situations of trust and power in the commonwealth. We are not disposed to cast reproach upon the professors of any religion. The equity and moderation which belongs to our own, condemns such

a practice. To say that the Roman Catholic religion is incompatible with piety and worth, would be doing great injustice to many illustrious characters in the history of our own, and other countries. But we cannot agree with those, who would persuade us, that the Church of England, in all inward and vital principles of Christian faith and morals, agrees better with the church of Rome, than with the Lutheran or Calvinistic communions.\* We have no leaning to either the one or the other of these persuasions. Nothing but the CHURCH OF ENGLAND as by law established, will content us. But it appears to us very plain, that however the Calvinist and the Lutheran may differ with us concerning the ceremonies and discipline of the church in some one or two articles of doctrine, yet that they substantially agree with us in a confession of the same faith. Indeed many of their ablest expounders and professors have distinctly and openly declared their concurrence in the doctrines of the Thirty-Nine Articles.

Thus Mr. Richard Baxter, who, though not strictly a Calvinist, yet professed a mean between Calvinism and Arminianism, (though inclining more to the former than the latter,) has declared that the Non-conformists of his day agreed with the doctrines of the 39 articles, and differed only from the church in the form of government. And again he says, that the Independents, as well as Presbyterians, offer to subscribe to the articles, except as to prelacy and ceremony.—“We are one,” says the same writer, “with the church of England in all the necessary points of faith and Christian practice.”

Though our orthodox divines, will not perhaps entirely assent to these positions of the old Non-conformists, yet they readily allow the doctrinal agreement between our church and Calvinism, in most of the essentials of Christianity; and, except in the article of the real presence under the notion of consubstantiation in the eucharist, we are certainly at a much less distance from Lutheranism. Dr. Horsley was of opinion, that the peculiarities of Calvinism affect not the essentials of Christianity, and laments the decline of it among the dissenters.† He laments also, as must every honest Churchman, the disorderly fanaticism of the Methodists, and their attachment to uncommissioned unauthorized teachers; but he allows them to possess much zeal for our common faith. We are not blind to the dangers of sectarianism. The doctrines of election, effectual calling, particular redemp-

\* See a pamphlet importing to be an answer to the Right Hon. P. Duigenan's Two Great Arguments by a Member of the Establishment. Appendix, 72.

† See Dr. Horsley's remarks on Dr. Priestley's second letter, c. 21.



tion, and particular reprobation, and other less important matters of the Calvinistic creed, with the inward lights and inspired assurances of salvation, and other like tenets of the Methodists, are far, very far, from being consistent with the grave and humble simplicity of our church. We willingly grant that the early reformers, who were for reforming reformation, and measuring religion by the line of its departure from the practice of the Romish church, and who quarrelled with the church of England for its wise reluctance to strengthen religious strife by carrying hostility to things indifferent in principle and decent in practice, laid the ground-work of much unfortunate dissension among Christians, and of constant exultation to the enemies of the faith. That these senseless heats still characterize the present presbyterian church of Scotland no man will contend; and it excites one's indignation to be told, that the establishment of a church in Scotland in separation from our own, is a case in point for the claim of the Roman Catholics; or that the church of England agrees more, in all inward and vital principles, with the church of Rome, than with the Lutheran or Calvinistical communions. It is easy to see how far the analogy of the cases carries the principle of the argument.\*

We feel as mild a sentiment towards our Christian brethren of the Romish church, and as much <sup>of</sup> alacrity towards admitting evidence of an improved charity in them towards us, as any of our countrymen; but open as we promise to keep ourselves to conviction, and reserving to ourselves the privilege of confessing our error if we are wrong, without the charge of inconsistency, we cannot help declaring ourselves at present (with great deference) to doubt whether the object of the petition can at present be granted with safety to our Protestant establishment.

That our church does not differ from the church of Rome in the doctrine of repentance, of satisfaction, of absolution, and confession, which are terms common to both churches, has been lately with much confidence contended. If by repentance is intended only a real change of heart made acceptable through Christ, without the intervention of the priest; by satisfaction (in a sense distinguished from the great sacrifice on the cross) the earnest and sincere homage of prayer, contrition, and rectified affections; by absolution, the declarative and ministerial sentence of remission, as procured alone by the efficacy of faith and repentance; and by confession, the general acknowledging of our sins in public prayer before the majesty of God; then the churches of Rome and

\* See the notable query in the last *Edinburgh Review*, No. 33, p. 1.

England agree in these particulars. But if repentance, satisfaction, absolution, and confession, are held unavailing without the assistance, and allowance of the priest; then we must confess, that not only the speculative difference between the two churches appears to us, at least in these particulars, to be great; but, that the practical tendencies of these doctrines, are menacing to good government.

Our demeanour towards the Catholics should be mild and candid as becomes the dignity and charity of our church. Nothing should fall from us which can have any tendency to keep up an hostility, the causes of which, who that has any part in the spirit of a Christian, can help wishing to see removed? We shall always be ready to hail any auspicious opening, to use the words of the bishop in his charge, for that long desired union, which formerly engaged the talents and anxious wishes of some of the best and ablest of both communions. We will not therefore indulge any invectives against the ceremonies and rites of the church of Rome. The burning of incense, the lighting up of altars in the day time, the canonizing of departed worthies, the invocation of saints, the adoration of the Virgin, the hallowing of relics, the consecration of images, the imposition of celibacy, of flagellations, and of penances, traditions, visions, legends, and miraculous gifts, are modes of discipline, worship, and belief, which, it may be said, do not necessarily subvert the principles of morality, or the duties of society; though it will be scarcely allowed by the true churchman, that our state can come into contact with such a scheme of theology, without some derangement of its economy.

The doctrines imputed to them, and which seem once to have been acted upon by a part of them, that faith is not to be kept with heretics, and that under the sanction of this religion princes may be deposed and murdered by their subjects, or that their spiritual head may release them from their oaths, are disclaimed by all Catholics who understand what they profess, and cannot be still ascribed to them, without supposing the Roman Catholic body, to have been untouched by the surrounding improvement of the human species. It is true, no general council has rejected these imputed doctrines; but those societies, wherein the learning and theology of the Catholics may be presumed collectively to reside, have formally, emphatically, and indignantly disclaimed them. It is much to be regretted, that religious societies take up notions so much upon trust in respect to each other, and that the picture, is generally so much overcharged, which each presents of the other's aberrations. Infirmity clings to every thing human, and to every thing divine in human hands. If different religions would

but deal with each other with that fairness which the interests of the common cause demands, the charge of idolatry and heresy would be more sparingly made. We should be less apt to call the Romanists pagans, in allusion to the ceremonies above enumerated; and they would be less prone to charge our church with heresy, on account of its rejection of works of supererogation, and traditionary doctrines. It cannot be denied, that the prayers and forms as they are directed by the canon of the mass, and may be selected from the manuals and missals of the Roman Catholics, are open to an unfavourable construction. They pray to the blessed Virgin, to saints, and guardian angels; they adore the crucifix, with the rite of genuflexion; but still, if their catechism is attended to, we find them explaining their object in praying to the Virgin and saints to be, to obtain their mediatorial assistance, and the auxiliary grace of their more efficacious supplications, and that relics, crucifixes, and holy pictures, are venerated only as memorials. The great danger of these unauthorized rites, and the nearness of their neighbourhood to a symbolical worship, cannot be overlooked; but it seems much too harsh on these grounds, to charge the body of modern Roman Catholics, with pagan superstition and idolatrous worship. We will now pass to the question of supremacy.

In England no maxim of polity is more fundamental than this — that in the King resides the sovereign authority of ecclesiastical dominion. By this economy, church and state are in a manner identified. The King, as supreme over both, is equally concerned in protecting each from the encroachments of the other, and the whole is harmoniously arranged and balanced. In the ancient constitution of the church, before it submitted to the dictates of an infallible chair, the authority of the magistrate was acknowledged. The synods and general assemblies, assumed no power of giving the force of laws to their decrees, without the approbation of the sovereign. But when the great doctrine of the necessity of a representative of Christ on earth, with exemption from error, and consequently with an authority unlimited in matters of faith, became the centre of the Roman Catholic communion; when, although an ecclesiastical supremacy only was claimed in words, a temporal sway was exerted in acts, and the treasures of heaven and pains of hell were claimed to be at the pope's discretion; and lastly, when all these powerful engines, came to be directed by a systematic code of ambitious state-maxims, what commonwealth could keep its civil independence, that admitted such a head of its ecclesiastical polity.

He who attentively considers the progress of the papal power through all the stages of its usurpation, from its first pretensions

to the apostle's chair, to the assumption of the triple crown, will see, that the history of human pride affords no instance of a plan of aggrandizement so dexterously contrived, and so perseveringly pursued.

About the middle of the 13th century, this plan reached its maturity. Kings and emperors were excommunicated at pleasure, their kingdoms laid under interdicts, or their subjects absolved from their allegiance. A patience so long abused, was at last exhausted. The councils of Constance, Pisa, and Basil, the struggles of the great ecclesiastics, and the establishment of the free Gallican church, brought the power of the popes to a very reduced standard; but still when the opportunity permitted, both the pragmatic sanction of France, and the obnoxious decrees of the councils, were peremptorily denounced. Expedients have since been adopted, to re-establish the papal power, and the genius of that religion has shown itself unconquerable. All the errors and usurpations of this domineering church, were again maintained by the council of Trent. France, Spain, and Hungary, it is true, refused the authority of this council in the article of the pope's supremacy, and thence grew the distinction between the perfectly and partially obedient sons of the holy father. Is Ireland among the obedient or disobedient sons? We believe that the well educated Irish Romanists, are not implicit believers in papal infallibility, or supremacy, in the latitude of those claims as formerly understood and maintained. But it does not appear, that these pretensions have been formally renounced by them; or that the Irish Catholic has any political sanction to resort to, as the standard of his spiritual liberty; or that he has any public evidence to give of any such national emancipation. In truth the hierarchy of that country, seems more completely under the dominion of the See of Rome, than countries far less acquainted with the blessings of civil liberty: a circumstance in various ways accountable for, but principally from its not being connected with the state by any common interest in religious objects.

The pope is fallen; his supremacy and his infallibility avail him nothing against the trenchant argument of the sword. But the tyrant will not destroy a power, which he may expect to place in the hands of some creature of his own, to become the instrument of his despotism. Whatever may be the fate of an individual pope, the spirit of popery will still animate the church of Rome. We speak this to the honour of the Catholics, for on what principle of sincerity would their religion stand, were they capable of abjuring their spiritual allegiance, to their sovereign in misfortune.

Spiritual authority cannot be destroyed, while the principle of obedience lives. Oppression cannot vanquish opinion; error

takes root under its umbrage; its deformity is shaded by its wrongs. To consider, therefore, the present degradation of the pope, as the ruin of his spiritual dominion, betrays ignorance of the spirit and character of papacy. His sceptre is potentially endued with a sway proportioned to the fidelity or credulity of his followers. What their conscience gives he still retains. In calculating the danger by the power of the pope, the computation will be very erroneous, if the external condition of the apostolical see is alone regarded. *Ubi Papa ibi Roma*; whether an exile or a prisoner, though his tiara lies in the dust, he is still a dispenser of celestial crowns, and holds fast the keys of heaven and hell.

Of a religion which regards our church as heretical, polluted,\* and founded on usurpation, and as having a ministry without legitimate title from regular succession, it is not illiberal to be somewhat mistrustful. Will the two religions be upon better terms, by what in closer neighbourhood? In a country, too, where there are so many elective offices to provoke emulation, and where faction will be ready enough to blend itself with spiritual animosity.

Some uneasy apprehensions, force themselves upon our minds, in contemplating the anomaly of a Protestant head of our government, with Popish counsellors; and a chancellor whom the theory of our constitution regards as the keeper of the King's conscience, with his\* own in subjugation to a foreigner, and with principles irreconcilable to our Protestant faith, dispensing the preferments of our Protestant church. If it is desirable to have a Protestant chief, is there not the same reason for wishing his advisers to be Protestant? And if by the law, such advisers may be Catholics, and policy should reject them, will not the odium fall upon the Prince; and will not the discontent of the rejected be greater under the opprobrium of such a distinction, than under a statutory exclusion coeval with our liberties?

There are, it is true, two established churches already within the realm, our own and the Kirk of Scotland. It is also true, that the Church of England maintains itself against the Presbyterian, and that the Kirk has no reason to complain of the Scotch Episcopalians. To the argument drawn from these facts there is this short and easy answer—they are neither of them Roman Catholic.†

\* The reader may find it worth his while to look into Ward's errata, a book lately republished, which charges our church with something worse than error.

† In the whole of this discussion, we feel conscious of a perfect exemption from any political bias upon the subject; and being pledged to no party, are ready to admit the force of such arguments, as make fairly for the cause of the Catholic petitioners. Though we think the reasoning from the case of the two establishments of the church of England, and the kirk of Scotland, is far from

And the question between the Catholics and government, is not whether two different churches may not be established under one and the same empire, but whether there is or is not a political incompatibility, between the church of England, and the church of Rome, looking to the present characters of the two religions, and their distinct supremacies.

The prospect of a political affinity, under a common head, has been further removed, by the late refusal to allow his Majesty a negative upon the appointment of Romish bishops. It will no doubt occur to many, that while this refusal of the veto is in one view creditable to these prelates, as shewing them to be above a lax and temporizing conformity, it discloses the strenuous form of their Catholicism. Neither France, or Spain,\* or Hungary, or Austria, or Naples, or Venice, or Tuscany, in all which states the papal power is restricted in respect to episcopal appointments, has been so tenacious as Ireland, of the independence of the church upon the state. We will pass by the silly oratorical arguments drawn from our alliances with foreign Roman Catholic states, the victories obtained by Catholic soldiers at the battles of Cressy and Poitiers, and the examples of Protestants trusted with the administration of Roman Catholic states; they appear to us only to play harmlessly about the question, and to supply sounding materials for the periods of our young legislators.

But admitting that there are some objections to the tendency of the religion of the Catholics, it may yet be asked whether there is any danger of its influence increasing, if the objects of the petition be granted. The Catholics are certainly not indebted to their Protestant friends for the compliment, when they would have us rely upon the present advanced state of intelligence as a security against the increase of popery.\* When we regard the talents and

being in point; we cannot deny the justness of the argument drawn from the Act of Settlement of the Canadas, establishing the Catholic religion in those provinces, by authorizing the Romish clergy to receive tithes from the Catholic parishioners, and allowing the council and legislature of these colonies to be composed indifferently of Protestants and Catholics. It ought in justice to be acknowledged, that no disaffection has displayed itself in this province, although two French wars have taken place, since the transfer of Canada, by treaty, to Great Britain. We will leave this example to its fair influence on the question; observing only, that one difference between the cases ought not to be overlooked - that the two bodies, Protestant and Romish, in that colony, are both in dependence on the controlling power of this government; whereas, were the Catholics to make a part of our civil administration, the field of competition would be entirely open, without a third superior authority to keep them in check, or compress them into union.

\* We have no desire that more weight may be given to what follows, than it

abilities of many living members of that persuasion; when we look back to the great characters who since the reformation have maintained the tenets of that communion in its strictest form; when we reflect upon the impressions of those tenets upon the gentle and learned More and Fisher; when we take into consideration the infirm and flexible state of the popular mind in all periods of our history; when we ascribe what is due to the influence of a pompous ceremonial; and lastly, when we attend to the fact of the increased and increasing number of the Catholic body; we shall conclude, perhaps, that it is better to rely upon the discretion taught us by a wholesome mistrust of ourselves, than upon the staff of a presumptuous security.

Opinion, whether political or religious, is always silently at work :

is entitled to, for we are aware of many striking differences between the cases; but it may interest the curious reader who is pleased with reasoning to the consequences of proposed measures from historical analogies, to peruse that period of the Polish history commencing with the reign of Sigismund Augustus, and continued to the reign of Augustus the 3d. He will there find, that by a law passed early in the reign of the first mentioned prince, the honours and dignities of the senate, and all the high offices and considerable trusts of the state, and even the crown itself, were laid entirely open to every one of whatever Christian communion or profession he might be. This law was afterwards solemnly and repeatedly confirmed. And the several succeeding concessions and declarations are stated to have been made during the great transaction of an union between Poland and the Great Duchy of Lithuania, which was happily accomplished by Sigismund Augustus. So that this equality of rights conceded to the several religions of the Greek, the Roman, the Lutheran, and the Calvinistic church, was a part of the great fundamental compact upon which the union was built. These several religions then may be said in a manner to have started fair in the career of emulation. The Roman Catholics are stated not to have been in a greater proportion to the Greeks and reformed than as one to seven at this time, and after the death of Sigismund and the new modelling of the state into a republic with an elective crown, the first king on whom the choice of the diet fell was a Protestant. A perpetual peace was at the same time established between the Greeks, Romanists, and Protestants, as the fundamental law of the republic. This amicable and reciprocal toleration lasted for some time. But by little and little the Roman Catholics increased in power, till under Sigismund the third they obtained an evident superiority. That prince had been put into the hands of the Jesuits for education, and during his long reign, which lasted for near half a century, the best interests of the nation were neglected, and intolerance and persecution took the place of those equal and conciliatory laws, to which his predecessor Sigismund Augustus owed his happiness and his greatness. The churches of the Dissidents were gradually demolished, bishops abandoned their flocks, and the priests and people followed them. Every gentleman who embraced the Catholic faith, immediately destroyed all the churches of the Dissidents upon his estates. The tradesmen and mechanics dispersed, and the peasants were without any difficulty converted. The Catholics increased so fast that, from five only who were members of the senate at the beginning of the reign of Sigismund the third, they amounted at his death to three parts of the whole assembly. During the succeeding reign the Dissidents decreased rapidly in their numbers, and means were at length found to keep them entirely out of the senate. See *Ann. Reg.* 1767.

always in progress : always undermining or establishing : the state vibrates with every impulse it imparts ; her destinies are involved in its permanent direction. The management of it is therefore the secret of government. When it leans to the side of error, the greatest duty of the magistrate is delicate, but the duty of the church is obvious. It is its solemn duty to meet the danger, not by swelling language or contemptuous railing, but by increased activity in diffusing instruction and conciliating esteem. In a religious contest, victory crowns only the graceful brow of persuasion. Errors are to be conquered by intelligence, and the illustration of example ; a conquest truly Christian, and as gentle as the triumphs of light over darkness. But vigilance is consistent with mildness, and the beginnings of error cannot be too anxiously watched. The growth of scism is by little and little—from beginnings scarcely perceptible. Although it rises like a little cloud, of the bigness only of a man's hand, it may be the forerunner of a storm, which in time may shake the battlements of the church, and disquiet the holy rest of her martyrs.

But after all, will the Irish Roman Catholics be satisfied if the object of their present petition be granted ? What are their clergy to derive from the admission of laymen to power, unless it be considered as a step towards a separate establishment ? That this is the great wish of that body who can doubt ? The most galling part of their present condition, is the necessity of contributing to the support of a religion, of which they cannot but ardently desire the extinction. Does not the title which they claim to an equality of rights with the Protestants, conduct our minds to that conclusion ? Where does this principle stop ? Does it stop at the admission of their bishops into the Upper House ? Does it stop, it is awful to surmise it, does it stop at the throne itself ?

But if it be hard to say what the prelates and clergy of the Romish church would gain by the success of the present object of the petition, there is surely not less difficulty in shewing what benefit would arise from its success to the bulk of the Catholics, and especially to the lower orders. Relieve them from the obligation of paying tithes, and you give them an advantage which all may understand. But one is at a loss to say upon what we shall congratulate the Catholic poor of Ireland if the path of ambition be thrown open. They want only the highway to be cleared that leads to subsistence and comfort. Neither will it improve their condition to swell the list of non-residents with the Catholic nobility and gentry. But then it is said that by refusing to give the Catholics\* what they ask, you leave to the disaffected the pre-



text of rebellion; as if the disaffected would ever want a pretext, or as if the ruin of an empire was ever prevented by timid concessions to the treacherous or tumultuous.

The great body of the Irish Catholics do not seem to be anxious for the removal of the disabilities, but as they are taught to connect them with the alleviation of their actual sufferings. If the removal of these disabilities were really a measure, the adoption of which would bid fair to raise four millions of Christian brethren to a state of comfort, and give them that emancipation from the poverty and misery under which the unfortunate circumstances of the country have placed them, we should find it very difficult not to wish the experiment to be tried. But while we hear it admitted by so many of the best informed, that the balsam of emancipation would go no way towards healing these wounds; that it would have no durable effect in tranquillizing the country; or efface those scars and marks of wretchedness which are so visible over the face of the land; but that the great argument for the measure is the increase it would produce to the fund of national resource, in the numerical quantity of talent brought into the service of the state; we confess that we cannot see this one argument in a light so irresistible as to feel it alone an over balance to the duty of adhering to institutions and maxims of policy which are mixed up with those great measures by which our liberties were established at the æra of the revolution.

We have two reasons\* given us for the discontents of the lower orders in Ireland, which seem to be somewhat inconsistent. We will therefore, by way of compromise, accept one of them, and for the other, with deference substitute one of our own. We will accede to the opinion that there is 'a desperate and disaffected party in that part of the united kingdom, a set of rash, turbulent and ambitious men, who care but little about any religion, and whose only wish is to separate Ireland from this country.' But for that high sense of honour which is said to make every man in Ireland, however humble or obscure, feel his order disgraced by these exclusions, we will suggest a reason more consonant to our own experience—the solid sense of actual inconveniences and suffering, arising from the want of a right direction of the mental and physical powers, of a philanthropical spirit in the higher ranks, of proper incentives to industry, of a pastoral care of the poor, and of an ameliorated and judicious method of maintaining the Protestant clergy. Were these last-mentioned objects once cordially and carefully attended to, we are convinced the humble cottager would

feel little of what is imputed to him by those who are so troubled about his sense of degradation; but that with honest cheerfulness and wholesome fatigue, he would go to his refreshing rest, and enjoy it undisturbed by the trophies of a Miltiades, or by visions of purple robes or curule dignities.

A very large proportion of our common sailors, it is admitted,\* are of the Roman Catholic persuasion, who certainly do not fight our battles like men disaffected or discontented. At home they are discontented, because they feel the pressure of substantial privations. The condition as to mind and body of the Irish poor is very interesting to a humane bosom. The men of property, with some exceptions, appear to consider their estates in that country as foreign plantations. The Protestant clergy and lay impropiators aggravate the vexation of the Catholic in paying tithes to one whom he has been taught to regard as a heretic, by leaving the collection of this forced revenue to his farmer or pastor. It is easy to conceive to what an extent of abuse such a system may be carried, and how deep and durable a foundation it lays, of religious and civil animosity.

It is not too late, after bad habits have so long prevailed, to expect an great good to arise from efforts in the way of direct instruction, to reform the errors of the adult poor: still let the rising generation find the sources of improvement open to them. Their minds are recently endued with common docility and curiosity. With a diligent clergy having their duties impressed upon them by their superiors; with a mode of ecclesiastical provision better adapted to the present circumstances; the endowment of schools; and the introduction of those methods of teaching pursued with so much success in France; the dawn of an emancipation at which humanity might rejoice would probably soon appear—an emancipation from the shackles of superstition, and error.

On the subject of tithes, however, we are very far from intending any radical revolution on the Protestant clergy of Ireland. We all agree that, in a great part, it is said not less than one-third, of the tithes are in the hands of laymen, some of whom are no doubt very sensible that the odium should be confined to the spiritual rulers, and are not enough to find a subject of contumely and derision, in which it is the highest interest of the community to be successful with respect and honour. Neither are we ignorant that both the clergy and the lay impropiators have as just a title to their tithes, as the land proprietors have to the land itself. A proportion of the produce of the land has been immemorially vested in the church, and the land has always been bought and

\* See Edinb. Rev. ib.

sold, with this charge and tacit allowance accompanying its transfers, and involved in its consideration and value. What we allude to as so desirable, is not an abolition or reduction of these rates and dues, but such an accommodation or commutation, as may deprive them of their mischievous effect upon the heart and temper of the poor, and entirely withdraw them from the rapacity of speculators in oppression, and brokers in human misery.

Nor again are we so ignorant as to imagine, that this alteration in respect to tithes would radically cure the existing evils—evils so complicated with the moral and social state of the country. Nor can the great proprietors of Irish soil be ignorant, that the misery of the poor is a weed that grows rank upon their fat and abundant territory. They cannot be ignorant, that by giving better conditions to their tenantry, and longer interests; by repairing and meliorating their habitations; by living more frequently among them (a duty ill supplied by occasional festivities on birth-days and holidays); by promoting their education; by raising their wages to a fair proportion; by multiplying employment; and lastly and principally by controlling the subordinate exactions of middle men; they would be giving new life to suffering Ireland, replenishing her exhausted veins, and developing all the great possibilities of her character. When such a plan shall be adopted we may look to the growth of a real capital in Ireland, and the creation of a surplus to run into the channels of manufacturing industry: the whole people will put on a face of business, alacrity, cleanliness, and intelligence.

We will finish these observations with a plain question. If a philanthropic society, composed of a numerous or a considerable portion of the great landed proprietors in Ireland, were to resolve, in concert, to improve the condition of their tenantry by the simple and equitable measures above proposed, would the cry of Catholic emancipation long continue to reach our shores and divide our councils? Or, if the removal of these political disabilities of the Catholic body were still necessary to their contentment, would not the danger of giving them this ultimate satisfaction be daily decreasing and dropping into comparative insignificance?

On the subject of the coronation oath we cannot avoid saying a few words, which we shall endeavour to do with the reverence which belongs to it.

It has been the fashion of late to talk as if religion were not a leading object in the minds of those who settled our government at the æra of the revolution. With the late Mr. Fox it seems to have been a favourite idea, as we gather from his historical fragment, that with the second James, arbitrary power, and not religion, was the ruling motive; his religion being only used as the

best instrument for accomplishing his political purpose. But what is the inference? Is it that his political tenets, without regard to his religion, was the ground of his exclusion, and the settlement of the succession in the house of Brunswick? Or that experience of the subserviency of his religion to the establishment of arbitrary power, produced the perpetual exclusion of that religion from the throne of this realm?

The nation was not imposed upon by the large and liberal professions of that prince on the side of toleration, or the desire expressed by him 'to have the unrestricted services of all his loving subjects, by laying open offices of trust and power to all indifferently.' They looked to his acts, and not to his professions; and they saw the motives to those acts deeply laid in religious principles, the tendency of which had been often tried. They knew this professed liberty to be the stalking horse of oppression. And in about a year after the monarch had, by this declaration, promulged his code of philosophic freedom, the nation chose the Prince of Orange in his place, with his narrower pattern of liberty—a pattern into which was industriously wrought an antiquated tissue of tests, oaths, exclusions, toleration without trust, and a privileged ecclesiastical establishment. Still it was to the taste of that sober period. To eternize our Protestant church appeared to be the solemn wish of the nation. Wisdom had laid the foundation of this church; martyrdom had borne its testimony to it; experience had approved it; and gratitude had endeared it.

The solemn declaration against popery prescribed by the 30th of Charles the second, was required by the bill of rights, and by the act of settlement, to be repeated and subscribed by every king and queen, either at their coronation or upon the first day of their first parliament upon the throne in the House of Peers. By the coronation oath, as administered according to the statute 1 W. and M. st. 1. c. 6. the imperial crown of these realms is accepted under a sacramental promise to maintain to the utmost of his Majesty's power, the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion, as established by the law. And by the act of union this oath is recited and confirmed. Can any one doubt that it was the intention of the legislature at these solemn and settling periods to render the establishment of our church an immutable law? It belongs to the system by which our country was at this conjuncture in a manner regenerated. Being an essential part of the bill of rights and the act of union, it was incorporated into the very elements of the constitution. The King's oath had respect to it in this permanent character. It had regard to it not as an experimental law, but as the law into which all the experience of the nation was condensed, and as old in principle as the constitution itself.

Thus is the King's coronation oath the great constitutional sacrament of our liberty. The monarch is unalterably bound to maintain the church establishment: and it is a question for the royal mind to determine, whether the claims of the Catholics can be granted consistently with this oath: which again must depend upon the view he takes of the probable consequence of the proposed concession. The oath is not express to exclude the Catholics; but virtual to that extent, if he who has taken it be not satisfied that the time is come when they may be admitted without endangering "the Protestant reformed religion as established by the law." In this view of the subject there is an end of the argument drawn from the concessions already made. These concessions we are reverentially to presume his Majesty has not thought inconsistent with the safety of the church, of which he is the nursing father. Whether more can be conceded without breaking in upon the integrity of his oath, the King will judge for himself.

We would have added a word or two about the pledge said to have been given by the late Mr. Pitt; but it seems to us that this is a question, which, however it may concern the credit of a party, is not to decide a nation. If such a pledge was given, which, however is authoritatively denied, we, the country, are not involved in it: we are not bound to redeem it.

The nation is by an antecedent obligation pledged to do justice and to cherish the rights of mankind, and no individual can pledge it to do more or less.

Before we part with our readers, we wish to say something on what we consider as a dangerous mistake of some of our established clergy, and other friends of the established church. We allude to a jealous disposition to cavil at the exertions of those among our own members, who, without any doctrinal difference from our church, are in general only distinguishable by an active and energetic discharge of their duties.

Hypocrisy, puritanism, and methodism, are the terms by which every man designates that degree of warmth which exceeds the temperature of his own piety. They are terms so much abused, so stultified and distorted by the use made of them, that they are no longer fit for the organs of a gentleman, and every honest man who wishes to describe things as they are, is forced to strike them out of his vocabulary. These terms are too frequently applied to persons who have no other pretensions to them than a rational care of their souls.

But it is painful to observe some of the heads of our church taking up the dangerous clamour, and endeavouring to degrade those who, for what reason we know not, unless for one very much

to their honour, are called evangelical clergymen, into the class of dissenters from the Church of England. What is to become of this church, so holy and spiritual, if the serious and devout are not to be recognised as its children, but driven out of its pale as dissenting enthusiasts. Let not the zealous ministers of our establishment imagine that they are supporting our church by spinning the thread of their orthodoxy so fine, that a man's only security against doing what is wrong, lies in his doing nothing at all. Let them not imagine that by a pious regard only to the rights, revenues, and dignities of the establishment, they are maintaining its strength and durability. Nothing is strong or stable, but that which has its foundation in the public esteem. They are in a fatal error, if they think that by blackening or ridiculing the character of the dissenters, or, what is equally unfair, by classing men of very different opinions and habits under one offensive denomination, they advance the interests of that benevolent institution, whose cause they undertake. Our church disclaims all such defenders. The weapons of her warfare are not of this temper. There is no way so good of justifying her to the world, as by an amiable and efficacious activity in doing her work; by attending to the weightier matters of the law, rather than to minute variations in the forms of doctrine; by holding fast the true faith without an exclusive spirit, or a readiness to wrangle about non-essentials; and lastly, by a candid conduct towards dissenters themselves, and even acceding to their co-operation in every scheme of christian benevo-

champions of our church reflect, that among the sects which repose at the present moment is one of a very different complexion—the enemies of piety in the second Charles gave the death-blow to the and devout seriousness of character, which the high born gentry of this land, and which we trust, to be counterfeited or erased. All that was great was those times religious, and hardly a statesman or a patriot of that age, had he lived now, would have escaped the flippant ridicule of these ill-judging sons of the church. We are therefore sorry to find in any public charges of our bishops and dignitaries, to the clerical body, words of slang and opprobrium, such as *methodists* and *puritans*, thrown out against persons executing the functions of the church with a strenuousness of opinions on some topics, and an elevation of zeal for the interests of religion in general, which however they may perhaps, in some non-essential respects, offend the taste of the judicious friends of the establishment, can properly excite in their bosoms no active sentiment but that of virtuous emulation.

The venerable prelates and clergy of our national church (we do not address ourselves to slumbering dignitaries and benefited non-efficients) will pardon us for reminding them that the state does not undertake, by the terms or spirit of its alliance with the church, to maintain her character, and secure her from that decline or fall which may arise from her own inattention to the legitimate means of her interior security. The state has promised by this alliance to protect her from exterior injury, it can hedge her round by test laws, it can strengthen her outworks and fortifications, but it cannot provide for the vigour of her internal discipline. She is the guardian of her own purity and honor.

That the church is in danger can not be dissembled. It is a problem how any church can stand when (we had almost said) a numerical majority of the people are seceders from it, who though at variance among themselves, are combined in jealousy and hostility against a favoured and benefited institution. Her enemies are no longer mere negative separatists, and non-conformists. They are in array against her. What then are her resources and means of defence? Let every minister be at his post: let him qualify himself for giving due effect to our sublime liturgy: let him avoid as far as possible all contests with his parish about tythes: let the poor be his family: let him guard the access to his pulpit: let him abstain from employing hirelings from register-offices: instead of proprietary chapels, built for private speculation and profit, let us have a sufficient number of parochial churches, commensurate with the increased population of this city, with proper and stable provisions for the ministers meted out by the shekel of the sanctuary, and with comfortable, warm, and free accommodations for the poor, instead of the seat by sufferance, with the pew-opener's tax upon admission; and then the victory over sectaries will be short and complete.

We will finish with observing, that so long as the church preserves her own character, and intrinsic excellence, the state is bound to maintain her security, and to watch over her peace. By giving up her supremacy, she has purchased the fullest right to civil protection and exclusive establishment. If other religions are let into political power, being the only one which will have parted with her supremacy, she will contend against them with unequal strength. Her wealth and dignity will be but an unwieldy defence, while it will serve to unite against her, enemies of a very different character, in a confederacy for a common purpose. We trust that our goodly edifice is not doomed so to fall; but if such be its destiny, whatever temple shall arise in its place, the spectacle will be gloomy indeed to those who will remember the glory of the first house.

ART. XII. *Hints on Toleration: in five Essays: I. on the Right of Society to investigate the Religious Principles of its subjects; II. on Specific Limitations to the extent of an enlightened Religious Toleration; III. on Eligibility to Offices of Public Trust; IV. on Licensing Persons and Places for the Performance of Divine Worship; V. on the Liberty of the Press.*—Suggested for the Consideration of the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Sidmouth, and the Dissenters. By Philagatharches. London, 1810. Cadell and Davies.

WE have just met with the above-mentioned book, and are led briefly to notice it, at this time, by the probability that the subject to which it principally refers, will be brought into public discussion during the present session of parliament. It is not without merit as a composition, and if we were actuated by feelings of inveterate hostility towards dissenters, we should have read a considerable part of it with delight: for it is too well calculated to create in the mind of some, and to confirm in that of others, the persuasion that no persons are more intolerant than those who are in the full enjoyment of the benefits of that religious toleration, so happily established in this free and enlightened country. We trust, however, and firmly believe, that a very large proportion, if not the majority of protestant dissenters, must reprobate many of the principles of this their champion. They will view with equal disgust, the laxity and the rigor, the tyranny and the licentiousness of many of his favourite doctrines. They will not concur in such sentiments as “that it would be grossly absurd to receive the oath of a Roman Catholic *in confirmation of any fact* under judicial investigation:” that “atheists and deists should be allowed publicly to *inculcate* their sentiments,” “to advocate the cause of infidelity;” but that “whilst the liberty of publicly asserting and defending their *religious* principles is granted both to atheists and deists, it cannot safely be extended to Roman Catholics without specific limitations;” which specific limitations are no other, than covenants to be exacted from persons of that communion, that they shall abstain from preaching, or teaching certain doctrines, which the author admits and contends to be “distinguishing tenets of their *faith.*”

He charitably adds, that “persons *thus* allowed by licence to teach the precepts of their *faith*, and perform the ceremonies of the Romish church, should be banished the realm *for ever*, if they presumed to teach those principles upon which they had covenanted to be silent.” Here is a spirit of intolerance and perse-



cution with a vengeance! a spirit, which pervades many pages of the work of this friend to civil and religious liberty. For ourselves, although members of the established church, and anxious to preserve and maintain all the guards and securities which the wisdom of our ancestors has provided for its protection, we spurn at the invidious distinctions thus taken between the degrees of toleration respectively due to Roman Catholics, and protestant dissenters; earnestly wishing to both the perpetual enjoyment of that freedom of religious worship which has been afforded them by the comprehensive policy and justice of the legislature.

Under these impressions, however, we cannot admit that the 1st of W. and M. and the 19th of his present majesty, were intended by their authors as encouragements to schism, as cloaks to fraud, and as instruments to bring religion itself into derision and contempt. Yet these effects are produced to a great and formidable extent by an abuse of the meaning, and a perversion of the words of these wise and benevolent statutes: for it is notorious that, for several years past, the practical interpretation, which has been generally, though not universally given to them, has been, that any person, however illiterate, and however profligate, may, after having sworn at the quarter sessions of the peace, that he is a good subject, and *declared* that he is a Christian, *demand* a certificate of his having done so; and that such a certificate is not only a licence to preach and teach whatever and wherever he pleases, but a protection, by which he is exempted from all parochial offices, from serving on juries, and from ballot for military service.

Even in the work before us, it is admitted that lay preachers have no just claim to exemptions, and that the proposals which have been made, and the regulations which have been adopted by different bodies of dissenters who are fully sensible of the enormity of the abuse, "do not meet the case." In fact it can only be prevented by a legislative provision subjecting to their fair proportion of the secular burthens those licensed persons who are engaged in secular occupations. It is also admitted by this author, that there may be grounds, which indeed he states, upon which the magistrate might be justified in refusing an application for a licence. We confess our unwillingness to vest such an authority in magistrates, except in cases of unquestionable depravity; and for that reason, in addition to many others, we hold it to be indispensably necessary that a local appointment of the individual claiming a licence, by persons actually forming, or ready to form a congregation, should precede the application. This, we are convinced, is

consonant to the intent, and to the sound construction of the statutes in question; and it is the interpretation which has been long acted upon in some parts, but in some parts only, of the kingdom. Surely however it must be the wish, as it is the duty, of dissenters of all descriptions, to avert from the religion which they all profess, the indignity of leaving the great functions of religious instruction to be assumed by the very dregs and refuse of the community. The qualifications of individuals for the performance of these functions ought, we admit, only to be judged of by persons of their own persuasion; but none ought to be entitled to demand a licence, as none can demand ordination, who do not bring satisfactory attestations of their morals, conduct, and character. The abuses arising from exemptions and self-appointments are those for which, according to Lord Sidmouth's notice, the legislature is to be called upon to afford the remedy;—the remedy is obvious, just, and moderate, though it will disappoint the sanguine views of penalties and persecution, with which our author, with the hard name, has indulged and pampered his own mind, and endeavoured to inflame that of his dissenting brethren: for we must in justice admit that we believe him to be perfectly impartial, and that he is quite as much disposed to be the object as the instrument of persecution.

There are however some points of agreement between Lord Sidmouth and his monitor, which, had they been adverted to by the latter, might have saved him much trouble. Philagatharches expressly states that "itinerant preachers have no just claim to exemptions." Lord S. is represented in the Parliamentary Register of the 2d of June 1809, to have said that "He desired to be understood as applying his complaint on this point solely to immunities claimed by self-appointed preachers and teachers, not attached to any dissenting congregation, or by those who, being in the ministry, were also engaged in secular occupations and callings." Lord S. is also there represented to have said on the same occasion, that "By an address to his Majesty with a view to the improvement of small benefices, a step had been taken which, amongst its other advantages, tended to obviate one of the causes of separation from the church; inasmuch as the inducement to unite many small livings, for the purpose of affording a decent subsistence, would be weakened, as the actual value of each was materially improved; and thus, whilst the number of pluralists was diminished, that of the resident efficient clergy would be increased. But the great and most effectual check to the progress of schism, as proceeding from the causes to which he had adverted, must be derived from an augmentation of the number of churches properly en-

dowed, to which all persons should have access." In a similar strain his friendly monitor, eighteen months afterwards, exclaims, "How small a proportion of the people of England can be accommodated in their parish churches, and how very disproportionate is the number of parochial ministers to the amount of the population throughout the kingdom!" We will make one more extract from the same report of Lord Sidmouth's speech on the occasion alluded to, as it exactly coincides with our own sentiments, and serves to shew how far his lordship's view of the measures to be taken is justly chargeable with acrimony and intolerance. "As to the description of persons to whom licences ought to be granted, it was a point of extreme delicacy and importance, concerning which, he should be averse to any regulations but such as all sober-minded and rational dissenters must approve."

We cannot entertain a doubt that temperate and efficient regulations, for the purpose of correcting such abuses as we have described, will be adopted by parliament, with the concurrent approbation of the great body of Protestant Dissenters. Misrepresentation, however, will be busy: it is not by Philagathariches alone that the tocsin will be sounded: penalties by fine, whips, and imprisonment, will be openly predicted and secretly prayed for in other quarters: but truth and reason will prevail; and reflecting and pious men of all sects and persuasions will unite in maintaining the dignity and purity of our holy religion; well knowing, that the points *here* at issue are not between dissenters and the members of the established church, but between the friends of religion, and those who, under cover of liberal and benevolent laws, expose it to dishonour by fraud, by imposture, and, at best, by the lowest description of fanaticism.

The legislature has, indeed, great and important duties to perform on this momentous subject; nor is it consistent with a just sense of those duties, that differences of opinion, (often slight) on points of doctrine and discipline, should render it in any instance regardless of the qualifications which all ought to possess, by whom religious instruction is to be conveyed to the minds of the people. The modes of accomplishing this important object must be adapted to the various rules and opinions of different sects and sectaries; but let not a polluted character be at liberty to demand a passport into all the cities, towns, and villages of the kingdom, for the purpose of trying experiments on the consciences, the credulity, the hopes, and the fears of the weak, the unwary, and the uninformed. If this evil is not checked, consequences the most mischievous may be expected to ensue. The hold acquired by such means as we have stated, enervates and

perverts the mind, and is capable of being applied to the worst of purposes. Such abuses, which are at once a reproach to the legislature, and a scandal to Christianity, ought to be checked without further delay; and we are convinced that this may be effected without the infliction of new penalties, or even a rigorous enforcement of old ones, and without any real infringement on the freedom of religious worship.

We are unable to pursue this subject further at present; at an early period we shall resume it; but we cannot close this article without expressing our regret that such talents for arrangement and diction, as those possessed by Philagatharches, should have been employed in constructing a work distinguished by the disgusting, but not incongruous extremes of intolerance, licentiousness, and fanaticism.



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# CONTENTS

OF

## No. II.

	Page
ART. XIII. The Life of Thomas Paine, Author of Common Sense, the Crisis, Rights of Man, &c. &c. By James Cheetham	245
XIV. Psyche, with other Poems. By the late Mrs. Henry Tighe	277
XV. 1. Reply to Mr. Bosanquet's Practical Observations on the Report of the Bullion Committee. By David Ricardo.	
2. A Plain Statement of the Bullion Question, in a Letter to a Friend. By Davies Giddy, Esq. M. P.	298
XVI. 1. A View of the present State of Sicily, its Rural Economy, Population, and Produce, &c.: with an Appendix, containing Observations on its general Character, Climate, Commerce, Resources, &c. from a late Survey of the Abbate Balsamo, Professor, &c. to which are added, with Notes throughout the Work, an Examination of the Sicilian Volunteer System, and Extracts from Letters written in Sicily in 1809-10. By Thomas Wright Vaughan, Esq.	309
XVII. 2. Practical Piety; or, the Influence of the Religion of the Heart on the Conduct of the Life. By Hannah More	341
XVIII. A Treatise on the Defence of Portugal, with a military Map of the Country; to which is added a Sketch of the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants, and principal Events of the Campaigns under Lord Wellington, in 1808 and 1809. By William Granville Eliot, Captain in the Royal Regt. of Artillery	365
XIX. Account of some Experiments on the Ascent of the Stap in Trees. In a Letter from Thomas Andrew Knight, Esq. to the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. K.B. P.R.S. (From the Philosophical Transactions for 1801. Part 2.)	

CONTENTS.

		Page
	Account of some Experiments on the Descent of the Sap in Trees. By the same. Phil. Trans. 1803. Part 2.	
	Experiments and Observations on the Motion of the Sap in Trees. By the same. Phil. Trans. 1804. Part 1.	
	Concerning the State in which the true Sap of Trees is deposited during Winter. By the same. Phil. Trans. 1805. Part 1.	
	On the Inverted Action of the Alburnous Vessels of Trees. By the same. Phil. Trans. 1806. Part 2.	
	On the Origin and Office of the Alburnum in Trees. By the same. Phil. Trans. 1808. Part 2.	388
XX.	Cottage Dialogues among the Irish Peasantry. By Mary Leadbeater.—With Notes and a Preface, by Maria Edgeworth, author of Castle Rackrent, &c.	399
XXI.	A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London. By John Lord Bishop of that Diocese, at his Primary Visitation in 1810. Published at the Request of the Clergy	418
XXII.	Tentamen de Metris ab Æschylo in choricis cantibus adhibitis	439
XXIII.	Sketch of the Political History of India, from the Introduction of Mr. Pitt's Bill, A. D. 1784, to the present Date. By John Malcolm, Lieutenant-Colonel in the Hon. East India Company's Madras Army, Resident at Mysore, and late Envoy to the Court of Persia	459

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JUNE, 1811.

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ART. XIII. *The Life of Thomas Paine, Author of Common Sense, the Crisis, Rights of Man, &c. &c.* By James Cheetham. New York: printed by Southwick and Pelsue. 1809.

IT is now about twenty years ago that Thomas Paine published his book entitled, "Rights of Man," a work certainly obnoxious to the government of this country, but received at that time with authoritative approbation in France. That same country, still smoking with the sacrifices of her revolutionary martyrs, has just witnessed the publication of a pamphlet as the annunciator of the policy and theory of its government, in which despotism in its simplest form is made the subject of undisguised panegyric. The change of sentiment apparently necessary to reconcile the mind to these extremes, strikes a hasty observer as something extraordinary; but those who look more deeply into the tendencies of political doctrines, not as involving abstract questions, but as displaying practical results, will perceive that anarchy only holds the stake till the sword shall have decided which demagogue shall be the tyrant, and that from the horrors of fanatical liberty, society has no sanctuary but in the gloom of despotism.

The work of Mr. Chas, to which we have above alluded, has been very properly reprobated by those who have given it public notice in this country\*; but what shall we say to opinions which hold, that we ourselves are tending towards that despotism to which Mr. Chas gives so decided a preference? What shall we say to opinions which charge such men as Mr. Burke and Mr. Windham, and indeed the British press in general, with maintain-

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\* See Edinb. Review, No. 34. Art. 10.



ing the cause of despotism in terms little less open and avowed than this miserable French writer himself ; and what impression ought such opinions to make, when we perceive them to be grounded upon a comparison drawn between passages selected from the great mass of the speeches and writings of these British statesmen, or out of the voluminous works of our principal historians, and an entire production professedly written in support of arbitrary government, and apparently undertaken with the sanction and authority of a tyrant? In a country where the conflicting principles of different constitutions are actively combined, accidents and events will be daily occurring to give to one or the other an inconvenient ascendancy. It is natural and reasonable for the patriot statesman to lend his force to the failing side, and to lean against the preponderancy which disturbs the equilibrium. The proximate danger engrosses his present solicitude ; and his affection for the whole centres for a while in the part affected. What he seems to oppose, he virtually promotes, by strengthening its antagonist, and countervailing its excess and abuse? Is such a man fairly dealt with, and is a fair specimen produced of his general political principles, by extracting from his speeches or writings sentiments struck off in the heat of controversy, or arguments designed for the correction of a prevailing abuse or error? Yet in this manner we have seen it lately attempted to be shewn, that Mr. Burke and Mr. Windham have avowed themselves the advocates of despotism, and that by their writings and speeches they have broached a political creed as disgraceful as that of the French author we have mentioned. And this is stated as a proof of the dangerous tone and temper of the times, that disposes us to embrace the chains which are said to be preparing for us.

It would detain us too long on this part of the subject were we to enter into a detailed defence of the particular passages by the production of which this heavy charge against these great men has been endeavoured to be supported. One or two instances are, however, too curious to be omitted. Our readers will recollect that fine passage in Mr. Burke's *Reflections*, in which the following sentiments occur : " We know that we have made no discoveries ; and we think that no discoveries are to be made in morality ; nor many in the great principles of government ; nor in the ideas of liberty, which were understood long before we were born, altogether as well as they will be after the grave shall have heaped its mould upon our presumption, and the silent tomb shall have imposed its law upon our pert loquacity." This passage has lately been produced as a proof that the great writer of it expressly denies the possibility of improvement, not only

in the governments of the present, but in those of antecedent, times. It is very well he is allowed to say that no discoveries are to be made in *morality*, and that blame is not thrown on him for not adverting to the "sacred duty of insurrection," as one of those principles of human conduct, for which the reason of man is not obliged to revelation. We did hope that it was not now to be doubted, that after so many agitations of our political vessel, the great and guiding principles of government and liberty might be at length understood as being established at least in theory; that we were not still afloat in the stormy region of adventure; and destined still to explore the elements of freedom through new and devious tracks of discovery. If this science be not yet discovered, when are we to be ascertained of its discovery? Has the long experience of mankind afforded no practical data, no certain evidences, no positive standard? Is there nothing to assure us, with the certainty of demonstration, of the existence of liberty? Is it liable still, like chemistry or geology, to have its theory perpetually subverted, and its nomenclature reformed? Let those who take this view of it find what fault they please with the passage above taken from Mr. Burke, and infer from it what hostility they please in that great man to political improvement; they can do his memory no harm, nor his cause any prejudice, as long as they afford him the posthumous justice of producing the passage they censure.

But although Mr. Burke denies that any new fundamental ideas of liberty are to be looked for in this country, (for of this country alone he speaks) and is of opinion, that ideas of political regeneration are the offspring only of disordered brains and depraved hearts, he descants with a dignity and felicity vouchsafed only to himself on those principles of conservation and improvement, which, by their harmonious coëfficiency, prevent our institutions from being ever either wholly new, or wholly obsolete, and which deposit deep in the vitals of the constitution the plastic source of her perpetuity and identity, her growth and her expansion. The beautiful illustration which Mr. Burke has given us of the natural hold upon the human heart, which their high derivation and antiquity give to the institutions of our forefathers, by comparing it with the interest we take in the preservation of family estates, endeared to us by the ties of blood and ancestry, has been strained by wilful blundering into a meaning obviously remote from the intention of the parallel. He has been accused of denying the legitimacy of freedom, unless it can shew a title by descent, and of calling upon the first principles of political justice to establish their claims to the consent of mankind, upon proofs of their lineage and pedigree; and by one of his most

considerable opponents we have been gravely assured, that justice and liberty have neither birth, nor race, nor youth, nor age.

But though justice and liberty have neither youth nor age, and when abstractedly considered are incapable of change, augmentation, or decay, yet when the question is, under what forms and modifications they may be rendered most practical, efficient, and lasting in the affairs of civil society, and how they may be best wrought into the texture of our mixed and imperfect condition, so as to increase the sum of actual happiness, we may surely multiply our own resources, by consulting the experience of our ancestors, and may find in their practice a fund of applicable wisdom for succeeding generations. Nor is it preposterous or chimerical to compare this national homage for the great founders of our institutions, with the reverence felt by individual men towards those through whom their dignities and possessions have been transmitted. These feelings have been felt and fostered by the best men in all times, and have been the source of national and individual greatness. If it be a prejudice to venerate justice and liberty the more because they have come to us with other blessings through the channels of blood and succession; and to incline the less to projects of change, because they are unaccredited by those from whom we have derived our being; yet, who that considers the necessity of a cautious spirit in all political changes, and the pride and restlessness of political agents, can lament the existence of such a check to the vanity of human counsels, and the lubricity of human establishments? This mode of considering the subject is in perfect consistency with sentiments the most favourable to gradual improvement in the principles of government, and with the natural order of progression in all the attainments of man. A principle of adherence to what has been found beneficial is no barrier to the attainment of corresponding benefits, but rather stimulates to the task of sober pursuit. It prevents us from perpetually unravelling and beginning afresh. It teaches us to fund what we gain; to realize and consolidate successive acquisitions; to raise a permanent stock,—a bank and capital of knowledge, self-productive, and susceptible of perpetual accessions.

Other passages have also been lately produced from Mr. Burke, not merely in a garbled but in a mutilated state, to prove that the practical inference from the doctrines disclosed in them is, that a nation is bound by its original compact to submit in passive obedience to every form of mis-government. Nothing, however, at all like this is imputable to any passage in the celebrated *Reflections*, unless by a most perverse alacrity in mistaking. That great man observed, that “at the revolution, so far was the

nation from acquiring a right to elect its kings, that it did upon that occasion solemnly renounce such a right for themselves and their posterity for ever." The ground of which inference was this, that the nation, instead of asserting a vagrant freedom of choice in appointing a successor to James, considered his abdication as only authorizing them to look for a successor in the channel of descent, according to the law of England, supposing James and his lineal posterity to have failed. The severe necessity of the juncture put the nation sore against its will upon disturbing the legal succession of the crown, for the sake of excluding a line of popish princes: it moved not beyond the limit of that necessity: it restored to the royal lineage the right of inheritance in the nearest protestant branch, and fixed the succession for ever on the stock of its ancient sovereigns. This however is one of the passages of Mr. Burke's book, from which his propensity to the doctrine of passive obedience is ridiculously inferred. An inference not too preposterous for Thomas Paine himself to have drawn.

Mr. Burke says, "If civil society be the offspring of convention, that convention must be its law. It must limit and modify all descriptions of constitution which are formed under it." This passage too has presented the spectre of non-resistance to the imaginations of some modern critics. As if unlimited obedience to the law is not necessarily the principle upon which every constitution must hypothetically stand! And as if the laws could specify and provide for the permissible cases of resistance to its injunctions, and make disposition for emergencies, which must and will provide for themselves, when they happen, by putting both law and constitution in abeyance.

We should have been happy, had our time and limits allowed us, to rest a little on that hallowed ground, over which, in a season of great danger to his country, Mr. Burke conducted to the sanctuary, the ark of our precious institutions, after having rescued it from the hands of the Philistines. We could have wished still longer to dwell on the contemplation of that genius, which, when a servile, though skilful, flattery of the passions and ignorance of the multitude was poisoning the blessings of well-constituted freedom and the pledges of our national felicity, developed at once the true nature of the grovelling mischief, and with a seraphic touch of his spear, like another Ithuriel, made the reptile start up in its just proportions and portentous magnitude.

We hope to be forgiven, for paying this tribute to Mr. Burke's memory. We cannot forget that the last effort of his existence, when age and domestic misfortune were drawing it to a close, was

exerted to repel from his country the contagion of a political fanaticism which had begun to spread its corruption among us. In a work which we have presumed to dignify by the name of British, not idly or accidentally, but proudly and emphatically, we cannot permit the writings of the excellent person of whom we have been speaking to be compared with a prostitute panegyrist of unlimited monarchy, promulgating the dictates of a despot, without placing ourselves between him and his accusers. His country was his last care. He has bequeathed it a legacy, whose amount, to be properly estimated, should be measured, if we have property, by the value of the enjoyments which it brings; if we have children, by the degree in which we cherish the hope of their safety and their fortunes.

We may find perhaps another opportunity of considering this subject more at large, as it affects the political character of Mr. Windham. It is not however at present to be endured in silence, that observations, which, in certain postures of the state, when the temper of the House of Commons, or of the times, may have seemed tending towards laxity in government, have fallen from him on the subject of influence, should be converted into proofs of his attachment to arbitrary sway. We do not forget the inconsistencies which have marked the opinions of his accusers on this very subject of *influence*, and how entirely they have forfeited all right to criticise this part of his conduct. We do not think that compensation for this injustice is made to the political memory of this friend of Mr. Burke, and of his country, by the praise of his manly and "chivalrous character." He was, indeed, that "heroical English gentleman," who, according to Sir Thomas Brown, "hath no peer; like Bayard, he was the knight without fear or reproach;" "the high erected thoughts" of chivalry were his,—to his opponents belong the quixotism of romantic reform.

His love of arbitrary government is alone inferred from his thinking, as others once have thought, and who, with the returning tide of their capricious theories, may one day think so again, that the government of this country cannot be carried on without *influence*—that the monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical elements of our constitution cannot, with safety, be abandoned to the naked conflict of their hostile tendencies—that if the government were in a mad hour to disdain the soft and silent method of influence, the staff of the prerogative would soon break under it—that the neglect of influence, and the imprudent reliance on the prerogative, have occasioned most of the great disorders of the nation;—and that with "the reign of influence, began the reign of regular freedom." He thought, too, perhaps,

that in that assembly, which is the spring of all substantial power, a temperate degree of monarchical and aristocratical influence is exerted with an anticipating and salutary effect, and that if this be not the *theory* of the British constitution, yet, that every constitution is virtually and truly *that* which it inevitably becomes in practice, by its union with the infirmity of man's nature.

Though we are very distant from saying that the theory of the constitution, as far as it is to be collected and can be brought before the view, independently of its practice, is to be disregarded; yet we very much doubt the good sense, or the honesty, of those friends of liberty, who represent as innovation every practical deviation from those high constitutional dogmas, many of which have no better support than the hereditary declamation of the vulgar. Time, they say, and the obliquity of man, are the authors of perpetual innovations. And this is true—but it requires a very discriminating head, very practised and sound observation, to decide, whether the particular change is a deterioration of principle, arising from the ascendancy of interested combination, and abused opportunities, or a development produced by the happy pliancy of the constitution to the changing circumstances of man. We look with veneration on landmarks. We contemplate with a feeling next to devotion the great declarative ordinances, and promulgations, which, at the solemn aras of our liberty, have established its rights and defined its boundaries; but we do not forget that it is in a great measure to the fortuitous results of occasion and emergency, and the agency of the various dispositions and characteristics of our nature in moulding our institutions, that we are indebted for that flexible, elastic, and balanced system, which we call our constitution: in which many things are far from being beautiful in speculation, which may nevertheless be those very parts which in reality are most conservative of the whole. This, weak men are ignorant of—designing men take advantage of—and wise men are embarrassed in defending. We, who are not wise, will content ourselves with humbly and thankfully pointing to the prosperity, dignity, and durability which the constitution, as it has existed in practice since the epoch of the revolution, has seemed to us to produce.

To us it appears that nothing is true in politics which is not experimentally good; and that every thing is politically false which cannot stand with man's nature. We consider unmixed theory in constitutional matters as political delusion in some—in others as political hypocrisy. The problem of government is unexplainable but by reference to facts, and to the living scene of

human motives, aspirations and passions. Every system applicable to man and his nature must be in its origin complexional, and in its progress flexible, contingent and variable. It must stand and proceed upon the hypothesis of human infirmity. The mind, the grosser mind of man, as well as his higher nature, must have room to play and expand under its elastic pressure. Neither is this all—the passions must not only be allowed for, but the life and action of the system must depend upon that which is alone constant in man—his appetite of self-love. It is the want of knowing how to use this conservative principle, that has caused all the governments, ancient and modern, to be *flux* and revolutionary. It is the excellence of our own, that it holds an agreement with nature, a sort of amity with the blood of man, an intelligence with the heart. It depends upon springs that never decay; and has realized the ancient and hopeless vision of a state, erected on the balanced energies of our mental constitution, acting and reacting in a system of mutual controul, and opposite influences. In a word, it relies upon no forced or superinduced principles of action, but has found in the bosom of nature itself the fountains of perennial youth and deathless activity. All this, however, is no argument against constitutional watchfulness, and popular jealousy; far from it; but it opposes something, we trust, to the violence of *revolutionary* reform.

As to the proper *degree* of influence, the best politicians, and the best patriots, too, may easily be supposed to differ. Mr. Windham thought, as he has expressed himself in the house, that in judging of this degree, "it was necessary to consider the antagonist influence which it had to contend with. And that when persons were conspiring against government, it was necessary that government should be strong enough to counteract them." In what degree this antagonist influence exists at the present juncture may be a matter also of difference among good and great men. As far as we, in our humble capacity, are capable of judging from observation, we think the current of popular influence was never so strong as at present. We trace its operation with pleasure in many of the departments of government. Retrenchment, exposure, and correction, are among the features of the time, and inquiry is still penetrating the recesses of corruption. Where inquiry into the corruptions of office is become a part of the daily and ordinary administration of the country, we ask, can the government be considered as generally corrupt? Does it appear to be without checks, without the spirit of improvement, without any conservative feelings of honour; is it a scene only of dark oppression, of jealous secrecy, and of the prosperous impunity of vice?

Yet a very considerable portion of the people are persuaded to think, that this is the case with this country at present. A government incomparably the most mild and beneficent of any under which man has yet drawn his breath is presented by persons calling themselves patriots, through a medium so distorting as to obliterate every trace of its venerable aspect. Under the influence of this fraud upon the common sense of the people, a whimsical sort of querulousness has begun to prevail. We are many of us in the condition of hypochondriacs, surrounded by the morbid creation of their fancies. Visions of wrong, spectres of ruin, are played off in a sort of phantasmagoria before our eyes. Amidst the fumes of indigestion, the dinner-orator deploras the starving state to which we are reduced; the king, the nobles, and the legislature are reviled by persons complaining of the lost liberty of speech; and from the gaols we are assured that there is no resource for innocence, but by breaking the bars of oppression in sunder, and opening the magazine of original power. Where so much is done to diffuse discontent, we cannot be sorry that there arises out of the large system of operations in which the country is engaged an extension of the influence of the executive department, to mitigate the force of misguided feeling, and to prevent it from bursting into action.

We do not say that places and employments ought ever to be multiplied, for the specific purpose of producing the quantity of influence which appears to be necessary for balancing the increased weight on the popular side. But we are not afraid of saying that, if war, and the extended scale of operations which accompany it, by increasing the patronage of the crown, produce a temporary augmentation of its influence, this augmentation of influence comes together with the additional call for exertion and sacrifice, and at a time when a longer continuance of public effort is required, than probably the public spirit alone is competent to sustain.

Satisfied as we are that the government of this country is not chargeable with depravity, we cannot feel sorry that it possesses influence enough to support its activity in a contest with one, who sits on his throne of blood and usurpation, the supreme disposer of the energies of millions. We are at the same time glad and proud to see, that this great and necessary influence does not depress the spirit of the nation—that its heart and mind are unsubdued; and as erect as ever in the cause of freedom. This is natural; for there is in the very effort of submission to public sacrifices, a consoling consciousness of moral elevation—a something in the discharge of this high act of duty that raises us to honour with ourselves, and makes our country our own by purchase, as well as by birth.



The phrenzy of the French revolution is over. It has ended as all thorough revolutions have done, in rivetting the chains of the people. Yet somewhat of the vertigo of the fever remains. Some derangement of the thinking faculty on political topics still lurks in the craniums of our political writers. The trash of Thomas Paine has been carried down the common sewer of vulgar errors. But some of the noisome particles still seem to send their putrefaction abroad, and make the atmosphere of politics less wholesome than we could wish. Sentiments not quite so coarse, but to the full as hostile to human happiness and sound experience, are to be found in some of our periodical publications. As far as it may consist with the plan of a work like this, we shall, according to our mediocrity, do our best to resist the success of their dangerous attempts.

We shall resist them because it is our firm opinion that they conduct to certain despotism. Such has ordinarily been the fate of great civil commotions, excited by the persuasion of imaginary wrongs. Where there is no substantial ground of complaint, there can be no clear and determinate object or method of redress. Where vague and tumultuary passion triumphs over law and government, the unhappy multitude, loaded with a mass of power which they are incompetent to use, make a present of it, all unbounded as it is, in its raw, unmedicated, barbarous state, to the fiercest of their factious leaders. The power of the people, that ultimate power, which resides in their physical force, can scarcely be exerted in the veracious cause of rational liberty, without ruin to the interests of the object for which it contends. Who, that reflects, does not perceive, that the real strength of the great body of the people consists, not in action, but in the competency for action, not in its actual but in its potential resistance, not in the infliction of its vengeance, but in the awe of its power. The will of the people, when rendered omnipotent by the exertion of its physical force, can act only by deputed organs; these organs soon become depositaries; and the transition from unmanageable strength to helpless subjection, explains the paradox of the close alliance between licentiousness and despotism.

We solemnly call upon those well intentioned men who are deceived by factious misrepresentation to think of these things. If indeed that hour is destined to arrive when, stimulated by those journals and harangues which still echo in our ears the fallacies of the "rights of man", and maddened by calumnious details of grievances, and empyrical projects of relief, the good people of this land shall press onward to the verge of actual resistance; let them, when standing on the edge of that rubicon prepared to accomplish the predictions of their guides, listen to the last re-

monstrance of humanity and reason ; which will call them to reflect upon the characters, the conduct, and the consistency of those who have urged them to the ominous limit : let them think of their forefathers, the warnings of history, and the probable consequences of the enterprize to *themselves* : let them anticipate the unwieldy sovereignty they are about to assume and to delegate ; and the fatal gift of unmodified power they are about to tender to those, whose first care must necessarily be to cut off the connection between that power and its source. Let them ponder these things before they "proclaim liberty to the sword, and to the famine, and to the pestilence."

There is, indeed, a *radical* cure for the abuses of government. They may be cured by the extinction of all those things on which abuses may be practised. For this sort of cure the "rights of man" as they are promulgated by Mr. Thomas Paine, and presented in disguise by some modern reformists, are a specific. Whether that knavish conspirator against the peace of mankind was aware of the close connection between despotism and his rights of man, we pretend not to know. We suspect he looked no further than to the gratification of his vanity and malignity. He appears to have possessed no compass of thought, no acquaintance with history, nor any competence to the investigation of complex subjects. He saw far enough, however, into the human condition, to know the change which is necessarily superinduced upon the *natural* state of man, by the exigencies and reciprocities of civil life. He saw that if the mass could be induced to reclaim the liberties of undisciplined nature, under the name and notion of the "rights of man," the forms and institutions of government could not stand a day. His theory was fresh drawn from the bloody example of France. The restraints which civil government imposes upon passion and appetite are facts whose existence every man perceives and feels, and it is not difficult to persuade the grosser part of society, which constitutes undoubtedly the numerical majority, that these restraints are nothing more than the contrivance by which the pleasures of the few are extracted from the labours of the many : that riches and poverty, instead of being the results of every system where property is placed under the protection of the law, are the consequences of an exclusive scheme ; and of arrangements for defeating the great agrarian policy of nature, who meant that each should have enough and no more.

These arguments, which speak wholly to the stomach, Thomas Paine was certainly capable of expressing in a language very perspicuous and direct. He knew very well how to shape his appeal to this organ of intelligence, which, it must

be confessed, is never dull in apprehending its immediate interests. He seems also to have been acquainted with some artifices of writing which very much promoted his objects. Things that are great are easily travestied. It is only to express them in a vulgar idiom, and incorporate them with low ideas. This is always very gratifying to the mean, the little, and the envious; and perhaps this was one of his most successful tricks upon the multitude. He had, besides, a sort of plebeian simplicity of style almost bordering upon naiveté which clothed his imposture with the semblance of honesty; while the arrogance with which he treated great names was, with the base and contumelious, an argument of his conscious pride and independence of thinking.

What he calls "the principles of society, acting upon the nature and conduct of man," are sufficient of themselves, according to his simple theory, to produce and perpetuate all the happiness and order of civilized life. Government is only imposition disguising oppression, and protecting wrongful accumulation. The dignity of human nature, in its lowest forms, is thus flattered by the discovery that the beggar and the felon have justice on their side, while the one petitions for, and the other enforces, the restitution of his original rights. What hungry reprobate does not relish the proposition, that it is government which debauches the purity of our morals, and brings in passion over reason, by a sort of usurpation, to perplex the simplicity of God's appointments?

Philosophy must not be insulted by opposing her polished weapons to this beggarly sophistry. There is one short and simple aphorism of common sense by which the whole of his theory is abundantly answered; and it is this—*Government is not made for men as they ought to be, but for men as they are; not for their possible perfection, but for their practical indigence.* This answer is co-extensive with the whole work of Mr. Paine upon the rights of man. It demolishes the whole fabric of his treacherous system. It dispels at once the clumsy fiction of his barbarous Utopia.

In perusing a man's writings, a picture of the author himself is sometimes insensibly drawn in the imagination of the reader. By the perusal of the works of Thomas Paine, a most disgusting idea is presented to our thoughts both of the man and his manners. This idea is completely verified by the account which Mr. Cheetham has given us of his person and deportment. The paintings of Zeuxis attained a sort of ideal perfection by combining the scattered excellencies of the human countenance: to conceive the countenance, or the mind, of Mr. Thomas

Paine, now that death has withdrawn the living model, we must condense into an imaginary focus all the offensiveness and malignity that are dispersed throughout actual existence. Mr. Cheetham seems to have no hostility towards the man, and to be disposed to draw no inferences against him but what fairly arise from the facts. We may add too, that his facts appear to be collected from very credible sources of intelligence; from persons with whom Paine passed great part of his existence; and who, though not appearing to have much intercourse together, agree in the substance of their communications on this subject. The author's first introduction to him is thus related in his preface:

"After his return to the United States from France, I became acquainted with him on his arrival in New York in the year 1802. He introduced himself to me by letter from Washington city, requesting me to take lodgings for him in New York. I accordingly engaged a room in Lovett's Hotel, supposing him to be a gentleman, and apprised him of the number. On his arrival, about ten at night, he wrote me a note, desiring to see me immediately. I waited on him at Lovett's, in company with Mr. George Clinton jun. We rapped at the door: a small figure opened it within, meanly dressed, having an old top coat, without an under one; a dirty silk handkerchief loosely thrown round his neck; a long beard of more than a week's growth; a face well carbuncled, fiery as the setting sun\*, and the whole figure staggering under a load of inebriation. I was on the point of inquiring for Mr. Paine, when I saw in his countenance something of the portraits I had seen of him. We were desired to be seated. He had before him a small round table, on which were a beef-steak, some beer, a pint of brandy, a pitcher of water, and a glass. He sat eating, drinking, and talking, with as much composure as if he had lived with us all his life. I soon perceived that he had a very retentive memory, and was full of anecdote. The Bishop of Landaff was almost the first word he uttered, and it was followed by informing us, that he had in his trunk a manuscript reply to the Bishop's Apology. He then, calmly mumbling his steak, and ever and anon drinking his brandy and beer, repeated the introduction to his reply, which occupied him near half an hour. This was done with deliberation, the utmost clearness, and a perfect apprehension, intoxicated as he was, of all that he repeated. Scarcely a word would he allow us to speak. He always, I afterwards found, in all companies, drunk or sober, *would* be listened to, in this regard there were no *rights of men* with him, no equality, no reciprocal immunities and obligations, for he would listen to no one."

He seems to have left this country for America in 1774, at

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\* The author remarks that Falstaff's description of Bardolph's nose would have suited Paine's.

the instance of Dr. Franklin, just on the eve of the rupture between this country and her colonies; a crisis well adapted to unfold his particular talents, and to gratify his vengeance towards his own country, where his domestic unworthiness, official misconduct, and gross manners, had exposed him to general detestation. His age at this time was thirty-seven.

His first engagement in Philadelphia was with Mr. Aitkin, a respectable bookseller, who, in January 1775, commenced the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, the editorship of which work became the business of Mr. Paine; for which he had a salary of fifty pounds currency a year. According to Mr. Cheetham, this work was well supported by him, and it was here that he published his song upon General Wolfe, which by his biographer is called beautiful; but taste either in prose or poetry does not appear to us to be among Mr. Cheetham's qualifications.—When Dr. Rush of Philadelphia suggested to Paine the propriety of preparing the Americans for a separation from Great Britain, it seems that he seized with avidity the idea, and immediately began his famous pamphlet on that measure, which, when finished, was shewn in MSS. to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Samuel Adams, and entitled, after some discussion, “*Common Sense*,” at the suggestion of Dr. Rush. The success of this pamphlet is well known. From the legislature of Pennsylvania he received 500*l.* and was made their clerk some years after. He was at first very well received in the families of Dr. Franklin, and others of respectability; into which it ought not to be disguised that he was rendered welcome, not only by political publications, but by a turn he discovered for philosophical subjects.

“As a literary work,” Mr. Cheetham observes, “‘*Common Sense*,’ energetically as it promoted the cause of independence, has no merit. Defective in arrangement, inelegant in diction, here and there a sentence excepted, with no profundity of argument, no felicity of remark, no extent of research, no classical allusion, nor comprehension of thought. His observations on the origin of government, but lightly touching the subject, are trite; those on monarchy and hereditary succession, of no greater solidity, are not new. It was on the latter, however, that he valued himself. His invectives against monarchy were intended against the monarchy of England, rather than against monarchy in general; and they were popular in the degree in which the measures and designs of the British cabinet were odious.”

On the 4th of July, 1776, Congress declared the colonies “free and independent states,” which was as soon after the publication, as this most vain of men, in his will, as the work could spread through an extensive country. Paine seems to have accompanied the army of independence as a sort of itinerant writer, of

which, says Mr. Cheetham, "he was an appendage almost as necessary and as formidable as its cannon. But I do not believe," continues the same author, "that even a number of the *Crisis* would have saved the American army, and cause, from annihilation, if Howe had been an active and persevering, an enlightened and energetic commander. Washington's patience and care, his admirable prudence and coolness, although often, in the course of the war, provoked to battle by a thousand irritating circumstances, by internal faction, and by British sneers, saved America to freedom, while the idle dissipation of Howe, his devotion to licentious pleasures, his unmartial spirit and conduct, lost it to the crown."

For the most disgusting specimens of vanity, pomposity, and tyranny, we shall not be disappointed, if we look among the bitterest opponents of rank, and the most tumultuous champions of democracy. Ask the wives, and children, and servants of these men, how the sceptre of domestic rule is swayed by them; ask their kindred, and tenants, and dependants, and intimate associates, whether the pleasures of equal society are enjoyed under their roof. Place one of them at the head of an office, invest him with military or political command, and then consult those who hold dependent and subaltern stations under him, whether courtesy, and gentleness, and attention to their personal feelings or convenience are emanations from his tender regard to the rights and equality of man.

"Bitterly," says Mr. Cheetham, "as he pretended to be opposed to **TITLES**, when grasping the pillars of the British government he endeavoured to subvert it, he was yet so fond of them, in reality, that he not only assumed to himself a title to which he had no claim, but he seems to have gloried in the fraudulent *assumption*. In his title-page of his *Rights of Man*, he styles himself 'Secretary for Foreign Affairs to the Congress of the United States, in the late war.' The foreign affairs of the United States were conducted, as we see, by a Committee, or Board, of which he was secretary, or clerk; *clerk* more properly, at a very low salary. His business was merely to copy papers, number and file them, and, generally, to do the duty of what is now called a clerk in the Foreign Department; he was, however, determined to give himself a higher title. Unsubstantial in essence as superadditions to names are, he nevertheless liked them, and seemed to be aware that, universally, they possess a charm to which he was by no means insensible. From this and many other circumstances we may infer, that his objections to being himself a lord of the bed-chamber, or a groom of the stole, a master of the hounds, or a gentleman in waiting, would not have been stronger than were his wishes to be retained in the excise. But he was totally unfit to be

secretary of state, the title which he had impudently assumed. He had neither the soberness of habit, the reservedness of deportment, the urbanity of manners, the courteousness of language, the extent of reading, nor the wide range of thought, which a station so distinguished requires. He was formed, as has often been observed, to pull down, not to set up. His fort was anarchy. Order was the perpetual and invincible enemy of his talents. In tranquillity he sunk into the kennel of intemperance; in a commotion of the political elements, he rode conspicuously on the surge\*."

It is curious to hear this American, on the character of his own nation, in this respect. "There is perhaps no nation so fond of titles as our own. Every man in office, or who *has been* in office, is addressed by the appellation of it. Mr. President, Mr. Constable, Colonel such-a-one, and Judge such-a-one; though the Colonel out of commission is working at his bench; and the country Judge out of court is serving his customers in a tavern. This is universal, and we feel neglected if our title be forgotten. Yet we smile contemptuously at the weakness of nations by which titles are acknowledged."

Paine's controversy with Silas Deane, in which he forfeited his place of secretary or clerk to the committee for foreign affairs, for breach of confidence, is next very circumstantially detailed by Mr. Cheetham.

"In the opinion of congress, Paine, in whom it was ascertained that official trust could not be reposed, now sunk into vileness. Dismissed from his clerkship to the committee for a scandalous breach of office, his prospects, except the popular hold which he still had on the people, to whom his misconduct was not perhaps known, was almost as discouraging, as when, a second time dismissed from the excise in England, he was assailed with the continuous pains of hunger. His salary for officiating as clerk to the committee, penurious and spunging as he was, was scarcely adequate, considering the depreciation of the currency in which it was paid, to the expences of his board. Thus situated, thus abandoned by the assembled wisdom of the states, he hired himself as a clerk to Owen Biddle of Philadelphia: having finished his disputation with Deane, and being, it is

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\* "Madame Roland, says Mr. Cheetham, describes him admirably. "Among the persons whom I was in the habit of seeing, Paine deserves to be mentioned. I think him better fitted to sow the seeds of popular commotion, than to lay the foundations or prepare the form of government. He throws light on a *revolution*, better than he concurs in the making of a *constitution*. He takes up and establishes those great principles, of which the exposition strikes every eye, gains the applause of a *club*, or excites the enthusiasm of a *town*." *Roland's Appeal*, vol. 1, p. 45, New-York, 1795.

probable, uneasy in the service of Mr. Biddle, he somehow obtained, early in the year 1780, the subordinate appointment of clerk to the assembly of Pennsylvania."

As to the compensations which Paine received in America for his revolutionary writings, they appear to be the following. In 1785, congress granted him three thousand dollars, after having rejected with a burst of indignation a motion for appointing him historiographer to the United States, with a salary. Two only of the states noticed by gratuities his revolutionary writings. Pennsylvania gave him, by an act of the legislature, five hundred pounds currency; and New York gave him the confiscated estate of Frederick Davoe, a royalist, situate at New Rochelle, in the county of Westchester, consisting of more than three hundred acres of land, and in high cultivation.

Paine came over to England in 1787—during the following year he was arrested for debt, and bailed by some American merchants. But as Mr. Cheetham observes,

"Daily occurrences were now kind to his hopes. The French revolution, the pretended object of which, like the pretended object of all revolutions, was at first mild and beneficent reform, was advancing with accelerated velocity to its acme of spoliation and blood. Paine, peeping out of his lurking-hole in the purlieu of London, watched with ecstasy every advance. The assembly of the Notables had been succeeded by the States-General, and the States-General, at the suggestion of the Proteus Syeyes, without any delegation by the people, and therefore by usurpation, had declared itself the National Assembly. The king was taken captive by men, who, vowing to each other republican attachments, were individually planning assassination and pillage to encompass and wear his crown. An unread, an unlettered populace, just enough oppressed by old masters to become the willing victims of greater oppression from new, were artfully and mercilessly freed, by those who were to be their tyrants and scourges, from those high obligations which they owed to themselves, their country, and their God, and with which they could not dispense without suffering, as they did, the greatest calamities, the most excruciating pains. Overjoyed at appearances in France, Paine, from imprisonment in London for debt, passed, while those measures were in train, to Paris, for commotion." P. 108.

The Reflections of Mr. Burke were published in 1790: and Paine went over from France to England, to endeavour to excite London to imitate the transactions of Paris. In 1791 he published his "Rights of Man," first part, in answer to Mr. Burke. Upon which, his biographer observes as follows:

"This miserable production was, from similarity of causes, as po-



popular in England as his 'Common Sense' had been in America. France was in confusion: England was getting into confusion. With Dr. Price and his clubs, Paine was for cashiering. He went, however, in language a little further than they did. What he wanted of the elegance of the English reformers he made up in impudent and vulgar boldness. Having experienced an unprecedented sale of his pamphlets; having perceived that the anarchical spirit was up; being sure that the government would be overthrown; and that, as in France, the wholesome doctrine of reform would be superseded by the bloody work of revolution; he returned in the following May to Paris. That he was well received at the seat of universal havoc cannot be doubted. His British fame; the popular celebrity of his despicable work, had preceded him, and rendered a particular report to his co-plotters unnecessary. The fraternizing spirit which pervaded England, of whose existence he could give irrefragable assurances, must have delighted those artificers of the greatest human misery that human means ever inflicted." P. 116.

We cannot omit a remark of Mr. Cheetham's, on the treatment which Paine experienced from the British government, alien, reprobate, and libellous as undoubtedly he was.

"Whatever party and passion, prejudice and malignity, ignorance and injustice, may roundly assert, Paine experienced from the British government a mildness, a forbearance, which no man, urging amongst us in the boldest language of sedition a dissolution of the union, a destruction of the national government, and a consequent civil war, could expect from the government of the United States. The first part of the 'Rights of Man,' not a jot less intemperate and rebellious than the second, was published not only with impunity, but without notice from the government. I do not mention the fact in commendation; Paine ought to have been punished. Alarm, if the government was alarmed, was a poor apology. When did fear beget respect? When did imbecility avert danger?" P. 124.

Mr. Cheetham gives us a great many pages on the absurdities and impertinencies of the book on the rights of man, which may be more useful to his American brethren than to us in England. In speaking of the contrast drawn by Paine between the hereditary and representative systems, and of the credit he gives to what he calls the pure representative system, of exemption from the craft and mystery of courts, our author makes the following remark, which is somewhat interesting from the pen of a staunch American.

"I hazard nothing in remarking, unless it be hazardous to state the truth, that, however excellent the system of our government may be in theory, the whole operation of our system of politics in

practice, with the chiefs who lead the two parties, and who by hook or by crook govern the nation, is one of mystery, craft, and imposition. In these articles, which abound amongst us, no nation can vie with the United States. That I hold to be impossible." P. 144.

The reader shall now be informed by this American writer of the circumstances which occasioned the departure of Mr. Paine from this country, never again to return. It may be profitable to him to hear how the conduct of our government appeared in the eyes of one who had lived long under the discipline of a republican system.

"Government was at length roused to a sense of what was due to its own dignity, and to the safety and tranquillity of the kingdom. On the 21st of May, 1792, the king issued a proclamation for suppressing 'wicked and seditious publications;' alluding to, but not naming, the Rights of Man. On the same day the attorney-general commenced a prosecution against Paine as author of that work. A prosecution had been previously commenced against Jordan, the publisher of it; but as he made concessions which were satisfactory to the government, the prosecution was discontinued.

"The king's proclamation was an act of graciousness. The work was clearly seditious in the malice of intention as well as in the criminality of object. As thousands of persons besides the booksellers had industriously published it, the law, if the administrators of it had been vindictively inclined, had full scope for operation. The proclamation notified to the kingdom the diabolical intentions of the author, the tendency of his demoralizing work, and the penalties which all publishers of it incurred of those admirable laws, not which were made for the case, but of those ancient and free laws which the United States have adopted for the government of the press. It was therefore preventive, not retributive justice. MACKINTOSH had published, as he now doubtless regrets, his *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, an elaborate and eloquent defence of the French revolution, of all its excesses, all its robberies and butcheries, in reply to Mr. Burke's Reflections. He too considered the British government as having abused its constitutional trust, but he was an advocate of tranquil and constitutional reform; not of a dissolution of the state, not of revolution, not of blood. No legal impediments, therefore, were thrown in the way of the publication of his book, nor any legal animadversions pronounced upon it, for in no nation is the press allowed to go greater lengths than in England. Fox controverting in parliament, in moments of reformation-zeal, some of the maxims of Mr. Burke, quoted Mackintosh's defence in a strain of the finest eulogium. This enlightened friend of enlightened and durable freedom, speaking, however, of the Rights of Man in terms of indignant contempt, called it, as it really was, a *libel* on the constitution. The proclamation, view it in whatever light we may, was

intended to render unnecessary the operation of the laws, by preventing the commission of offences against them, and to preserve the lives, the liberty, and the property of the subjects, by averting that revolution which was the object of Paine.

“*Loyal* associations now sprung up to counteract the revolutionary efforts of the revolution clubs. Passion met passion until, in the struggle, on the one side for a dissolution of the government, on the other for its existence, the nation became more and more agitated. In this state of things, Paine published, about August, 1792, his ‘Address to the Addressors.’ This is a miserable lampoon on the orators in parliament who had spoken on the side of the king’s proclamation, as well as on those placemen into whose offices Paine would willingly have crept before he left England, in the year 1774. He states that a prosecution had been commenced against him—declares the incompetency of a jury to decide on a work so recondite and important as the Rights of Man—talks quite philosophically of the propriety of taking the *sense of the nation* upon it by *polling each man*—pronounces the laws in relation to the press as fundamentally bad, the administration of them by the courts as notoriously corrupt, and denies that the ‘Rights of Man’ is seditious, for that it ‘contains a plan for augmenting the pay of the soldiers, and meliorating the condition of the poor!’ While he was preparing this stuff for the press, he published letters to the chairmen of several of the meetings which were convened to compliment the king on his proclamation. He was now evidently awed by the vigour of the government and the patriotic spirit of the nation. All over England he was carried about in effigy with a *pair of stays* under his arm, and the populace, staymakers and all, alternately laughed and swore at the impudent attempts of a *staymaker* to destroy their government.

“His trial was to come on in the following December. Whilst he foresaw and no doubt dreaded the imprisonment which awaited him, a French deputation announced to him in London, in the preceding September, that the department of Calais had elected him a member of the National Convention. This was doubly grateful; grateful in the escape which it afforded him from a just punishment, without the imputation of cowardice; grateful in the honour which bloody anarchists had conferred upon him by electing him a member of their order. Without delay he proceeded to Dover, where a custom-house officer examined his baggage, and finally let him pass. He had not, however, sailed from Dover for Calais more than twenty minutes, when an order was received from the government to detain him. He states his detention and examination at Dover in a letter to Mr. Dundas, ‘dated Calais, September 15, 1792.’ P. 156—160.

“Upon the trial of Louis XVI. Paine, who had been employed in America, as a copier of papers to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and dismissed by the Congress for perjury, sat in judgment. He had voted in the convention for the trial of the king; but upon his trial, he was in favour of imprisoning him during the war, and of

transporting him afterwards. 'It has already been proposed,' he observed, in his speech to the Convention, "to abolish the punishment of death; and it is with infinite satisfaction, that I recollect the *humane* and excellent oration pronounced by Robespierre on the subject in the Constituent Assembly. The whole of the speech is hypocritical, fawning, time-serving, and pusillanimous. He felt that in the *terrible republic*, whose course and conduct he had recommended to England, there was neither freedom nor safety." P. 173.

We shall make no observations on the detestable work of this wretched man, called the "the Age of Reason:" it is gone to rest with Chubb, and Toland, and Morgan and Tindal: we will not disturb it. It is curious, however, to hear his notions of toleration, and his disagreement with the National Assembly on this subject, in the tenth article of its "Declaration of Rights." In this article it is declared, that no man ought to be molested on account of his opinions, not even his religious opinions, *provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by law.*

"Paine thinks, and so he expresses himself, that the *proviso* is an outrage on the rights of man almost as great as any ever committed even by the British government! Society, he is clearly of opinion, has nothing to do with doctrines, whether they *disturb its tranquillity or not!*

"It is questioned, he says, by some very good people in France, as well as in other countries, whether the *tenth* article sufficiently guarantees the right it is intended to accord with. Besides which, it takes off from the *divine dignity of religion*, and weakens its operative force upon the mind, to make it a subject of human laws.\*"

"Now what is it in the article that "takes off from the divine dignity of religion?" That which allows all freedom in religious opinions but such as *disturbs the public order established by law!* According to Paine, therefore, *divine dignity in religion* consists in *disturbing the public peace!*

"In this he goes, I think," says Mr. Cheetham, "but I am not quite sure, further than Mr. Jefferson. "The legitimate powers of government extend to such acts only as are *injurious to others.* But it does me no injury for my neighbour to say [that] there are twenty Gods or no God †. It neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg ‡." P. 185.

From the time of his imprisonment in France, which lasted for eleven months, his drunkenness, brutality, and the pestilential

\* Rights of Man, part 1, p. 69, Phil. ed. 1797.

† Mr. Jefferson writes 'lengthy' for long. Notes, p. 248, New Appendix.

‡ Notes on Virginia, p. 235, New-York, 1801.

filth of his person, added greatly to the detestation in which he began to be held by all mankind, even by the partizans of revolution and blood. "His habitual drunkenness," says Mr. Cheetham, "seems to have commenced with the delirium of the French revolution. The practice had gained upon him in London." We find him soon after his release from his French prison writing a letter to General Washington, to whom he had dedicated the first part of his "Rights of Man," in which he thus addresses him: "As to you, Sir, treacherous in private friendship, and a hypocrite in public life, the world will be puzzled to decide whether you are an apostate or an impostor."

From vilifying Washington, he returned to the abuse of the Christian religion, says his biographer. In October, 1796, he published his second part of the "Age of Reason." His nonsensical production called "Agrarian Justice" came out in the ensuing year, which seems to be nothing more than a repetition of the ridiculous propositions for equalizing landed property in order to maintain the poor, contained in the second part of the "Rights of Man." Of which Mr. Cheetham properly says, that of all the theories of the wretched innovators of the present age, those miserable empirics who have disturbed and desolated the world, this is one of the most visionary: and yet it is probable that, like other fanciful and levelling schemes, it has its advocates."

It would be an injustice to Mr. Cheetham not to present our readers with some very well expressed and manly sentiments which occur in this part of his volume.

"It appears throughout both the first and second part of the Age of Reason, that, as in government, his object was not the maintenance, as a man of letters, if such he considered himself, of a speculative point about which philosophers in their elaborate investigations of abstruse subjects may very harmlessly differ, but the propagation of licentious doctrines amongst the lower orders, with a view to weaken if not to destroy, in practice, that awful fear which restrains them from the commission of sins against God and crimes against man. Admitting that he was not unfaithful to himself in the crude deistical opinions which he rudely diffused, yet as he wrote not for reading and thinking men, could he have had any other object than that of mingling with his wasteful anarchy in the affairs of government a more detestable anarchy in the more solemn affairs of religion? Our wellbeing here, without considering the more weighty matter of hereafter, is so inseparable from, so identified with religion, that we have nothing to expect from a relaxation of its high obligations, but robberies more vast, ruin more complete, tyranny more intolerable, than the plunderings and butcheries and despotisms of which France was for so many years the hapless subject.

What religion could be substituted of equal excellence with that which sways Christendom, and mollifies the natural ferocity of man? I am putting the divinity of it out of the question, and considering it only in reference to its benign influence upon society. I have associated with deists; I have listened to the dogmas of deism; and although priestly intolerance and persecution, the abuses of the Christian religion, are principally the alleged causes of their aversion from the one and their attachment to the other, yet I have found them in spirit more intolerant and persecuting, if possible, than any thing which distinguishes the sufferings of the Hugonots or the bloody reign of Mary. Elibu Palmer, the deistical spouter, was, in the small circle of his church, more priestly, more fulminating, and looked for more reverence and adoration from his disciples, than the Lauds and Gardiners of England. Without the means, he affected all the haughtiness of Wolsey. Professing to adore reason, he was in a rage if any body reasoned with him. He viewed himself as an oracle, whose sayings no one was to question. Paine was equally a dogmatizer; equally a dealer in authority. They who tested every thing but their own opinions, suffered not their own opinions to be tested." P. 209—211.

In the same year he published also a letter to the people of France and the French armies, on the event of the 18th Fructidor. This is the most absurd for its nonsense, and despicable for its servility, of all his absurd and despicable performances. On the subject of the number fixed upon to constitute the Directory, "After preferring a plural to an individual executive, the next question is, he observes, "what shall be the number of the plurality." And here we request the grave attention of some of our most accurate calculators of the class of reformists.

"Three are *too few*, either for the variety or the quantity of business. The constitution has adopted *five*, and experience has shown that this number of directors is sufficient for all the purposes, and therefore a greater number would only be an unnecessary expense."

"The number which France had hit upon, and which, I agree with him," says Mr. Cheetham, "is *quite sufficient*, he seems to think designed by *nature* for all governments, although human wisdom, in no part of the world, except in France, has as yet adopted it. "*Nature*, he says, has given us exactly five senses, and the same number of fingers and toes; pointing out to us, by this kindness, the propriety of an executive directory of five, precisely as in France. If *one sense*, he continues, had been sufficient, she would have given us no more: an individual executive, he therefore infers, is *unnatural* and unphilosophical, 'individuality being exploded by nature.' Surely tyranny never had a more fawning parasite, freedom a more decided enemy." Page 219.

He continued in France to the year 1802, drunk it seems

every day, mixing with the lowest company, and so filthy in his person, as to be avoided by all men of decency. Mr. Cheetnam's observations are here worthy of attention.

"I feel great difficulty in repressing the indignation which rises from reviewing the nefarious publications and conduct of this man. Robespierre, he says, was a tyrant. Why? Because he sent men to their account on *suspicion*. Speaking of his own case, when in prison, he remarks, that owing to the prevalence of this doctrine of *suspicion*, 'there was no time when I could think my life worth twenty-four hours.' What difference was there between Robespierre and himself? *Suspicion* was enough with Robespierre; *suspicion* was enough with Paine. Robespierre called out conspiracy, and off went a head; Paine, when he himself was not the subject of the same despotism and cruelty, echoed the cry, and Pichegru and his associates were banished. Pichegru, he asserts, was guilty of a conspiracy against the state. In what was he conspirator? Paine tells us—'in framing laws in favour of emigrants and refractory priests.' This was the conspiracy! Admitting that the framing of such laws was treason, where is the proof; what is it? The 'evidence,' Paine answers, of '*circumstances*.' Without accusation, then, without trial, *circumstances*, susceptible of a thousand interpretations, authorised the banishment of Pichegru, and the destruction of the *paper* constitution!

"Pichegru and his banished associates were legislators. If, wishing to relax the rigours and the proscriptions, and to lessen the miseries of the revolution, they had '*framed* laws favouring emigrants and refractory priests;' had they not, as legislators, a right to do so? It did not follow, because such acts were framed, that the acts would become laws. If, as members, they had no voice in legislation, they were puppets; and if they erred in opinion, is error of opinion criminal in a legislator? And banish them too without trial! Is this republicanism? Is this freedom?

"In the early stages of the revolution, the armed force, at the beck of the dominant party, overawed the legislative body. Boissy D'Anglas's constitution had guarded against this dreadful evil, as far as a *paper* constitution could do so. The armed force was not to approach nearer to Paris than twelve leagues. But the party in the government to which Paine was attached, and of which he was an infamous tool, meditating the overthrow of Pichegru and his friends, ordered the armed force within the constitutional limits, as instruments of their designs. This indication of a bloody purpose excited alarm. Paine justifies the march of the troops; Paine vindicates this atrocious violence committed on the *paper* constitution. '*Conspiracy*,' he observes, 'is quick of suspicion, and the fear which the faction in the council of five hundred manifested upon this occasion, could not have suggested itself to *innocent men*. Neither would innocent men have expostulated with the directory upon the case.' The leaders of the faction conceived that the troops were *marching*

against them, and the conduct they adopted in consequence of it, was sufficient to justify the measure, even if it had been so. From what other motive than the consciousness of their own designs could they have fear? The murderous sayings of Jeffreys to Sydney are inferior in atrocity to this. Paine infers guilt from a meritorious act. The constitution is outraged by the march of the troops. The faction, as he indecorously denominates a part of the legislative body, express fear in behalf of the constitution. This fear, so natural, so commendable, so patriotic, he construes into guilt; and this guilt, he profligately asserts, was 'sufficient to justify the marching of the troops against the legislators!' Can there be baseness, can there be despotism, greater than this?

"His letter to the army was his last work in France. Wearied with the republic, though obstinately bent on maintaining his principles against his feelings, he now sighed to return to the United States, 'whose election of the chief magistrate is almost as bad as the hereditary system.' He knew not indeed what to do with himself. He could not return to England, where he had been wisely outlawed, and he was aware that he was odious in the United States. Washington justly considered him an anarchist in government, and an infidel in religion. He had no country in the world, and it may truly be said that he had not a friend. Was ever man so wretched? Was ever enormous sinner so justly punished? He must, however, return to the United States, for he was poor; the plunderers of France having plundered only for themselves. He still retained his farm at New-Rochelle, and he was sensible that, greatly increased in value, it would abundantly supply all his wants."

On the 13th of October, 1802, he arrived at Baltimore, under the protection of the president Jefferson. But it appears that curiosity induced nobody, of any distinction, to suffer his approach. While at —— hotel, he was principally visited by the lower class of emigrants from England, Scotland, and Ireland, who had there admired his Rights of Man. With them it appears "he drank grog in the tap-room, morning, noon, and night, admired and praised, strutting and staggering about, showing himself to all, and shaking hands with all. The leaders of the party to which he had attached himself paid him no attention." He had brought to America with him a woman, named Madame Bonneville, whom he had seduced away from her husband, with her two sons; and whom he seems to have treated with the utmost meanness and tyranny. Mr. Cheetham gives this account of his manner of living at this time.

"In the spring of 1804, he returned to his farm at New-Rochelle, Purdy having left it, taking with him the two Bonneviles, and leaving their mother in the city. Not chusing to live upon the farm himself, he hired one Christopher Derick, an old man, to work it for him. While Derick was husbanding the farm, Paine and the two



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young Bonnevilles boarded sometimes with Mr. Wilburn, in Gold-street, in the city, but principally with Mr. Andrew Dean, at New-Rochelle. Mrs. Dean, with whom I have conversed, tells me that he was daily drunk at their house, and that in his few sober moments he was always quarrelling with her, and disturbing the peace of the family. She represents him as deliberately and disgustingly filthy; as chusing to perform the offices of nature in his bed! It is not surprising, therefore, that she importuned her husband to turn him out of the house; but owing to Mr. Dean's predilection for his political writings, her importunities were, for several weeks, un-availing. Constant domestic disquiet very naturally ensued, which was increased by Paine's peevishness and violence. One day he ran after Miss Dean, a girl of fifteen, with a chair whip in his hand, to whip her, and would have done so, but for the interposition of her mother. The enraged Mrs. Dean, to use her own language, 'flew at him.' Paine retreated up stairs into his private room, and was swiftly pursued by his antagonist. The little drunken old man owed his safety to the bolts of his door. In the fall of the year, Mrs. Dean prevailed with her husband to keep him in the house no longer. The two Bonnevilles were quite neglected.

"From Dean's, he went to live on his farm. Here one of his first acts was to discharge old Derick, with whom he had wrangled, and to whom he had been a tyrant, from the moment of their engagement. Derick left him with revengeful thoughts.

"Being now alone, except in the company of the two Bonnevilles, of whom he took but little notice, he engaged an old black woman of the name of *Betty*, to do his housework. Betty lived with him but three weeks. She seems to have been as intemperate as himself. Like her master, she was every day intoxicated. Paine would accuse her of stealing his New-England rum, and Betty would retort by calling him an old drunkard. Often, Mrs. Dean informs me, would they both lie prostrate on the same floor, dead-drunk, sprawling and swearing and threatening to fight, but incapable of approaching each other to combat. Nothing but inability prevented a battle." P. 241.

We cannot withhold from our readers part of a letter written to Paine from an illiterate brother democrat and infidel, after a sordid quarrel which had taken place between them.

"From the first time I saw you in this country, to the last time of your departure from my house, my conscience bears me testimony that I treated you as a friend and a brother, without any hope of extra rewards, only the payment of my just demand. I often told many of my friends, had you come to this country without one cent of property, then, as long as I had one shilling, you should have a part. I declare when I first saw you here, I knew nothing of your possessions, or that you were worth four hundred per year, sterling. I, sir, am not like yourself. I do not bow down to a little paltry gold; at the sacrifice of just principles. I, sir, am poor, with an in-

dependent mind, which perhaps renders me more comfort than your independent fortune renders you. You tell me further, that I shall be excluded from any thing, and every thing, contained in your will. All this I totally disregard. I believe if it was in your power you would go further, and say you would prevent my obtaining the just and lawful debt that you contracted with me; for when a man is vile enough to deny a debt, he is not honest enough to pay without being compelled. I have lived fifty years on the bounty and good providence of my Creator, and I do not doubt the goodness of his will concerning me. I likewise have to inform you, that I totally disregard the powers of your mind and pen; for, should you, by your conduct, permit this letter to appear in public, in vain may you attempt to print or publish any thing afterwards. Do look back to my past conduct respecting you, and try if you cannot raise one grain of gratitude in your heart towards me, for all the kind acts of benevolence I bestowed on you. I showed your letter, at the time I received it, to an intelligent friend; he said it was a characteristic of the vileness of your natural disposition, and enough to damn the reputation of any man. You tell me that I should have come to you, and not written the letter. I did so three times; and the last you gave me the ten dollars, and told me you were going to have a stove in a separate room, and then you would pay me. One month had passed and I wanted the money, but still found you with the family that you resided with; and delicacy prevented me to ask you for pay of board and lodging; you never told me to fetch the account, as you say you did. When I called the last time but one, you told me to come on the Sunday following, and you would pay or settle with me; I came according to order, but found you particularly engaged with the French woman and her two boys; whether the boys are yours I leave you to judge; but the oldest son of the woman, an intelligent youth, I suppose about fourteen or fifteen years of age, has frequently told me and others, that you were the complete ruin of their family, and that he despised you; and said that your character, at present, was not so well known in America as France.

“ You frequently boast of what you have done for the woman above alluded to; that she and her family have cost you two thousand dollars; and since you came the last time to York, you have been bountiful to her, and given her one hundred dollars per time. This may be all right. She may have rendered you former and present secret services, such as are not in my power to perform; but at the same time I think it would be just in you to pay your debts. I know that the poor black woman, at New-Rochelle, that you hired as a servant, and I believe paid every attention to you in her power, had to sue you for her wages, before you would pay her, and Mr. Shute had to become security for you.

“ A respectable gentleman, from New-Rochelle, called to see me a few days past, and said that every body was tired of you there, and no one would undertake to board and lodge you. I thought

this was the case, as I found you at a tavern, in a most miserable situation. You appeared as if you had not been shaved for a fortnight, and as to a shirt, it could not be said that you had one on; it was only the remains of one, and this likewise appeared not to have been off your back for a fortnight, and was nearly the colour of tanned leather, and you had the most disagreeable smell possible; just like that of our poor beggars in England. Do you not recollect the pains I took to clean and wash you? That I got a tub of warm water and soap, and washed from head to foot, and this I had to do three times before I could get you clean. I likewise shaved you and cut your nails, that were like birds claws. I remember a remark that I made to you at that time, which was, that you put me in mind of Nebuchadnezzar, who was said to be in this situation. Many of your toe nails exceeded half an inch in length, and others had grown round your toes, and nearly as far under as they extended on the top. Have you forgotten the pains I took with you, when you lay sick wallowing in your own filth? I remember that I got Mr. Hooton, (a friend of mine, and whom I believe to be one of the best hearted men in the world) to assist me in removing and cleaning you. He told me he wondered how I could do it; for his part he would not like to do the same again for ten dollars. I told him you were a fellow being, and that it was our duty to assist each other in distress. Have you forgotten my care of you during the winter you staid with me? How I put you in bed every night, with a warm brick to your feet, and treated you like an infant one month old? Have you forgotten likewise how you destroyed my bed and bedding by fire, and also a great coat that was worth ten dollars? I have shown the remnant of the coat to a tailor, who says that cloth of that quality could not be bought for six dollars per yard. You never said that you were sorry for the misfortune, or said that you would recompense me for it. I could say a great deal more, but I shall tire your and the public's patience: after all this and ten times as much more, you say you were not treated friendly or civilly. Have I not reason to exclaim, and say, O the ingratitude of your obdurate heart!

“ You complain of the room you were in; but you know it was the only one I had to spare—it is plenty large enough for one person to sleep in. Your physician and many others requested you to remove to a more airy situation, but I believe the only reason why you would not comply with the request was, that you expected to have more to pay, and not to be so well attended; you might think nobody would keep a fire, as I did, in the kitchen, till eleven or twelve o'clock at night, to warm things for your comfort, or take you out of bed two or three times a day, by a blanket, as I and my apprentice did for a month; for my part I did so till it brought on a pain in my side, that prevented me from sleeping after I got to bed myself.

“ I remember during one of your stays at my house, you were sued in the justice's court by a poor man, for the board and lodging of the French woman, to the amount of about thirty dollars; but as

the man had no proof, and only depended on your word, he was non-suited, and a cost of forty two shillings thrown upon him. This highly gratified your unfeeling heart. I believe you had promised payment, as you said you would give the French woman the money to go and pay it with. I know it is customary in England, that when any gentleman keeps a lady, that he pays her board and lodging. You complain that you suffered with the cold, and that there ought to have been a fire in the parlour. But the fact is, that I expended so much money on your account, and received so little, that I could not go to any further expense, and if I had, I should not have got you away. A friend of yours that knew my situation, told you that you ought to buy a load of wood to burn in the parlour; your answer was that you should not stay above a week or two, and did not want to have the wood to remove; this certainly would have been a hard case for you to have left me a few sticks of wood.

"Now, sir, I think I have drawn a complete portrait of your character; yet to enter upon every minutia would be to give a history of your life, and to develop the fallacious mask of hypocrisy and deception, under which you have acted in your political as well as moral capacity of life. There may be many grammatical errors in this letter. To you I have no apologies to make; but I hope the candid and impartial public will not view them 'with a critic's eye.'

\*  
"WILLIAM CARVER."

"Thomas Paine, New-York, Dec. 2. 1806."

"He lived at Ryder's until 4th of May, 1809, about eleven months; during which time, except the last ten weeks, he got drunk regularly twice a day. As to his person, said Mr. Ryder, we had to wash him like a child, and with much the same coaxing; for he hated soap and water. He would have the best of meat cooked for him, eat a little of it and throw away the rest, that he might have the worth of the money which he paid for his board. He chose to perform all the functions of nature in bed.—When censured for it he would say, 'I pay you money enough, and you shall labour for it.'"

"He returned," says Mr. Cheetham, "to his farm at New-Rochelle, taking with him Madame Bonneville and her sons. On his arrival, he hired *Rachel Gidney*, a black woman, to cook for him. Rachel continued with him about two months. But as he never thought of paying for services, or for meat, or for any thing else, Rachel had to sue him for five dollars, the amount of her wages. She got out a warrant, on which he was apprehended, and Mr. Shute, one of his neighbours and political admirers, was his bail. The wages were finally obtained, but he thought it hard that he should be sued in a country for which he had done *so much*!"

It is now time to bring this article to a close. We will conclude it with a passage from a letter written by Dr. Manley, who

attended this extraordinary person in his last illness, in answer to inquiries from the author of the work before us. P. 144.

“ During the latter part of his life, though his conversation was equivocal, his conduct was singular. He would not be left alone night or day. He not only required to have some person with him, but he must see that he or she was there, and would not allow his curtain to be closed at any time ; and if, as it would sometimes unavoidably happen, he was left alone, he would scream and holla, until some person came to him. When relief from pain would admit, he seemed thoughtful and contemplative, his eyes being generally closed, and his hands folded upon his breast, although he never slept without the assistance of an anodyne. There was something remarkable in his conduct about this period, (which comprises about two weeks immediately preceding his death) particularly when we reflect, that Thomas Paine was author of the *Age of Reason*. He would call out during his paroxysms of distress, without intermission, ‘ O Lord help me, God help me, Jesus Christ help me, O Lord help me,’ &c. repeating the same expression without any the least variation, in a tone of voice that would alarm the house. It was this conduct which induced me to think that he had abandoned his former opinions ; and I was more inclined to that belief, when I understood from his nurse, (who is a very serious, and, I believe, pious woman,) that he would occasionally inquire, when he saw her engaged with a book, what she was reading, and being answered, and at the same time asked whether she should read aloud\*, he assented, and would appear to give particular attention.

“ I took occasion, during the night of the 5th and 6th of June, to test the strength of his opinions respecting revelation. I purposely made him a very late visit ; it was a time which seemed to sort exactly with my errand ; it was midnight ; he was in great distress, constantly exclaiming in the words above mentioned ; when, after a considerable preface, I addressed him in the following manner, the nurse being present.

“ ‘ Mr. Paine, your opinions, by a large portion of the community, have been treated with deference : you have never been in the habit of mixing in your conversation words of course : you have never indulged in the practice of profane swearing : you must be sensible that we are acquainted with your religious opinions as they are given to the world. What must we think of your present conduct ? Why do you call upon Jesus Christ to help you ? Do you believe that he can help you ? Do you believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ ? Come now, answer me honestly ; I want an answer as from the lips of a dying man, for I verily believe that you will not live twenty-four hours.’ I waited some time at the end of every question ; he did not answer, but ceased to exclaim in the above manner. Again I addressed him. ‘ Mr. Paine, you have not answered my questions ; will you answer

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\* The book she usually read was Mr. Hobart's *Companion for the Altar*.

them? Allow me to ask again—Do you believe? or let me qualify the question—do you wish to believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God? After a pause of some minutes, he answered, ‘I have no wish to believe on that subject.’ I then left him, and know not whether he afterwards spoke to any person, on any subject, though he lived, as I before observed, till the morning of the 8th.

“Such conduct, under usual circumstances, I conceive absolutely unaccountable, though with diffidence I would remark, not so much so in the present instance; for though the first necessary and general result of conviction be a sincere wish to atone for evil committed, yet it may be a question worthy of *able* consideration whether excessive pride of opinion, consummate vanity, and inordinate self-love, might not prevent or retard that otherwise natural consequence?”

On the 8th of June, 1809, about nine in the morning, died this memorable reprobate, aged seventy-two years and five months; who at the close of the 18th century had well nigh persuaded the common people of England to think, that all was wrong in that government and that religion which their forefathers had transmitted to them. He had the merit of discovering, that the best way of diffusing discontent and revolutionary fanaticism was by a broad display, in their naked and barbarous forms, of those infidel and anarchical elements, which sophistry had, till his time, refined above the perceptions of the vulgar. By stripping the mischief of the dress, though still covering it with the name and boast of philosophy, he rendered it as familiar to the capacity as it was flattering to the passions of the mob; and easy to be understood in proportion to the ascendancy of the baser qualities of the mind.

To the people he promulged, under the imposing title of the “Rights of Man” their dormant claim to an equal participation of luxury and power. And such has been the impression of that notable discovery, that we fear it will be long before the new methods of popular education, efficacious as they are said to be, will prepare the multitude to hear and understand, that power implies subordination, and that luxury owes its existence to the distinction of orders in society; that the riches they envy arise out of the inequality they deplore; that acquisition, enjoyment, dignity, and splendor, are the rewards which animate our hopes, and stimulate our exertions; but that to do this they must be stable and secure; that forced into activity by these incentives, we become gradually acquainted with the capabilities of our minds, and are led in a regular ascent by the hand of nature herself, to place, to character, to distinction, to privilege, in society; in a word, that taking new impressions as he proceeds, the human agent reaches by steps his just point of elevation in the orderly dispositions of cultivated existence.



With respect to the unhappy teacher of this fraudulent philosophy to which we have so much alluded, we hope we shall hear no more of him. For the sake of England and humanity, it is to be wished that his impostures and his memory may rot together. In speaking of such a man it was impossible to suppress indignation. Decency towards the dead may draw the curtain of oblivion over transient obliquities of conduct, but duty to the living demands the records of villainy to be honestly severe. The examples of the dead either for warning or imitation are the property of the living; and the veritable description of virtue and vice is among the genuine rights of man. We shall now leave him to his reckoning with those whom his false and presumptuous theories may have conducted to practical misery; and whom his "Rights of Man" and "Age of Reason" may have rendered proudly insensible to the concerns of the soul, and the perils which encompass our being.

To Mr. Cheetham we are certainly obliged for the completest developement we have yet seen of his character and principles. The work itself, as a specimen of biography, and in point of literary merit, ranks with middling performances. It has many defects in grammar and composition, and nothing to arrest its progress to oblivion but the magnitude of the wickedness which it records. No edition of it has yet issued from the English press, and we believe there are very few copies of it in this country. We have extracted the greatest part of what is interesting in the volume, and enough we hope to increase in our countrymen their abhorrence of revolutionary characters and projects. Mr. Cheetham would have acted more wisely and discreetly had he contented himself with the mere mention of the blasphemous verses of Thomas Paine. The introduction of them in his notes could answer no purpose but that of shocking even vulgar decency, and the commonest respect for religion. The turpitude of moral as well as natural deformity should not be exhibited without a little drapery to satisfy the demands of ordinary decorum. Although Mr. Cheetham, in page 89 of his work, confesses that with wit, *at whatever expence*, he is pleased; we hope to be excused by him if, with all deference, we observe, that to be pleased with profane wit is to prostitute our understandings, but to retail it to others is to sin against society as well as ourselves.

ART. XIV. *Psyche, with other Poems.* By the late Mrs. Henry Tighe. 4to. Longman and Co. 1811.

WHEN this publication was first announced to us, we had some fears lest the fair Psyche, who had won our affection under the seductive veil of secrecy and mystery, should lose somewhat of her influence in the glare of broad day-light. A powerful charm is attached to exclusive possession, and to the enviable distinction of being the *hundredth* particular friend, to whom *alone* a lady has betrayed the begged, borrowed, and stolen sweets of her manuscript book, or the contents of a volume, which modest genius has limited to private circulation. Aware of this, we were inclined to suspect that the furtive glance at Psyche, with which we had long ago been favoured, was indebted for half its charm to these factitious sources of attraction. The elegant little volume which we then saw, (a fit quarto for the library of the Queen of Elfland), took a place in our memory among the sports of fancy and the visions of youth; and we sat down to the perusal of this mere mortal quarto with the same querulous sensations with which we have opened our eyes upon the morning light that has shortened the luxury of a pleasing dream. As we advanced, however, we found the spell still potent, and its fascination irresistible. The rigour of our brow, as yet scarcely naturalized, insensibly relaxed; and we forgot "one moment, and no more," that our object was not to feel and admire, but to criticise. A seasonable visit from our bookseller, who interrupted a rapturous eulogium with a shake of the head, and an acute dissertation on the prevailing taste of the times, dispelled the delusion, and recalled us to a sense of our duty, or rather of our interest\*. Accordingly we resumed our censorial capacity, though with feelings, we confess, not unlike those with which a judge may be supposed to put on the black cap for a criminal whom he has previously determined to reprove, on the score of general good character.

We blame, then, or rather, we lament, the allegorical cast of the chief poem in this collection; and whilst we acknowledge, we cannot help also regretting the skill that has been bestowed on threading a mystical maze, and in counteracting the disadvantages of a stanza ill adapted to our language. Adorn it as you will, allegory, extended beyond certain limits, must pall upon

\* This is in fact a distinction without a difference, and we confess our error in having placed a disjunctive copulative between terms, which, as every enlightened reader must be aware, are, in modern acceptation, precisely synonymous.

the sense. It is becoming as an ornament, but cumbrous as a garb. Could the application of high, of even first-rate poetical talent have redeemed it from this imputation, it would have been redeemed.

“ In magic Spenser’s wildly-warbled song.”

But it is notorious that “ the Fairie Queene” collects dust upon our shelves, while poems, far inferior to it in all the graces of diction and embellishments of fancy, lie upon our tables and charm our leisure hours. Hurd may cry out against the blasphemy of earth-born critics, but this does not alter the fact. Again, we would undertake to quote from “ the Castle of Indolence” passages which rival some of the most brilliant in Thomson’s “ Seasons;” but in point of celebrity the poems bear no comparison. This may be attributed to various causes; but the one to which we are inclined to give the most weight is this, that the virtues and vices, however important in their proper department, are the most uninteresting of all the shadowy forms that people the regions of fiction. However aptly personified and exquisitely delineated, they never exalt our imaginations sufficiently to delude us into a momentary and dreaming belief of their existence, and consequently they never interest our feelings. Comprehensive as it is, they have no place in our poetical creed. We meet with them too frequently in their every-day clothes to be deceived by their masquerade dress, and therefore they neither exercise our ingenuity nor pique our curiosity. “ Notre cœur exige de la vérité dans la fiction même,” as an elegant critic has observed; and to enable us to sympathize with beings which the imagination has “ bodied forth,” we must yield a sort of credence to their existence, and fancy that at least they might be. In some instances this delusion is favoured by early prejudices, by fire-side superstitions, and by a sort of established character which belongs to certain fictitious personages; in others the success of the attempt rests wholly on the creative skill of the poet. And to none but true poets does this power of giving an air of credibility to the marvellous belong. It is vainly exercised, however, on such characters as fill the scene in the poem now under our consideration. At the same time we must confess that its author has not been wanting in the attempt to obviate this difficulty, and that from the great skill displayed in delineating the character of the two leading personages of the poem, as lively an interest is excited as could be under existing circumstances.

Psyche has often sat for her picture, but we have no doubt to which of her painters she herself would give the preference.

She has always been represented as beautiful, but never before had much character. She has always claimed our compassion as a sufferer, but never before our love and admiration as a bright pattern of all that is attractive and engaging in the female character.

Those, however, who put the finishing hand to a work of art, and exhibit it in its most perfect and polished state, must be content to set apart a share of the sum total of praise which it deserves for the original inventor. We cannot but own ourselves indebted to the mistake or the malice of Fotis, which sent Apuleius, in the shape of an ass, to hear the housekeeper of the thieves, the worthy prototype of Le Sage's *Dame Leonarde*, amuse the captive lady with this beautiful fable. She told her story well, and our author has not only borrowed the groundwork of her plot, but drawn from the same store some of the minuter graces of the composition. We may instance the description of the funereal nuptials of *Psyche*.

“ But now what lamentations rend the skies !  
 In amaracine wreaths the virgin choir  
 With Io Hymen mingle funeral cries :  
 Lost in the sorrows of the Lydian lyre  
 The breathing flute's melodious notes expire ;  
 In sad procession pass the mournful throng,  
 Extinguishing with tears the torches fire,  
 While the mute victim weeping crowds among,

By unknown fears oppress'd moves silently along.” P. 27.

The same scene is thus described in Apuleius :—“ *Jam feralium nuptiarum miserrimæ virgini choragium struitur : jam tœdæ lumen atræ fuliginis cinem arcessit : et sonus tibiæ Zygiaë mutatur in querulum Lydii modum : cantusque lætus Hymenæi lugubri finitur ululatu. Perfectio igitur feralis thalami cum summo mœrore solemnibus, toto prosequente populo, vivum producitur funus ; et lacrymosa Psyche comitatur non nuptias, sed exequias suas. Itur ad constitutum scopulum montis ardui, cujus in summo cacumine statutam puellam cuncti deserunt ; tœdasque nuptiales quibus præluxerant ibidem lacrymis suis extinctas relinquentes.*”—*Apule. Metamorph. lib. 4.* Great discrimination is manifested in the selection of those particular passages, and of those parts of the general plot, which are most worthy of imitation. La Fontaine has not been so happy in this respect. With the exception of some episodes, he has adhered more closely to the original, to the detriment, as we think, of his composition. The graces which this “ *Papillon du Parnasse*,” as he justly styled himself, has introduced, are truly of

## *Psyche, a Poem.*

the French order; and it must be allowed that he has succeeded in his attempt to give us an entertaining version of the tale. To interest was not his aim. At least, if it was, he was wide enough of the mark. Nor do we suppose that many, even of the most moveable, have found their sensibility awakened by the sufferings of our heroine in the drama, to the production of which Moliere and Pierre Corneille contributed their joint labours. It was a hasty composition, as might have been discovered from internal evidence, had other notices been wanting.

There is a poem on the subject written by Gloster Ridley. It deviates however from the original more boldly than any other, and forms a sort of fabulous representation of the fall of man and its consequences; but with too much of the air of parody to excite any appropriate train of feelings and sentiments.

Hitherto, we believe, that Psyche, in spite of all these attempts, and of all her own merits, has had by no means a general acquaintance: she is now introduced to the world in a manner which will secure her admission into the first company, and, unless we are much mistaken, will be a great favourite with our fair countrywomen, amongst whom she has so many counterparts in virtuous feeling and refined and correct sentiment, though fortunately none of them are tainted with that inquisitive propensity which was so fatal to her. She has secured their favouring voices by a well-deserved panegyric, which closes the song in which the triumphs of chastity are celebrated.

Even now the strain prophetically just,  
In unborn servants bids their queen rejoice,  
And in her British beauties firmly trust;  
Thrice happy fair! who still adore her voice,  
The blushing virgin's law, the modest matron's choice!

Not that we would insinuate that a well-turned compliment has the slightest influence upon their judgments. But we are treading on ticklish ground, and to secure our footing, will enter on the necessary, but rather dull task of giving an abstract of the plan and contents of the poem. To lighten our labour we will interpose amidst our prose some of the choicest flowers of poesy which we can cull in our way. By this means we shall also most effectually introduce our author to the notice of the public.

After a few prefatory stanzas, which are quite in character, and form a fit vestibule for this elegant structure, we are introduced to the way-worn and disconsolate Psyche in a scene which is thus described.

“Mid the thick covert of that woodland shade,  
A flowery bank there lay, undressed by art,

But of the mossy turf spontaneous made :  
Here the young branches shot their arms athwart,  
And wove the bower so thick in every part,  
That the fierce beams of Phœbus glancing strong  
Could never through the leaves their fury dart;  
But the sweet creeping shrubs that round it throng,  
Their loving fragrance mix, and trail their flowers along.

“ And close beside a little fountain played,  
Which through the trembling leaves all joyous shone,  
And with the cheerful birds sweet music made,  
Kissing the surface of each polished stone  
As it flowed past : ” —

Here she determines to repose ; and as it was quite impossible that the action of the piece should go on during her nap, the author judiciously takes this opportunity of giving us a little insight into her previous history. She was born of royal parents, and royal suitors had paid fruitless homage to her beauty, which was so great that she became the rival of Venus herself, and the object of a mistaken worship which ought to have been offered at the shrine of that goddess. The veriest tiro in mythological history must know that Venus was not the lady to put up with such an affront as this. Other authors indeed add something about an ancient grudge which had set her against the family ; but this is bad taste, because it was totally unnecessary. Here was reason enough to make a goddess stir up sixty cantos of mischief instead of six ; and our author was perfectly right in being contented with it. The fact was enough for the goddess, who did not stop to inquire into the intention. If she had, she would have found that Psyche, so far from promoting this impious secession, was not even elated by it :

“ For she was timid as the wintry flower,  
That, whiter than the snow it blooms among,  
Droops its fair head submissive to the power  
Of every angry blast that sweeps along,  
Sparing the lovely trembler, while the strong  
Majestic tenants of the leafless wood  
It levels low. But, ah ! the pitying song  
Must tell how, than the tempest's self more rude,  
Fierce wrath and cruel hate their suppliant prey pursued.”

Her modesty however, as it probably heightened her beauty, was not likely to disarm the wrath of Venus, who sent for her son, and charged him with the execution of her scheme of vengeance. Like a dutiful child, he immediately undertook the task, and repaired to the Island of Pleasure, where he was to furnish himself with the means of its accomplishment. This

island was watered by two streams very opposite in their nature. In the one

“ ——— deadly anguish pours unmixed his store  
Of all the ills which sting the human breast,  
The hopeless tears which past delights deplore,  
Heart-gnawing jealousy which knows no rest,  
And self-upbraiding shame, by stern remorse opprest.”

“ Oh, how unlike the pure transparent stream,  
Which near it bubbles o’er its golden sands!  
The impeding stones with pleasant music seem  
Its progress to detain from other lands;  
And all its banks, inwreathed with flowery bands,  
Ambrosial fragrance shed in grateful dew;  
There young Desire enchanted ever stands,  
Breathing delight and fragrance ever new,  
And bathed in constant joys of fond affection true.”

From these he filled severally two amber vases, and thus provided sought the royal chamber of the maid, whom he found fast asleep. These vases might be deemed rather an awkward incumbrance to the flying god, especially as he had his bow and arrows to carry besides; but our author has disposed of them so ingeniously, that they form a becoming appendage to his figure, and afford a happy hint for next year’s exhibition.

“ His quiver, sparkling bright with gems and gold,  
From his fair plumed shoulder graceful hung,  
And from its top in brilliant chords rolled  
Each little vase resplendently was slung:  
Still as he flew, around him sportive clung  
His frolic train of winged Zephyrs light,  
Wafting the fragrance which his tresses flung:  
While odours dropped from every ringlet bright,  
And from his blue eyes beamed ineffable delight.” P. 21.

Psyche had an unfortunate trick of sleeping with her mouth open, against which we take this opportunity of cautioning our fair readers, and Cupid, who seems from this to have been educated at a public school, adroitly emptied the vase of sorrow into it. Not content with this, he wounded her with a dart, but incautiously grazed his own neck with the same weapon; and after pouring the drops of joy upon her hair, departed, Psyche’s spirits were soon affected by the draught she had swallowed, and not having learned the modern secret of counteracting it with a glass of laudanum, she could not conceal this from her parents. They consulted the oracle on the subject, and were overwhelmed with grief when the following answer was delivered.





But what enjoyments can compensate for days of protracted solitude? To what purpose was she supplied with

“ All that can the female heart delight  
Of fair attire,”

With nobody to see how well it became her? Ennui was the sure consequence of such a system, and at length affected her so visibly, that Cupid reluctantly gave her a short leave of absence, for the purpose of visiting her parents, accompanied with a warning against the bad advice to which he knew she would be exposed. Accordingly she found herself at home the next morning, where, of course, she was a most welcome visitor. Like other celebrated beauties, she had the usual allotment of two envious sisters, who, by way of compassing her ruin, filled her mind with doubts and suspicions, and persuaded her to unravel the mystery, which concealed the pretended sorcerer, to whom she was united.

To this end they supplied her with a lamp, by which she was enabled to view him in his sleep.

“ Oh, daring Muse! wilt thou indeed essay  
To paint the wonders which that lamp could shew?  
And canst thou hope in living words to say  
The dazzling glories of that heavenly view?  
Ah! well I ween, that if with pencil true  
That splendid vision could be well exprest,  
The fearful awe imprudent Psyche knew  
Would seize with rapture every wondering breast,  
When Love's all potent charms divinely stood confest.

“ All imperceptible to human touch,  
His wings display celestial essence light,  
The clear effulgence of the blaze is such,  
The brilliant plumage shines so heavenly bright,  
That mortal eyes turn dazzled from the sight;  
A youth he seems in manhood's freshest years;  
Round his fair neck, as clinging with delight,  
Each golden curl resplendently appears,  
Or shades his darker brow, which grace majestic wears.

“ Or o'er his guileless front the ringlets bright  
Their rays of sunny lustre seem to throw,  
That front than polished ivory more white!  
His blooming cheeks with deeper blushes glow  
Than roses scattered o'er a bed of snow;  
While on his lips, distilled in balmy dews,  
(Those lips divine that even in silence know  
The heart to touch) persuasion to infuse  
Still hangs a rosy charm that never vainly sues.” P. 56, 57.

Lost in admiration, she let fall the lamp, and thus dispelled his sleep, and revealed her breach of his injunctions. In matrimonial squabbles a fit is an approved recipe in extreme cases; and poor Psyche having nothing to say in her own behalf, very judiciously swooned away; but when she came to herself,

“The terrors of her fate stand all confest,  
In vain she casts around her timid glance,  
The rudely frowning scenes her former joys enhance.

“No traces of those joys, alas, remain!  
A desert solitude alone appears.  
No verdant shade relieves the sandy plain,  
The wide spread waste no gentle fountain cheers,  
One barren face the dreary prospect wears;  
Nought through the vast horizon meets her eye  
To calm the dismal tumult of her fears,  
No trace of human habitation nigh,  
A sandy wild beneath, above a threatening sky.”

In answer to a very tender and affecting address, Love charged her to endeavour to appease the wrath of Venus, as the only means of their being reunited. In obedience to this injunction she sought the temple of the goddess, and there learned that she must never hope for pardon till she could offer to her, in the temple of happiness, an urn filled from the fountain of beauty. As she did not happen to know the way to the temple, or the fountain in question, this intelligence reduced her to despair. She was already faint with toil and hunger, but Love very opportunely sent her a turtle. Not such an one as was sent to Paris to console Lord L. under his diplomatic disappointments; or to the Texel, to fortify Sir W. C. against the terrors of a siege; and yet a turtle of no mean gifts, for it not only supplied her with food, but flew before as she travelled onward, like the green bird of Thalaba, the solace of her toils, and the guide of her way. It was the turtle-dove of Innocence. One difficulty was thus removed, but another of no less magnitude remained. Had our heroine's road happened to lie through a safe and peaceable country like Ireland\*, she might have felt perfectly at ease; but this not being the case, she had some unpleasant apprehensions about travelling alone. From these and other cares she had found a short repose in the bower where we first beheld her; but her fears return with double force when she is

\* See the explanatory note to one of the Irish Melodies, which begins with these words, “Rich and rare were the gems she wore.”

awakened by the near approach of an armed knight. She is gradually, however, reassured by his courteous and respectful behaviour, and accepts the offer of his services as her champion and attendant. It happened fortunately that he was bound on the same quest with herself.

“ Divinely eloquent, persuasion ran  
 The herald of his words ere they depart  
 His lips, which well might confidence impart,  
 As he revealed how he himself was bound  
 By solemn vow, that neither force nor art  
 His helmet should unloose, till he had found  
 The bower of happiness, that long-sought fairy ground.”

But the knight is mounted, and the lady on foot, which gives rise to a difficulty. They might indeed surmount it by riding double, a practice very frequent among the ladies of romance; but it must be allowed that they form a much more picturesque group by the help of a lion, the emblem of passion, which suffers the knight to bestride his back, and guide him with a golden chain, leaving his charger for the lady's use. The party is completed by Constance, the knight's page, who is the very reverse of Gilpin Horner in every thing excepting usefulness to his master.

We have now got out of all the beaten tracks; as far, that is, as the former historians of *Psyche* are concerned: and in spite of the objections which we have taken against the moral personages that occupy the scene during the remainder of the poem, we are much more willing to follow her into their haunts, than upon the whimsical errands on which she was sent by Apuleius and his closer imitators. It is to this part of the composition only that the credit of invention belongs; and even here the traces of originality are too sparing to give our author any claim to a high rank in this higher department of poesy. We will not however take off the freshness from what the poem has of novelty, by pursuing our abstract any farther, nor blunt the edge of curiosity by hinting at its catastrophe. Had it been longer before the public, we should have had less delicacy on this head.

The extracts we have already given will, we trust, be a sufficient incentive to our readers to follow the fair *Psyche* through all her wanderings; and we can venture to assure them, that they will find it a pleasurable task. Having given our verdict against the plan of the poem, we are happy in being authorized to qualify it by the remark, that it is, in great measure, free from many of the faults peculiarly incident to allegorical compositions.

There is less of magnifying extravagance, and more of simplicity, moderation and arrangement, than we have generally met with in productions of this cast. The same may be said of the characteristic defects of the Spenser stanza, as it is sometimes denominated; which, by its marked boundaries and triple rhymes, holds out a temptation to tautology and circumlocution. We are aware, however, that exceptions may be found in both instances. In the conflict with ambition, in the Island of Indifference, the cave of jealousy, and the castle of suspicion, there is a luxuriance that would admit of the pruning-knife, an amplification which might have been seasonably curtailed. There are examples too of weakness produced by tautology. We find in one stanza,

“ Yet nought of insolence or haughty pride  
Found ever in her gentle breast a place;” P. 12.

and in the next,

“ To her whose guiltless breast ne'er felt elation proud.” P. 13.

And the author seems to have been infected by the languor that is described in the following lines :

“ But melancholy poisons all her joys,  
And secret sorrows all her hopes depress,  
Consuming languor every bliss destroys,  
And sad she droops repining, comfortless.” P. 38.

These, however, are rare specimens, and by no means fair samples of the general style, which, though not characterized by energy and vivacity, is seldom weak, heavy, or insipid.

Our author's fort is the expression of tender and exalted sentiment; sentiment neither of the sickly and squeamish cast, which has attached disgust to, nor of the spurious or vitiated kind, which has awakened a well-grounded jealousy of the very name. This volume is not one of those which will be used to pioneer to seduction, and to undermine the outworks of female purity. Withered be the hand that shall add another to the list which already disgraces our catalogues! Anathemas are not our favourite weapons, but it would be mere hypocrisy to clothe in gentle terms the indignation excited in us by this species of moral incendiary. Let us find him where he will, he shall know that our motto is not an empty boast, but a pledge which we shall gladly redeem to the uttermost on the head of so dangerous a delinquent.

The vein of sentiment which runs through the poem under our consideration is far superior to that which pervades the ge-

nerality of those compositions which may be termed romantic. It is not only elevated and refined, but pure and correct; chastened by good sense, and directed by a constant reference to the realities of life. Many an useful lesson may here be learnt in an art too little studied, the art of conjugal love. The following stanzas convey, with much feeling and truth, the same sound doctrine which Miss Edgeworth has inculcated so skilfully in the story of the modern *Griselda*.

“The tears capricious beauty loves to shed,  
The pouting lip, the sullen silent tongue,  
May wake the impassioned lovers tender dread,  
And touch the spring that clasps his soul so strong;  
But, ah! beware, the gentle power too long  
Will not endure the frown of angry strife;  
He shuns contention, and the gloomy throng  
Who blast the joys of calm domestic life,  
And flies when discord shakes her brand with quarrels rife.

“Oh! he will tell you that these quarrels bring  
The ruin, not renewal of his flame:  
If oft repeated, lo! on rapid wing  
He flies to hide his fair but tender frame;  
From violence, reproach, or peevish blame  
Irrevocably flies Lament in vain!  
Indifference comes the abandoned heart to claim,  
Asserts for ever her repulsive reign,  
Close followed by disgust and all her chilling train.” P. 182.

A profitable lesson too is conveyed, though by a slight hint, in these lines:

“Oh! Reconciling moment! charm most dear!  
What feeling heart thy pleasures would repeat,  
Or wish thy dearly purchased bliss, however sweet.” P. 140.

We are glad to meet with an old thought looking well in a new dress, as in the stanza that follows:

“Oh! who the exquisite delight can tell,  
The joy which mutual confidence imparts!  
Or who can paint the charm unspeakable  
Which links in tender bands two faithful hearts?  
In vain assailed by fortune’s envious darts,  
Their mitigated woes are sweetly shared,  
And doubled joy reluctantly departs:  
Let but the sympathising heart be spared,  
What sorrow seems not light, what peril is not dared?” P. 115.

Many passages of exquisite feeling crowd upon our recollection.

tion, but we will pass over the minuter instances in favour of one extract, of the length of which few, we think, will complain.

“ When pleasure sparkles in the cup of youth,  
And the gay hours on downy wing advance,  
Oh ! then 'tis sweet to hear the lip of truth  
Breathe the soft vows of love, sweet to entrance  
The raptured soul by intermingling glance  
Of mutual bliss ; sweet amid roseate bowers,  
Led by the hand of Love, to weave the dance,  
Or unmolested crop life's fairy flowers,  
Or bask in joy's bright sun through calm unclouded hours.

“ Yet they who light of heart in May-day pride  
Meet love with smiles, and gaily amorous song,  
(Though he their softest pleasures may provide,  
Even then when pleasures in full concert throng.)  
They cannot know with what enchantment strong  
He steals upon the tender suffering soul,  
What gently soothing charms to him belong,  
How melting sorrow owns his soft controul,  
Subsiding passions hushed in milder waves to roll.

“ When vexed by cares and harassed by distress,  
The storms of fortune chill thy soul with dread,  
Let Love, consoling Love ! still sweetly bless,  
And his assuasive balm benignly shed :  
His downy plumage o'er thy pillow spread  
Shall lull thy weeping sorrows to repose ;  
To Love the tender heart hath ever fled,  
As on its mother's breast the infant throws  
Its sobbing face, and there in sleep forgets its woes.

“ Oh ! fondly cherish then the lovely plant,  
Which lenient Heaven hath given thy pains to ease ;  
Its lustre shall thy summer hours enchant,  
And load with fragrance every prosperous breeze ;  
And when rude winter shall thy roses seize,  
When nought through all thy bowers but thorns remain,  
This still with undeciduous charms shall please,  
Screen from the blast and shelter from the rain,  
And still with verdure cheer the desolated plain.

“ Through the hard season Love with plaintive note  
Like the kind red-breast tenderly shall sing,  
Which swells mid dreary snows its tuneful throat,  
Brushing the cold dews from its shivering wing,  
With cheerful promise of returning spring  
To the mute tenants of the leafless grove.” P. 179.

One more, and we have done with quotations of this description.

“ Oh ! have you never known the silent charm  
 That undisturbed retirement yields the soul,  
 Where no intruder might your peace alarm,  
 And tenderness hath wept without control,  
 While melting fondness o'er the bosom stole ?  
 Did fancy never, in some lonely grove,  
 Abridge the hours which must in absence roll ?  
 Those pensive pleasures did you never prove,  
 Oh, you have never loved ! you know not what is love !

“ They do not love, who can to these prefer  
 The tumult of the gay, or folly's roar ;  
 The Muse they know not ; nor delight in her  
 Who can the troubled soul to rest restore,  
 Calm contemplation : Yes, I must deplore  
 Their joyless state, even more than his who mourns  
 His love for ever lost ; delight no more  
 Unto his widowed heart indeed returns,  
 Yet, while he weeps, his soul their cold indifference spurns.

“ But if soft hope illumines fancy's dream,  
 Assuring him of love and constancy,  
 How exquisite do then the moments seem,  
 When he may hide himself from every eye,  
 And cherish the dear thought in secrecy !  
 While sweet remembrance sooths his thrilling heart,  
 And brings once more past hours of kindness nigh,  
 Recals the look of love when forced to part,  
 And turns to drops of joy the tears that sadly start.” P. 94.

We need scarcely point out to our readers the genuine pathos which forms the leading charm of these extracts, and forestals the tardy process of critical approbation by an irresistible appeal to the heart. Not that this constitutes their whole merit. The diction and versification are appropriate vehicles of these delicate and attractive traits of a refined sensibility. The latter has rather the easy, equable, and majestic flow of one of our southern rivers, than the bold, broken, and vehement stream of a northern torrent ; and consequently its effect is rather gradual than instantaneous, it does not command, but wins our admiration. The former is the approved language of the court of Apollo, neither debased by the vulgarisms of the simple school, nor tricked out in the false ornaments of pedantry. It has a natural elegance, a sustained dignity, and occasionally an uncommon degree of richness. Nothing but its general correctness would lead us to notice such oversights as the following.

“ And oft with seeming piety they *blame*  
 The worship, which they justly impious call:  
 And oft, lest evil should their sire befall,  
 Besought him.” &c. P. 13.

“ Yet well this little page his lord had served,  
His youthful arm had many a foe repelled,  
His watchful eye from many a snare preserved,  
Nor ever from his steps in any danger swerved.” P. 79.

The expression “timid fears,” and the following line,

“ And thus *divinely* spoke the *heaven-inspired* tongue,” P. 25.

belong to a head of accusation, which we have noticed before. “Lucid myrtles” and “grace-attempered majesty” rather alarmed us, as savoring a little of Della Cruscan taste; but we are happy to say that they have few companions, if any, to keep them in countenance: and that the splendour of Psyche’s mantle is the effect not of Bristol stones, but of real brilliants.

The poet, whilst he

“ Spernit humum fugiente pennâ,”

and soars above the heads of the humble dealers in prose, is apt at times, as living examples might prove, to get into the clouds, and thus to give us some trouble in tracing his course. We have little complaint of this kind to make in the present instance, the style being very clear and intelligible. It requires some skill however to put the “current, flood, cup, draught, stream, and bowl” of the following stanza in their proper places, and make an accurate picture of them.

“ But not to mortals is it e’er allowed  
To drink unmingled of that current bright;  
Scarce can they taste the pleasurable flood,  
Defiled by angry Fortune’s envious spite,  
Who from the cup of amorous delight  
Dashes the sparkling draught of brilliant joy,  
Till, with dull sorrow’s stream despoiled quite,  
No more it cheers the soul or charms the eye,  
But ’mid the poisoned bowl distrust and anguish lie.” P. 20.

We are not aware of any authority for this sense of the word “despoiled.” The thought is not very clearly conveyed in these lines:

“ For sweet refreshment all inviting seems  
To taste celestial food, and pure ambrosial streams.” P. 33.

There is a confusion too in the following metaphor, from the awkward introduction of the *tainted* gale, which is quite out of place in a sea-piece.

“ Vain schemer, think not to prolong thy joy!  
But cherish while it lasts the heavenly boon;



Expand thy sails! thy little bark shall fly  
 With the full tide of pleasure! though it soon  
 May feel the influence of the changeful moon,  
 It yet is thine! then let not doubts obscure  
 With cloudy vapours veil thy brilliant noon,  
 Nor let suspicion's tainted breath impure

Poison the favoring gale which speeds thy course secure!" P. 46.

This is one instance of the bad effect of being forced to eke out a thought to the measure of this stanza. The simile in p. 193, which begins with, "Thus o'er the oily surface softly slides," is wanting in perspicuity. But these instances are very rare, considering the length of the poem, the stream of which, to recur to our former allusions, though it frequently rises above its ordinary level, and bears us forward on its buoyant and elevated tide, scarcely ever sinks below it, and leaves us stranded in the shallows. Some poems of considerable merit, remind us of those portraits, in which the master-painter has finished only the features, and left the drapery to one of his scholars. But here the whole is evidently touched by the same pencil. Majesty gives its charm to one part, and sweetness, and that more frequently, to another; but the same delicate grace embellishes all. The little connecting links, which cannot make, but can effectually mar, a fine poem, are well executed; not being so studiously elaborated as to give them a misplaced consequence, yet sufficiently finished to satisfy a scrutinizing eye. The time of day, for instance, is thus marked.

"But when meek eve hung out her dewy star  
 And gently veiled with gradual hand the sky." P. 33.

"Now from his crystal urn, with chilling hand,  
 Vesper had sprinkled all the earth with dew,  
 A misty veil obscured the neighbouring land,  
 And shut the fading landscape from their view." P. 84.

But we have dealt too liberally in quotations to allow of our multiplying instances, or doing justice in this respect to our author's descriptive talents, which are of the higher order. The descriptions of scenery are circumstantial enough to give a specific character to each picture, without being tediously minute; and some of the portraits are sketched with a masterly hand. We must be content with one or two examples in each kind. The dwelling of retirement, and the palace of ambition, may illustrate happily the appropriate character of the scenery.

"Mid the thick forest was a lonely dell,  
 Where foot of man was seldom known to tread,  
 The sloping hills all round in graceful swell  
 The little green with woods environed;

Hither the dove their passive course had led :  
Here the thin smoke, blue rising mid the trees,  
Where broad and brown the deepest umbrage spread,  
Spoke the abode of safe retired ease,  
And Psyche gladly there her dove descending sees." P. 92.

\* \* \* \* \*

" High o'er the spacious plain a mountain rose,  
A stately castle on its summit stood :  
Huge craggy cliffs behind their strength oppose  
To the rough surges of the dashing flood ;  
The rocky shores a boldly rising wood  
On either side conceals ; bright shine the towers,  
And seem to smile upon the billows rude.  
In front the eye, with comprehensive powers,  
Sees wide extended plains enriched with splendid bowers.

" Hither they bore the sad reluctant fair,  
Who mounts with dizzy eye the awful steep ;  
*The blazing structure seems high poised in air,*  
*And its light pillars tremble o'er the deep."* P. 103.

The effect produced on Psyche's guardian dove by an approach even to the " bower of loose delight," is beautifully described.

" Feebly it seemed on labouring wing to fly,  
Till dazzled by the sudden glare around,  
In painful trance it closed its dizzy eye,  
And had it not fair Psyche's bosom found,  
Its drooping pinion soon had touched the unhallowed ground."  
P. 85.

We will add the portraits of patience and jealousy, and a slight sketch of Psyche herself, at the moment of reconciliation to her attendant knight, of whose fidelity she had entertained some groundless suspicions.

" More sweet than health's fresh bloom the wan hue seemed  
Which sat upon her pallid cheek ; her eye,  
Her placid eye, with dove-like softness beamed ;  
Her head unshielded from the pitiless sky,  
Loose to the rude wild blast her tresses fly,  
Bare were her feet which prest the shelly shore  
With firm unshrinking step ; while smilingly  
She eyes the dashing billows as they roar,  
And braves the boisterous storms so oft endured before." P. 173.

\* \* \* \* \*

" On the damp ground he sits in sullen woe,  
But wildly rolls around his frenzied eye,  
And gnaws his withered lips, which still o'erflow

With bitter gall ; in foul disorder lie  
 His black and matted locks ; anxiety  
 Sits on his wrinkled brow and sallow cheek ;  
 The wasted form, the deep-drawn, frequent sigh,  
 Some slow consuming malady bespeak,  
 But medicinal skill the cause in vain shall seek." P. 132.

"The smiles of joy which swell her glowing cheek,  
 And o'er her parting lips divinely play,  
 Returning pleasure eloquently speak,  
 Forgetful of the tears which lingering stay,  
 (Like sparkling dew-drops in a sunny day)  
 Unheeded tenants of rejoicing eyes." P. 140.

We have trespassed too long on the indulgence of our readers to venture upon a minute discussion of the merits of the minor poems, which, with one or two exceptions, are not unworthy of following in the train of *Psyche*, though she,

" Still the fairest queen,  
 Like Dian, mid her circling nymphs appear."

They derive their chief interest from a soft and pleasing tinge of melancholy which pervades them all ; the result, as it seems, of a deep and feeling conviction of the senseless and fruitless vanity of what is generally, but falsely, called a life of pleasure. It is the conviction too of experience, and the young, and the fair, will do well to profit by it, instead of risking their own happiness in the dangerous trial.—Experience is an article that may be borrowed with safety, and is often far too dearly bought. The sonnets have more of the proper qualities of that species of composition than most of those with which the press has teemed of late. The lines "Written at the Commencement of Spring," and "The Lily," are perhaps as pleasing as any of the smaller poems. There is a delicacy and exquisite pathos throughout the following extracts, which, as the last effusions of a mind conscious that it would shortly quit this world of sorrows, are perfectly irresistible :

"Oh, plume again thy jetty wing,  
 Sweet Blackbird, charm thy listening lover !  
 For thus, even thus, I heard thee sing,  
 When hopes could smile that now are over.

"And thou, dear Red-breast, let me hear,  
 Exchanged once more thy wintry measure ;  
 Thy notes proclaim the spring-tide near,  
 As they were wont in hours of pleasure.

- “ The lark shall mount the sapphire skies  
And wake the grateful song of gladness,  
One general peal from earth shall rise,  
And man alone shall droop in sadness.
- “ ’Twas here by peace and friendship blest,  
I paid to Spring my yearly duty,  
When last she decked her fragrant breast  
In all the glowing pride of beauty.
- “ ’Twas here the cordial look of love  
From every eye benignly flowing,  
Bade the kind hours in union move,  
Each lip the ready smile bestowing.
- “ But where the blooming Cherub-Boy,  
Who hailed with us the pleasant season?  
Whose smile recalled each childish joy,  
That sadder years resigned to Reason.
- “ Those bright, those laughing eyes, where Love  
And innocence are seen embracing ;  
Those fairy-hands, that graceful move  
Their fancy-formed circles tracing.
- “ Oh, haste as thou wast wont to do ;  
We’ll mount yon shrubby steep together :  
Thy care the first wood-flowers shall shew,  
Thyself all-blooming as the weather.
- “ Haste, sweetest Babe, beloved of all !  
Our cheerful hours without thee languish :  
Ah ! hush ! . . . he hears no more thy call !  
Ah ! hush ! . . . nor wake a parent’s anguish !
- “ That lip of roses glows no more ;  
That beaming glance in night is clouded ;  
Those bland endearments all are o’er,  
In death’s dark pall for ever shrowded.
- “ No, Angel-sweetness ! not for ever,  
Though Heaven from us thy charms hath hidden,  
We joy for thee, though forced to sever,  
O favoured guest, thus early bidden !
- “ Even o’er thy dying couch, sweet Boy !  
A heavenly messenger presided :  
He beckon’d thee to seats of joy,  
To fields of endless rapture guided.
- “ No, not for thee this bitter tear,  
It falls for those yet doomed to sorrow ;  
Who feel the load of life severe,  
Who mourn the past, nor hope the morrow.

" It falls for those who, left behind,  
Must fill their woes allotted measure ;  
Who muse in hopes to death consigned  
On visions of departed pleasure.

" For those who through life's dreary night  
Full many a watchful hour shall number,  
And sigh for long delaying light,  
Or envy those who early slumber."

P. 252, &amp;c.

\* \* \* \* \*

" Sweet tear of hope, delicious tear !  
The sun, the shower indeed shall come ;  
The promised verdant shoot appear,  
And nature bid her blossoms bloom.

" And thou, O virgin Queen of Spring !  
Shalt, from thy dark and lowly bed,  
Bursting thy green sheath's silver string,  
Unveil thy charms, and perfume shed ;

" Unfold thy robes of purest white,  
Unsullied from their darksome grave,  
And thy soft petals silvery light  
In the mild breeze unfettered wave.

" So Faith shall seek the lowly dust  
Where humble Sorrow loves to lie,  
And bid her thus her hopes entrust,  
And watch with patient, cheerful eye :

" And bear the long, cold, wintry night,  
And bear her own degraded doom,  
And wait till Heaven's reviving light,  
Eternal Spring ! shall burst the gloom."

P. 304.

\* \* \* \* \*

" Odours of Spring, my sense ye charm  
With fragrance premature :  
And, mid these days of dark alarm,  
Almost to hope allure.  
Methinks with purpose soft ye come  
To tell of brighter hours,  
Of May's blue skies, abundant bloom,  
The sunny gales and showers.

" Alas ! for me shall May in vain  
The powers of life restore ;  
These eyes that weep and watch in pain  
Shall see her charms no more.

No, no, this anguish cannot last!  
Beloved friends, adieu!  
The bitterness of death were past,  
Could I resign but you.

“ But oh! in every mortal pang  
That rends my soul from life,  
That soul, which seems on you to hang  
Through each convulsive strife,  
Even now, with agonizing grasp  
Of terror and regret,  
To all in life its love would clasp  
Clings close and closer yet.

“ Yet why, immortal, vital spark!  
Thus mortally opprest?  
Look up, my soul, through prospects dark,  
And bid thy terrors rest:

“ Forget, forego thy earthly part,  
Thine heavenly being trust :—  
Ah, vain attempt! my coward heart  
Still shuddering clings to dust.

“ Oh ye! who sooth the pangs of death  
With love’s own patient care,  
Still, still retain this fleeting breath,  
Still pour the fervent prayer :—  
And ye, whose smile must greet my eye  
No more, nor voice my ear.  
Who breathe for me the tender sigh,  
And shed the pitying tear,

“ Whose kindness (though far far removed)  
My grateful thoughts perceive,  
Pride of my life, esteemed, beloved,  
My last sad claim receive!  
Oh! do not quite your friend forget,  
Forget alone her faults;  
And speak of her with fond regret  
Who asks your lingering thoughts.”

P. 307.

On the whole, there is a characteristic delicacy, a “trew feminitée,” about this publication, which is exceedingly attractive: Far be it from us to check the aspiring spirit of those ladies who prefer the din of arms to

“ All the lore of love, and goodly womanhead,”

and seek a blood-stained wreath in celebrating the fields of martial glory. On the contrary, we are willing to prove how friendly we are to such undertakings, by suggesting to the writers of a re-

mance, which is at present deservedly popular, the addition of a sixth volume, consisting of a list of the killed, wounded, and prisoners. It would not only increase the price of her book, but give it an additional interest from the air of probability which it would impart. But we must reserve to ourselves the privilege, as a matter of private taste, of having a particular fancy for Psyche, and her fair historian, and deeming the exhibition of their suffering fortitude more honourable, because more appropriate to their sex, than that of the prowess and doughty deeds of a Britomartis, or a Bradamante. A very interesting portrait of Mrs. Tighe is prefixed to this volume. Expressive as it appears to be of the mind which pervades every part of her poetry, we are credibly informed that it falls short of the beauty and sentiment which illuminated the countenance of the fair original. Would that we might, without a sigh of unavailing sorrow, congratulate the public on the reversal of the following decree!

“Fond dreamer! meditate thine idle song,  
 But let thine idle song remain unknown:  
 The verse which cheers thy solitudes prolong;  
 What, though it charm no moments but thine own,  
 Though thy loved Psyche smile for thee alone,  
 Still shall it yield thee pleasure, if not fame,  
 And when, escaped from tumult, thou has flown  
 To thy dear silent hearth's enlivening flame,  
 There shall the tranquil muse her happy votary claim.”

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ART. XV.—1. *Reply to Mr. Bosanquet's Practical Observations on the Report of the Bullion Committee.* By David Ricardo. Murray, 1811.—2. *A Plain Statement of the Bullion Question, in a Letter to a Friend.* By Davies Giddy, Esq. M. P. Stockdale, 1811.

FROM the “aërie height” of our six pair of stairs window, we have just descried, appearing with slow and heavy course above the literary horizon, a new flight of pamphlets on this momentous subject. By the rate at which the body appeared to us to move, we think it probable that its collective mass will be well settled upon this metropolis about the time when our next number will fall due. And as we suspect that many of them contain reports of speeches made in the assembly of wise men, we shall defer all further serious consideration of the subject, till we have had the advantage of perusing them.

We shall therefore confine this article within very contracted limits, and shall first intreat our reader's indulgence briefly to premise an observation or two relating to ourselves. For we really cannot help deeming it both right and civil to return our humble and hearty thanks to certain ingenious persons, who, we doubt not with the kindest intentions towards us, and with a particular view to extol our independence, have ascribed to the unworthy lucubrations on the Bullion Report in our former number the very unmerited honour of much higher authority than we fear they can lay any claim to. We beg to assure them, that whenever the Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer or the Secretary of the Treasury find leisure or inclination to send us an article for insertion, we will give fair public notice of the honour to our readers, in order that they may form their judgments, either with due deference to the high authority, or with due caution with respect to the presumed party-statement. And we further promise to the said ingenious persons, in reference to another of their speculations, that whenever the —, or the — Reviews, will have the goodness to decline inserting such articles as the said Essay on the Bullion Report, and that the articles afterwards come into our hands as the "*pis aller*," we will return our public thanks to the said Reviews in our "Notice to Correspondents."

We are also requested by certain private gentlemen, whom the said ingenious persons have obligingly designated as the managers, or editors of our work, to state in their names, that they are perfectly satisfied with the more efficient, but less laborious offices of our well wishers, and occasional contributors.

We are really highly flattered at having excited all this attention thus early in our career; and as the best return we can make, shall (with one observation) dismiss, we trust for ever, the hateful subject of *self*; which nothing but the consciousness of having been born into a world pretty well filled with Reviews, and consequently of having many rivals, though we trust no enemies, could have induced us at all to touch upon. The single observation is this.—On the subject of our plan and objects, we refer all impartial readers to the first article of our first number, and to the pledge there implied. We desire no favour nor any encouragement, except in as far as we redeem that pledge, and do our best honestly to promote those objects.

To proceed to the subject before us.

Although the decision of the House of Commons has, practically speaking, set the question raised by the Bullion Report in some degree at rest; yet we plainly perceive that the minds of many impartial men are by no means made up upon the sub-



ject. Nor is this at all surprizing. It is one of the most intricate perhaps that ever assumed an equal degree of interest, for the importance of its practical consequences.

One thing appears to us very plain;—that those who have argued it upon the old and approved principles of political œconomy, have decidedly failed in making out their case; and this affords ground for believing that there are some hidden properties still lurking about the question, which the present state of commercial affairs, (so different from any ever contemplated by the political œconomists whose works we are now apt to consider as infallible,) is destined to bring to light.

Political œconomy is a set of general principles drawn from the observation of the mode in which human affairs have been in the habit of operating; and endeavouring to prove from this view of past experience how they will operate in future. From the nature of the case, therefore, the rules must fail in their application to a state of affairs widely different from any that has ever been contemplated by the framers of those rules. But it will be very difficult to impress the conviction that they have failed upon the minds of those who are in the habit of regarding the theorems, upon which they argue, as immutable and almost mathematical truths.

This will perhaps account for the sameness, we had almost said tediousness, with which the identical arguments are repeated over and over again, in the pamphlets published by those who espouse the opinions of the Bullion Report. The writers are all convinced that the truth of their argument lies in a nutshell; and that the only reason why it has not been universally received is, that the happy mode of developing it has not yet been discovered. Each man flatters himself that his talent for explanation is to bring about this important object, and that by the allegorical symbol of sealed bags of corn, or other ingenious device, conviction is to flash at once upon the mind of the British public.

That public, however, appears most obstinately to resist these repeated attacks upon its understanding, and seems resolved not to be wearied out by the pertinacity with which their authors return to the charge. Indeed it must be confessed, that some pains, attended with a greater variety of original argument and illustration, have been employed on the opposite side; and as it should seem with greater success. For notwithstanding the price of bullion still continues high in proportion to other commodities, we do not perceive any greater symptoms than we could find three months ago of the depreciation of *our currency* with respect to those commodities, allowing for such occasional

fluctuations as may at all times occur. The one pound note and the shilling will still buy as much of the general articles of consumption as it would before, or as the guinea did before it was withdrawn from circulation and converted into bullion.

From the mass of publications which have appeared, we have selected those at the head of this article; the first from the reference which it bears to the arguments examined in our last number, and the last from the circulation which the name of its author has already bestowed upon it.

To those who honoured with a perusal the article on this subject in our former number, no apology will be necessary for beginning with Mr. Ricardo's Reply to Mr. Bosanquet's Practical Observations. It is simply the fulfilment of a promise made at the close of that article.

In discussing the merits of Mr. Ricardo's publication, we shall not condemn our readers to the ungrateful task of labouring through the minute and intricate calculations on exchanges in the first and second chapters, which form so considerable a part of the work: for notwithstanding our bond as reviewers to *know every thing*, we fairly confess that they are beyond our comprehension. We shall therefore content ourselves with a short explanation of the *principles* upon which, (and not upon their *arithmetical accuracy*;) the truth or fallacy of any deductions from them must ultimately rest: and this not only on account of the scepticism with which we cannot help regarding such calculations, when we consider that even Dr. Kelly's great and useful work, compiled with all his diligence, and every assistance that the mercantile knowledge of this great metropolis could afford, is (as we are credibly informed) by no means free from errors, but because, if they are erroneous in *principle*; any minute examination of their details would be labour absolutely thrown away.

Now the difference of the principles on which Mr. B. and Mr. R. calculate the exchanges is this, that Mr. B. assumes the par of exchange with each country usually estimated by merchants to be correct.

This may be erroneous; because the par may have been originally computed on inaccurate assays, or because the estimated par may continue the same when a real change may have taken place in the currency of a country; but the error when discovered may always be corrected by an uniform per centage addition or subtraction, and can in no other way affect any general reasoning, as it leaves the comparison of different periods intelligible and correct.

But Mr. R. introduces a *new principle* of computation, which,

though countenanced by the Bullion Committee, is, we will venture to say, utterly unknown and unintelligible in every counting-house in Europe. Assuming that the legal currency of England is gold, and that of Hamburgh silver; he computes the exchange by turning the silver currency of Hamburgh into gold, *not* according to any fixed or average value of gold at Hamburgh, but according to the variations of the price of gold bullion, and he even applies this mode of calculation to America, although there is in that country an *established gold coinage and the gold coins of Europe are legally current at fixed rates*. Thus a new element is introduced into the computation, equally contrary to established practice, and to what we consider as the true theory of exchange; which being founded only on the relations of the currencies of the respective countries, admits of no other subject of comparison. The effect of adopting this mode of noting the exchange would be to make the comparison of it at different periods utterly impossible: for supposing it to be stated (for instance) that the exchange with Hamburgh was in 1801 ten per cent. against London, and in 1802 two per cent. in favour of London, it would not appear whether this difference arose from an actual variation of the course of exchange, or of the price of gold, or of both combined, and if so, in what proportions; and it is, in fact, neither more nor less than substituting for a notation of exchange a computation of the profit or loss of exporting or importing gold bullion at a particular time. A computation very necessary to be made by dealers in remittance, but which has no more to do with the exchange than the profit or loss by dealing in any other article of merchandize; and it would be just as reasonable and intelligible to establish a computation of exchange between London and Hamburgh on a comparison of the prices of Irish and German linens.

With respect, however, to the general principles and facts relating to the exchange, we think that it is sufficiently proved in our former number, that its unfavourable state is by no means a proof of the depreciation of our currency; and the following brief review of Mr. Ricardo's Reply will probably afford opportunity of illustrating that proof still further.

The third chapter of Mr. Ricardo's pamphlet contains an attempt to re-establish the conclusion that a rise in the market price of bullion above the mint price proves a depreciation of the currency. This attempt is made in the first section, by contending that the opposite assertion implies the *impossibility* of melting or exporting English coin by the force of prohibitory laws. But all parties agree with Locke in qualifying such statutes as laws "to hedge in the cuckoo," and perfectly nugatory. Now we do

not admit the truth of this implication. The argument against depreciation rests, not upon law alone, but upon the fact, that although a difference in value exists between bullion and currency, none exists between the average relative values of currency, and of general commodities; therefore that bullion is enhanced, but currency not depreciated.

The second section contains a repetition of the trite arguments which prove that an undue increase of currency in England, that of other countries remaining the same, would produce a depreciation of the English currency, and an unfavourable exchange; which no one denies. But we think that it is clearly shewn in our last number that no such undue increase has *in fact* taken place; consequently that no real depreciation exists. But, says Mr. R. could the symptoms proceed from any other cause but the relative excess of our currency? We beg to refer him to our former arguments, which shew that the unfavourable exchange, the only remaining symptom unaccounted for, has proceeded from a very different cause, viz. an unfavourable balance of payments, and the impossibility of discharging it by export of goods, or by any other mode than the export of bullion. "But why (says Mr. R.) will not the Bank try the experiment, by a reduction in the amount of their notes of two or three millions for the short period of three months?" Because they are well assured that such an experiment would be very far from realizing his anticipations of a lowered price of bullion, and improved foreign exchange. The readers of our former article will easily perceive that the consequence must be a further demand for bullion for domestic use, in addition to that for exportation; and consequently an *increased* instead of a *diminished price*. And as to the foreign exchange, the increased difficulty of procuring bullion to pay our balances must of course render it worse instead of better.

We are next informed, (sect. 5.) that the rise in the price of gold on the continent has been trifling, and is to be ascribed to a mere matter of arrangement in the comparative value of gold and silver. Upon this subject we refer our readers to Mr. Rutherford's Hints from Holland, where it appears that the price of gold on the continent has been *within a trifle* as high as in England. We also refer them to p. 41, 42. of our former article, to shew how little that fact bears on the real question of depreciation; which is plainly this; a difference in value between bullion and currency does not prove the latter to be depreciated so long as it retains its relative value to other commodities; it is not then issued to excess; and the fact of bullion being of greater value only proves that an increased demand exists for it as a commo-

dity, beyond that which exists for other articles, or which exists for gold itself in the shape of coin for internal circulation.

The fourth chapter, after admitting that the balance of payments is against England to the amount of all the bullion which has passed from hence to the Continent, runs over again the same speculative arguments, that an undue increase of currency would produce an unfavourable exchange, and that an excessive issue of paper would drive coin out of circulation; principles which we again repeat are not denied. We only assert that in the present case no such increase or excess can be proved; and that their alleged effects, the low exchange and disappearance of coin, are abundantly to be accounted for by other circumstances. Our currency is not degraded as Mr. R. (p. 79) supposes, below the value of bullion, more than that of America, France, &c. "because neither of those countries have a paper currency not convertible into specie;" but because at the same time that we want a plentiful circulating medium for our own domestic purposes, we are also obliged largely to export the usual instrument of domestic circulation, for the maintenance of our foreign commerce, or continental warfare. We have therefore substituted a fresh medium, which now retains its original and average value relative to bullion and to other commodities, though bullion itself has lately experienced a temporary rise above that value.

Chapter five goes over the old ground, that depreciation *may* arise from the abundance of notes (p. 81.); it then proceeds to the trite illustration of the discovery of a new gold mine, which is evidently inapplicable, for this reason: the gold thus produced would be an absolute addition to the capital of the country; and is supposed to be added to the circulating medium, the quantity of commodities remaining the same; whereas the paper is only coined and issued, when a previous increase of commodities calls for such an addition of currency to circulate them. The effects of this difference need not be pointed out.

Mr. R's arguments in support of the opinion entertained by the committee, that an excess of Bank of England notes necessarily produces a corresponding excess in the amount of country bank notes, contain nothing new. We beg to refer to p. 48 et seq. of our first number on this part of the subject. We can add nothing to the arguments there stated. The chapter on the increase of prices from taxation seems to us to be that in which Mr. R. most successfully combats Mr. Bosanquet's reasoning. He is, however, far from proving that a considerable proportion of the rise in prices has not arisen from additional taxes. And we conceive him to be altogether mistaken when he asserts, that in proportion as the taxes are great, the expences of the people

diminish. (P. 120.) It is certainly true, as Mr. R. asserts, that "if my income amounts to 1000*l.* and government requires 100*l.* in taxes, I have then only 900*l.* to spend. But it is as certainly false, that the *expences of the whole people* are diminished by this 100*l.* Government immediately pays it away to somebody else who spends it; and we will venture to assert that the operation increases the expences of the people, by increasing the rapidity of circulation. The faster money circulates, the more purchases are made, and the more taxes levied, and we have no doubt that the rapidity with which the whole circulating medium is absorbed and re-issued by the revenue boards adds considerably to the productive powers of the country.

Mr. Ricardo concludes with asserting his belief that the exchange would be ameliorated, and the price of bullion lowered, by a reduction in the quantity of bank notes. We shall not here repeat our reasons for holding a directly contrary opinion. But when he insinuates that the alleged necessity of exporting bullion to pay our balances to foreign countries proves too much, in as much as gold cannot be found here for the purpose, and our goods cannot purchase all which we want for that and our domestic purposes; we apprehend that he proves too little. Our inability to export goods enough to purchase gold, for the purpose of replacing our paper currency, does not prove our want of means to procure enough to export for the payment of our balances; and it is clear, that it is the very existence of that paper currency which, under the present circumstances, can alone enable us to profit by those means of keeping up in some degree our mercantile and political connexions with the continental states.

The only novelty in Mr. Davies Giddy's pamphlet consists in a new illustration of the principles advanced in Mr. Huskisson's pamphlet and the Bullion Report. This illustration arises from the substitution of corn for bullion as the standard of value. "Corn (says Mr. G. p. 7.) might evidently be a common standard, and all commodities would then be appreciated in given quantities of grain. It will clear and facilitate our future inquiries to suppose this imaginary case: I shall therefore continue to place corn by the side of gold, and endeavour to establish the exact conformity in principle between the two." He then proceeds (as it were) to *coin* his corn, or "to ascertain the exact quantity and quality of such portions as may usually circulate, by sealing the said portions in bags with an official seal, warranting the quantity and fineness. There is certainly no objection to the fitness of this allegorical illustration, except that we think it rather puzzles a cause before quite plain enough.

We perfectly well understand the argument of the political economists to be, that whatever is set up as the standard of value, whether com, or bullion, or corn, must itself be argued upon as of a permanent and identical value at all times; and that other commodities only are said to vary in their price when compared with the standard. It is not the want of knowledge, but the want of assent to the justice of these arguments as applied to corn or bullion, or even to coin under such circumstances as the present, (when not effectually protected by law, which is impossible,) that produces the difference of opinion. Mr. Giddy therefore in running over the arguments of the political economists, substituting corn for gold, has afforded a very agreeable exercise for the fancy, but has added nothing to our stock of original knowledge;—he has produced no collateral fact or argument whatever in addition to those we possessed before, to prove the depreciation or excess of our circulating medium. He has not proved the fact of any such excess or depreciation, nor has he rebutted any one of the arguments we ventured to use for the purpose of showing that the difference of value between currency and bullion did not arise from excess of the former, but from the peculiar and unprecedented state of our commercial relations. He only repeats the position, that excess *might* produce depreciation, and depreciation an unfavourable exchange,—which nobody denies;—but when he asserts that these effects *have arisen* because it is possible they might, we humbly presume that he begs the question, not having proved the existence of the cause, except from what he supposes to be its effects. The readers of our former number are not now to learn that this cause, viz. excess, *cannot* be proved to exist, and that there is fair ground for thinking that it does not really exist. He has also repeated the argument stated in the Report with respect to the restoration of an unfavourable exchange by the forced export of goods, without at all adverting to the unanswerable facts, that the very cause of the evil is, that we *cannot at any price export* our goods in quantities sufficient to pay our debts. Finally he asserts, with the rest of those who argue with the Report, that the currency must be reduced in quantity:—concerning the perfect inefficiency and pernicious consequences of which pretended remedy, we do not think it necessary to add another word.

Upon the whole, the perusal of this pamphlet has a little disappointed us; and the circumstance that a person of Mr. Davies Gaddy's acute mind, and sound understanding, could bring forward nothing more original or conclusive in support of the committee of which he was a member, is a clear indication to us that the arguments on their side of the question are exhausted;

and that, in truth, they rest altogether on the assumption, that because excess of currency *may* produce its depreciation and an unfavourable exchange, therefore it *has* produced them, and nothing else can have done so;—in short, that the existence of the effect is a sufficient proof of the cause. Just as if one were to argue, that because Messrs. Dobbs *could* make this paper, and it is very like Messrs. Dobbs' manufacture, therefore they *did* make it. Whereas we humbly conceive, that the fact must rest upon evidence whether Messrs. Dobbs did actually make it or no. Whether an excess of currency actually exists or no is a separate inquiry, into which we entered at large in our former number.

With great submission we humbly conceive also, that Mr. Giddy has not made the most of his allegory of the sealed bags of corn. When he states that bills of exchange payable on demand would drive out of circulation the corn in sealed bags, which would then be converted to the common purposes of life; he appears to us to have entirely lost the opportunity of eliciting one of the most striking points of resemblance from his allegory. After the corn was withdrawn, let him but have filled his bags with chaff, and circulated them with the seal of the society, making it responsible for the measure of corn when called for, and then let him have passed a law that the holders of chaff should not receive corn upon demand, and he would have afforded a very popular parallel with the manufacture and circulation of bank notes, that would have a good deal puzzled the superficial thinkers on these subjects. To them perhaps it might not be obvious that, corn being the supposed standard of value, the sealed bag, or in other words the bill for corn, is only a bill for so much value in the market; corn being used by the imperative direction of the law, as the most convenient medium through which that value can be nominally expressed. But in case of a sudden scarcity and consequent temporary rise in the price of corn, if the society paid to the bagholder the average value of the quantity of corn due to him in some other commodity, or enabled him to exchange his bag in the market for *the same value* of consumable corn as he had given for it, no real or substantial injustice would be done to him; the society would be saved from the risk attendant upon a trade in an article over the fluctuations of whose price it had no controul, and which it *only* used as a measure of value because the law commanded it. It would not suffer unfairly, nor the holder of the bill for corn profit unfairly, by the misfortunes of their country, and the privations of their fellow-citizens.

Corn, however, would then cease to be a convenient standard of value, for this very reason, that the engagements made in its name could not be fulfilled without manifest injustice. *Literal*



*justice* to the holder of the bag would be *absolute injustice* to the rest of the community. We apprehend that the same thing may now be said of bullion, or of coin identified with the average value of bullion, which identification is of course the object sought by fixing a mint price\*. It has been set up by the political economists as the standard of value, because in all states of society, and of commercial intercourse between different countries, which they had ever seen or read of, no great or permanent *real* difference in its value could take place between one of those countries and the rest, or between the mint and market price. The facilities of commerce even in time of war by the intervention of neutrals, enabled the debtor country in ordinary states of society (perhaps at an unfavourable rate,) to discharge its balances by goods; or if a small quantity of bullion passed, its effects were so rapid that the par was restored before the quantity of bullion was so much diminished in the debtor country as materially to raise its price. So long as this state of affairs continued, bullion, or coin identified with its average value, was a very convenient standard both for foreign and domestic purposes. But the moment in which commercial intercourse is so completely impeded, that *goods cannot pass* from the debtor to the creditor country, and that bullion passing in small quantities has not, for the reason just mentioned, any permanent effect upon the exchange—then bullion must proceed to pass in large quantities. The coin identified with its average value will next (notwithstanding any restrictive laws) be melted or exported, and identified with the enhanced value of bullion; in other words, (the inefficient law out of the question) will be very much raised in price. But this high price will not bring bullion into the country, because the foreign merchant cannot export the goods, for the purchase of which he could alone send bullion to the debtor country.—Now when once this novel state of things has arisen, and so long as it lasts, bullion, and coin identified with its average value, become altogether as inconvenient standards of value as the corn upon Mr. Giddy's ingenious hypothesis. And although under these circumstances in England the pound sterling in legal coin does certainly continue to be the *legal* standard of value;—yet in truth the law will be evaded, and the *actual* standard during the disappearance of coin will be the pound sterling, expressed by some symbolic currency representing its average value in the market; or, as we have ventured to state it, by the PUBLIC OPINION.

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\* The mint price of bullion in every country should of course intend to express its average price.

*A View of the present State of Sicily, its Rural Œconomy, Population, and Produce, &c.: with an Appendix, containing Observations on its general Character, Climate, Commerce, Resources, &c. from a late Survey of the Abbate Balsama, Professor, &c. to which are added, with notes throughout the Work, an Examination of the Sicilian Volunteer System, and Extracts from Letters written in Sicily in 1809-10, 4to. By Thomas Wright Vaughan, Esq. Gale and Curtis, 1811.*

WE candidly admit ourselves to be of the number of those who have never ceased to blame and to lament the oversight, which, when the Neapolitan dynasty was preserved, and transferred to Sicily by our assistance, and was decidedly influenced by our counsels, omitted to make some stipulation for the gradual and eventual amelioration of the Sicilian system of government. It should surely have been obvious to the British ministry of that day, that if we are permanently to defend Sicily from France, it must ultimately be with the hearty co-operation of the mass of the Sicilian people;—that such hearty co-operation can never be secured in any country unless the people are justly and ardently attached to the system under which they are governed; and that if that system in Sicily is grossly and notoriously oppressive, no security could exist against the intrigues and invasion of the French, from the instant that the British forces should be removed from the island. By entering, therefore, into a treaty of assistance, without any such stipulation as we have adverted to, we, (with very great impolicy,) laid ourselves under the necessity, for *an indefinite period*, either of paralyzing our exertions elsewhere by sending to Sicily as large a force as may in all events be sufficient to protect it from any which the French may bring to the opposite shore; or of rendering useless the whole trouble and expense previously incurred, whenever we may be obliged to withdraw the British garrison from the island. That the Neapolitan government would *then* have cheerfully entered into this or any other reasonable stipulation proposed by England, we have no doubt; and we will lay before our readers documents which will probably induce them to be of the same opinion. They are of course aware, that the sentiments of her Sicilian majesty were usually those upon which the court of Naples acted. Of what nature these sentiments were, will best be shewn by the following letter, which was written by her Majesty to Lord Nelson, upon his first arrival off the coast of Italy, after the invasion of the French in the summer of 1803. As it has never been printed, and as original letters from queens are not every day to be met with, perhaps our

readers may peruse it with some interest. We only beg to premise, that the letter is printed just as the copy came to our hands, and that not we, but her Sicilian Majesty or the copier, must be responsible for any faults which fastidious critics may be disposed to find with the French idiom and orthography.

*Copy of an original letter from the Queen of Naples to Lord Nelson.*

“ J'ai recue, mon cher et digne milord, la lettre que vous m'avez écrite avec une reconnaissance infinie. Je vois votre commandement dans la Méditerranée avec une confiance & satisfaction extrêmes, comptant sur les bontés du Roi votre Maître, de votre grande et généreuse Nation, & de votre attachement. Notre position est très pénible au milieu de la paix dont nous avons acheté & remplis les onéreuses conditions avec une exactitude infinie; nous voyant par nos circonstances & le bien de nos Peuples obligés à garder une stricte neutralité, nous nous trouvons force invadé & obéi par le droit du plus fort, & de qui ne connoit ni frein, ni traité, ni promesses. Mais malgré ce malheur, qui ne porte encore que l'apparence de partiel, il faut que nous évitions avec soin de donner le moindre prétexte à invader et se rendre entièrement le maître, pour ensuite disposer selon leur vus, de notre Royaume de Naples. C'est à votre prudente soin particulièrement que nous devons cela; en évitant de donner aucune prétexte à celui qui commande La France de pouvoir colorer avec une prétexte ce par lui souhaité, acte d'injustice, violence & oppression. Il ne faut point pour cela se confier ni reposer sur ses paroles: loin de là, les tristes exemples vus dans le cours de cette Guerre & principalement en Italie, le manque de tout loi, dont cette entrée dans nos Royaumes contre tout droit, & justice, en est un preuve. Leur continuelles conduite & démarches doit nous rendre attentif vigilant; mais ne point en provoquant faciliter leur démarches, c'est ce que j'espère de vous, Mon digne & respectable Milord; que vous empêcherez notre perte, & ne ferez aucune démarche qui puisse l'accélérer. Je me repose avec confiance à cette consolante idée, & compte entièrement sur votre loyal Gouvernement, & sur vous mon digne Milord. Je vous reverrois toujours quand je pourrais avec prudence, qui nous est si indispensable, avec une satisfaction infinie, me rappelant toujours tout ce que nous vous devons, ayant pour vous la plus étendue confiance et reconnaissance. C'est avec les sentiments qui ne finiront qu'avec ma vie & avec la plus véritable estime, que je suis votre très attachée & reconnaissante amie.

CHARLOTTE R.

*Naples, le 20 Juin, 1803.*

We have also now before us a letter from Sir John Acton, of the same date with the Queen's, which enters into a complete detail of the particular nature of their present embarrassments. It seems that the French, contrary to direct stipulation, and upon the

most frivolous pretences, insisted upon occupying Pescara, Otranto, and Tarento; and, under an avowal of these purposes, had entered the Neapolitan territory with thirteen thousand men; a force to which the king of Naples had actually nothing to oppose. Sir John Acton, therefore, very naturally concluded, that the total conquest of Naples, or at least the securing of Sicily in contemplation of such conquest, were the real objects of the French. And the dilemma into which the government was thus thrown, and the delicate nature of the service entrusted to the British, cannot be better expressed than in Sir John's own English words.

“But in thinking of Sicily, which is the main article for saving an existence to his Majesty and Royal Family, the highest precautions are not to be spared for avoiding the loss of the kingdom of Naples. Any demonstration of a concert with the English forces would serve as a pretence for deciding the ruin of *this first kingdom*.” “His Majesty fears at present a *coup de main*, for which he begs your Lordship to be so good to fix some frigates or ships in a position to save a violence on his Majesty's person and those of the Royal Family. If the French are at last situated where they have declared, the uneasiness will be lessened a great deal on the above-said subject. Any demand afterwards for garrisoning the castles of Naples, this gulf, and Gaëta, shall be denied certainly, but shall decide either a declared war, if his Majesty has adequate forces in view to support him, or his sudden departure for Sicily.” In the case of war, a strength of good English troops in the castles of this capital and in the place of Gaëta; will be of an essential service. Should the kingdom be taken, the rest of the effectual defence should be done in Sicily.” “The British naval and land forces would encourage and support the national endeavours, and defend that part of the king's patrimony to his royal family in the unhappy state they are treated.” “But in all cases his Majesty thinks that the highest circumspection is to be had as a main and most essential article, in order to avoid desperate mischiefs and destruction to his Majesty's subjects, while every means of vigilance ought to be employed for the safety of his Majesty's family without compromising, and for saving Sicily. Till the danger is evident, and without hopes of being overcome, his Majesty does not think of leaving Naples.” “Some ships of war in or about this bay shall ever be of constant security and comfort, as a means likewise of conveying to your lordship proper notions, under the direction and assistance of Mr. Elliot.”

Under such circumstances of complete dependence upon Great Britain, we still retain the opinion just stated of the original treaty with the Sicilian government. But if mature reflection and a late visit to the island have induced us to differ from those politicians who are clamorous against government for not *now* using the British

army as the instrument for revolutionizing Sicily, in the teeth of the compact under which, with full power of dictation, we agreed to afford the assistance; we trust that we shall not on this account be charged with a servile adherence to the existing administration. We have hitherto wished it well because we think that it has ably and conscientiously discharged its duty to its sovereign and its country; and we trust that one or two late acts are not the heralds of an altered system. But to return to our subject;—we shall on the present occasion first lay before our readers the nature and contents of the book we have undertaken to review, or, rather what we think, from our own observation of Sicily, that the “View of its present state” ought to have contained; and we shall then proceed to state a few of the reasons which have induced in our minds the political opinions which we have just avowed with respect to Sicily.

The book before us then is a thin quarto, consisting altogether of 369 pages, with more blank sheets and a broader margin than we remember to have often seen in a book of such a nature. Not containing any plates it might have been given to the public in a small 8vo at the moderate price of 8s. instead of the exorbitant one of 14. 11s. 6d. With the exception of 93 pages it is nothing more than a translation of the journal of a tour through Sicily, by the professor of agriculture of the royal Academy of Palermo, published in that city in the beginning of last year, under the protection of the government. Such, however, is the manner in which the title-page is worded, that one would be much more inclined to think that “this View of Sicily” was taken “by T. W. Vaughan, Esq.” whose name in large Roman characters occupies so conspicuously the place in which that of the *author* is generally inserted, than by the “Abbate Balsamo,” who is only to be discovered, after due search, in the body of the title-page, in smaller letters, and almost overwhelmed in the profusion of type with which it is surrounded. Some doubt also arose in our mind whether the appendix was Mr. Vaughan’s or the Abbate’s;—this was occasioned by its being entitled “Appendix to the foregoing details,” amongst which details are the additions Mr. V. makes to the translation, on which we shall in due time remark. Now, as the title-page of a book is, as it were, its face, we cannot help observing how much more prepossessing the work before us would have appeared, had it been offered to the public with the modest title of a translation. As to that which it has assumed, we cannot but observe that the Abbate Balsamo throughout the whole of his journal waves all subjects that are foreign to agriculture; and so far are Mr. Vaughan’s letters, speaking of them “*en masse*,” from giving “a view of the present state of Sicily,” that the greater part of them with equal

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\* In his notes upon a work professedly agricultural, \_\_\_\_\_  
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mend) of the best of them, when a gentleman of the town came to pay me a visit, and requested me to make use of a room in the uninhabited town-house.

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If I was not particularly desirous of society, I was amused by his questions upon every possible topic, respecting our force, and the situation of affairs; which, however, he took the trouble to answer himself as quickly as proposed, which is by no means uncommon; for they are most extraordinary talkers, and always *in alt*: and I very soon discovered, that he already knew more than I could possibly tell him, from a series of conclusions, which, however, happened to have the defect of not being founded upon any one fact as to public events. At last, he ingeniously turned the conversation upon the constitution of England; and here I could not help observing, how *foolish it is to talk of the history of other countries, without being really informed.* The effect is as absurd as it now seemed to me, when my good visitor proceeded to inform me that our King was elective; to which, when I replied "I rather thought not," he answered me with a nod of one thoroughly informed, that "he believed he was right," and that, "upon an occasion of that kind, he understood it would fall upon the right heir this time, *the King's eldest son, the young Duke of York:*" and, perfectly satisfied with having shown me his reading, at which I own I was surprised, he took occasion to leave me. I feel, however, ungrateful in relating this *jeu d'esprit* of my friend at Santa Maria; for, when I put down a crown to pay for my supper, the attendant informed me it was paid for already; and when, according to etiquette, I pressed it again, he absolutely refused it. I then begged him to keep it, with which he immediately complied!" (p. l. li.)

I stopped to breakfast at ———, at the house of my acquaintance, and former guard, *the captain of banditti.* You will smile, but it is literally a fact:—"mine host" of the inn at ——— was, for three years the captain of a banditti on Mount Etna; and however his story makes an Englishman stare, by a residence in the country you find such things are. An inconvenient sort of accident, in the early part of his career, gave a turn to his pursuits, whatever they were, to that I have mentioned. He took a fancy to a bag of dollars that belonged to a countryman he met with on the road, who objected to part with them; and this foolish retention cost the peasant his life. Justice, who, you know, is blind (not less so, I can assure you, in Sicily, than other places), and of course does not see things in the true point of view, considered this *contre-tems* in so serious a light that *Don Giuseppe* was obliged to fly to the mountain:—and there he remained till he had collected money sufficient to what he called *confrontere la giustizia*, or look justice in the face; and then he came down to this little village, where he married an

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\* We perfectly agree with Mr. V. in this observation.



honest woman, and became, as he told us himself, a *galantuomo*, or man of honour! And I must add, that when he comes to the door to take hold of your stirrup, and motions to kiss your hand, as is usual with the inferior ranks throughout Sicily, a finer looking *study* can scarcely be conceived. All that we have seen attempted upon the stage, for that class of character, is realized in this man. Represent to yourself a form perfectly athletic, but perfectly well made,—a fixed and steady eye, that denotes nothing but courage, for there is not a trace of what we should connect with the character of a desperado,—a complexion of bronze, with a head and mustachios that fill up the picture. (p. lv. lvi.)

After a tour round the island, in company with this agreeable gentleman, they returned to the inn, and—

“It was after a bad supper, in our dirty-looking bed-chamber, that the figure of Don Giuseppe appeared at the door; and with the beckon of the country, so truly significant, he called me aside,—“And now, signor, you shall see the value of a guard, and that guard a *Galantuomo*!—You remember where you dined to-day? within six yards of that place there were four *malandrini*, all ready for *business*—but they had respect for my person (laying his hand on his breast) and dared not attack us! But they should have had more (said he, raising his voice), for they have watched us to this town—and I know where they are.”—“But how do you know this, Don Giuseppe?”—“Do you think, sir, a mouse can stir in any town round this mountain, and I within the walls, and not hear of it?—But your *Eccellenza* may be convinced, for their fate is in your hands; they have committed themselves by daring to follow the cavaliers I protect, which is contrary to the order of things.—Say but the word, and the strong arm of justice shall seize them this night. I know the cattle they are, and can put my hand upon their horn in the dark.”—“Don Giuseppe,” said I, “let us leave them in peace—and may St. Peter receive them when their calling is ended—but you may just step and tell them, as if from yourself, how much pleasanter it is to eat your dinner with gentlemen, than lurk behind a hedge to blow out their brains.” (p. lviii. lix.)

We shall close our extracts with the following short and summary recipe of military police.

“In point of morals, if we speak of what strikes an Englishman with horror, I mean assassination, they are certainly improved—I hope I may say reformed—since the English settled here;—and I cannot but date the æra of this change to the period when General Sherbrooke (the present Sir John) was Commander in Chief,—who contrived in his short reign, not only to conciliate the confidence of the army, but, what was not less difficult, the approbation of the court. At that time the stiletto was so much in fashion, that in the course of four months, 23 English sailors from our transports, and soldiers, were stabbed in Messina: and no steps being taken by the police, notwithstanding our remonstrances, to check this dreadful

evil, the general, it was understood, at length waited upon General Guillichini, and stated, that unless some immediate stop was put to these outrages, he should be under the necessity of giving out an order that the first person found near the body of an Englishman assassinated, should be hanged on the spot. "And suppose, sir," said the governor, "that happened to be me?"—"If, sir," replied the general, "imperious necessity calls forth such an order, it must be obeyed."—Certain it is, from that moment it declined. (p. lxxv.)

Though Mr. V— has thought proper to translate and publish the Abbate's treatise, we do not find him endeavouring with the Abbate to prove the "progressive state of prosperity," in which the country is asserted to be advancing. He tells us, that it is impossible to pass through it "without feeling persuaded that the productions of the land might be trebled at least." He informs us "that no effort is discernible towards the improvements recommended," notwithstanding the many advantages it now enjoys, (as he asserts) "from the government of the country having fixed itself in the island, with a train of proprietors of estates that attend it; in large sums of money being thus brought into circulation, and the increasing consumption and price of all articles of produce, with the enormous addition of 50,000*l.* sterling per month, disbursed by the British army."—Such remarks as these, coupled with some passages in the extracts from his letters, clearly evince his conviction of the impoverished state of the island, and the little reliance we consequently can place on the veracity of the documents he has given to the public.

In his introduction, speaking of Murat's threatened invasion, Mr. V— says, "Not a man appeared in arms, except those paid by us in our and their gun-boats; no spontaneous ebullition of patriotic exertion burst forth into action," &c. One would almost be induced at this passage to conclude, that the *Sicilians* remained perfectly unconcerned as to the landing of the French. But this absolutely was not the case:—the peasantry took the liveliest interest in what occurred, but observing the great preparations on our part, they felt convinced that we should prevent the landing of the enemy. Mr. V— surely did not expect that the peasantry would have risen in arms, and abandoning their fields and cottages, would have remained on the beach during the four months that Murat's army was encamped on the opposite hills. How would these people have been fed? What was to have become of their crops? This surely never was expected by any reasonable man. All that peasantry can be expected to do in such situations is, to expel the enemy from their fields and villages; this the Sicilian peasantry we are confident would have done. In what high terms does not Sir J. Stuart speak of their conduct on the landing of the French

at Mili, in his General Orders? Does not Mr. V— himself bear testimony to their honourable conduct on that occasion? He surely never could have expected that the Sicilians were to support the war individually as the Turks do? As to the disposition of the people, there cannot be a doubt but it is inimical to the French. Their gallant behaviour above alluded to would almost decide that point.—Those who have been in Sicily know that you cannot converse with a peasant about the French without his reminding you of the Sicilian vespers—every countryman has the story in his mouth.

The affair of Augusta in 1800, as recorded by Mr. V—, of the veracity of which there is not the least doubt, is another instance of their hatred to that nation.—On that occasion

“ A French ship from Egypt put into the harbour, with a French colonel on board, and 300 sick, (above 100 blind with the Ophthalmia) and demanded to land. Temporary sheds were erected on the beach, and they were disembarked; but three days afterwards the people of the country rose, as by common consent, and, without giving any notice to the garrison, *put the whole of them to death*, and they were buried in the sands. Since that time the name of a Frenchman excites them almost to fury, which instantly spreads along the whole line of the coast. On the late landing in Sicily, in 1810, the peasants reported that they had killed five in the vineyards, but had not yet buried them; for, “ *they did not deserve Christian Burial like other people.*” (Introduc. p. viii.)

These circumstances leave no doubt in our minds as to the conduct they would pursue were the French ever to land in Sicily. If instances were wanting to corroborate this opinion, we could adduce many. This national dislike, too, has of late been augmented by the accounts propagated amongst them by the priests, of the sacrileges committed by the French in those countries they have overrun. The Sicilian peasantry being a superstitious race, nothing could be so well adapted to awaken all their ardour as these reports. When Mr. V—, in order to portray the public sentiment, gives us the wavering discourse of one who is afraid of committing himself with the French by any act of hostility, how does he agree with himself in the account he gives of the conduct of the peasantry at Mili? That such temporizing sentiments are entertained by the greater part of the nobles and the middling classes in the large towns, we are convinced; but these are not to be regarded as the organs of the public opinion. The peasantry, we are convinced, are averse to the French throughout the island, and will never side with them, notwithstanding all the grievances under which they labour. Our assertions, we trust, will pass for as much as Mr. V—’s, as we too have been in Sicily, and were eye-

witnesses of the state of the public mind during the threatened invasion.

It is an opinion entertained by some of our countrymen in Sicily, that the people of Palermo and of the western shores of the Val di'Mazzara, are not in general so attached to the English as in the other parts of the island: we know not the origin of this opinion. As to Palermo, perhaps it may have arisen from the dislike which the court and Neapolitans profess for the English. But we have never observed the least partiality entertained by the people for the French in any one corner of the whole island, and we have made the entire circuit of it, and crossed the interior in two different lines, from its most remote extremities. We witnessed a fray at Palermo, the description of which may give our readers some idea of the materials from which we have deduced our opinions: It occurred last summer. Several Neapolitan dragoons insisted on taking some cheese from a shop at a price considerably below that at which it was retailed;—an altercation ensued, which became rather violent, and one of the dragoons drew his sabre, and striking at the shopkeeper (a practice these fellows have) wounded him slightly. The latter instantly called to his men and to his neighbours, with the masonic epithet "picciotti:" "let us, my lads," exclaimed he, "serve these *Neapolitans* as they suspect we intend to do, and as they know they merit; let us do away with them." In a very few seconds seven or eight of the dragoons measured their length on the ground; the rest escaped; and a great concourse of people being assembled by this time, the wounded shopkeeper began to harangue them; he was joined by the greater part of the mob in venting every imprecation against the Neapolitani—calling them Jacobini. Several times was it exclaimed, "had it not been for the English long since you would have betrayed us to the French, who are now at this very moment solely kept out of the island by the English, without the least exertion on your part." They called the soldiers cowards, and spoke of them with the greatest contempt—saying they were only capable of practising extortion upon quiet shopkeepers. Such was the language of a mob which might have proceeded to greater lengths, had not the captain of the city, Prince Carini, a nobleman at that time rather a favourite of the people, come up, and by his exertions and persuasions dispersed the crowd and restored tranquillity. As the weapons these picciotti made use of were rather Herculean, being sticks of the ash tree from which they make the mauna in Sicily, three or four of the dragoons died, and the rest were much injured.

All along the south coast the people questioned us concerning Malta, and spoke quite enviously of the wealth and commerce

which our countrymen had bestowed on the inhabitants, who they said were ungrateful barbarians, and did not merit such blessings. We are aware that at Trapani one or two of our sentries were attacked in the night, and very severely wounded; but this was occasioned by the diabolical intrigues of the governor of the town and some of the officers, who, by the garrison regulation which took place on our troops occupying it, were deprived of a considerable profit arising from the licensed contraband trade, which, owing to peculiar circumstances, had been until then carried on over the walls of the town. This traffic was altogether incompatible with the safety of the fortress; but had we not had an officer in command there of as much firmness as penetration, that valuable position would never have been put into a state of defence, but would have remained in the same half-finished and half-decayed condition in which we found it. From the information obtained by our people, there were strong grounds to suspect that they employed a few villains in the above desperate attempt to assassinate our sentries. And they immediately afterwards attempted to persuade our commanding officer, that it was the spontaneous movement of the people, who were irritated at our strict regulations, and of whose future conduct they were apprehensive, and could not be responsible for it. Our commanding officer replied, that since such were their fears, he would re-double the rigour of the garrison duties. They were foiled in all their intrigues; and the people, as we knew well enough, had nothing to do in the affair. If the Sicilian government were to make some rigorous examples of such of their servants as offend in this way, it would not be long before affairs would assume a different aspect.

Mr. V's "Examination of the Volunteer System," consists of the most common-place remarks on the plans for bringing the force forward, and for drilling and arming it. The fact is, that this force consists of about 42 or 43,000 men, *on paper*, enrolled in the different villages and towns. Many of these have been drilled in a slight manner, but none of them have arms! The Sicilian government, conscious of not possessing the affections of the people, and of the numberless inducements they have to turn their arms against it in the first instance, has been afraid of trusting them in their hands. This is the real truth. And Mr. V— may thus write his plans as to drilling and paying &c. &c. with just about as much effect, as the Abbate may propose new methods of hoeing and plowing. It will be no difficult matter to drill these volunteers whenever the government will arm them; in which case no general officer, whose business it may be to conduct the formation of them, will stand in need of

more than a translation into the Sicilian language of Sir David Dundas's instructions and regulations.

We do not, with Mr. V— think that the government has not “the means of arming them;” though the Sicilian court may expend a considerable part of the subsidy in the maintenance of spies, and for other purposes, in Naples and Italy, which causes no small part of it to be sent out of the country; still there cannot be a doubt that they reserve for their expenditure, in case of any untoward events, the far greater part of that sum. Having no manufactures of arms in their island, they are obliged to get them from England; and they owe to the generosity of the English government that they have obtained them, independent of the subsidy. These have not been given to the Sicilians, or to the volunteers, but to *their attached Neapolitan troops*, who, to the amount of between 7 and 8,000, have always been detained with them in the metropolis. This force, together with about thirty gun-boats, was detained in Palermo last year, during the whole of the time that the French on the Calabrian shore were threatening the island with invasion. The court were at this time particularly apprehensive that an insurrection of the people would take place at the time of the great national “Festa di St. Rosalia,” when the Sicilians flock from all parts to the capital, to celebrate the feast. Such were the apprehensions of the court, that they could not help congratulating themselves on their escape, in their gazette, published a few days after this festival, which took place on the 11th of July. During the time it lasted, every precaution was taken by doubling the guards, and patrols of dragoons, and by stationing the gun-boats in positions where they could command the grand streets. The fête, however, passed without any commotion. It is probable that the government had got scent of some plots, which were thus prevented from coming to maturity. After repeated applications the Sicilian government dispatched, with great reluctance, some of the gun-boats to assist in the defence of the Straights. About 400 cavalry, who had formerly served with our troops, were, after Murat had been on the other side of the Pharo three months, dispatched to a station near Melazzo, which had been occupied by the few horse we had in the island, but which we were now enabled to quarter in the neighbourhood of Messina, where they were much wanted. The 7,500 regular troops whom the Sicilian court has in pay, are composed of Neapolitans principally, with some few Italians, Swiss, and Albanians. They are detested mortally by the Sicilians, who regard them as French, designating them by the name of “Jacobins,” which they use synonymously for “Frenchmen,” and “Neapolitans.”

This force is well appointed and paid, and it has always been the constant object of the Sicilian court to keep it so. Being of the same country to which they look forward at some future time to be restored, they are firmly attached, and the government places it's whole reliance in them. It was perhaps well that these troops were so far distant from the English army during the time that Murat attempted to invade the island. They very probably would have excited suspicion, and interfered with Sir John Stuart's operations, and with the distribution of his force.

Having had occasion, in the course of this review, to state the dispositions and interests of some parties in the island, and having endeavoured to throw some light on its actual state, it may be well to complete this picture as far as we are able. To this end we will examine the interests and dispositions of the remaining parties, beginning with the court. If we remember rightly, the court of Sicily first of all became dissatisfied with the conduct of our government, for refusing to encourage partial insurrection in Calabria and Naples, and the sowing of discord in those countries, without some prospect of resistance being adopted on a general scale, and the probabilities being manifest of some beneficial result. In 1806 it was sufficient that any plan or scheme, however paltry or insignificant, should profess to have for its object, the expulsion of the French from Naples, for the court of Palermo eagerly to sanction it. Guided by a more enlightened policy, the British government represented to them, that, by fomenting this spirit at a time when the French had every means of quelling it, they would not only occasion blood to be shed wantonly, but would also injure their own cause, by depressing, and perhaps extinguishing the spirit of their party; which, if properly and secretly fed, might burn like a slow fire, and at a more favourable period burst forth with increased strength, and a better prospect of success. The court of Palermo, thus eager to regain possession of Naples, and led away by every delusive plan, considered our counsels as originating in indifference, and became dissatisfied with our success. Experience confirmed the wisdom of our advice, and proved the futility of all their plans. The French had no sooner firmly established themselves in the government of Naples, than they began to threaten Sicily itself with invasion. This might have been foreseen. The Sicilian government, instead of occupying itself in the mean time, in adding to the internal security of its only remaining territory, by gradually abolishing the most vexatious of its prohibitions and impositions, by reforming its finances, and by adopting a more impartial and general method of taxa-

tion, (thus lightening the burthen of the people, and securing their affections,) continued wholly intent on the intrigues of Naples.

The island of Sicily had now solely to maintain those forces which formerly Naples almost exclusively supported ; so that instead of deriving advantages "from the government of the country, fixing itself in the island, with the train of proprietors of estates," it acquired a considerable addition to its already heavy burthens. The "proprietors of estates and their followers," applied themselves to its already debilitated frame, like fresh leeches. It was not long before the court of Sicily, conscious of its own weakness, and always actuated by narrow-minded motives, became jealous of the power and credit which the British name very soon acquired in the island. The generosity of the British character, the strict honour with which they maintained all their public and private contracts, the appearance and appointment of our troops, together with their valour and discipline ; all these features made so glaring a contrast with their own state, that the government could no longer conceal its jealousy. The independent and liberal ideas which our people disseminated wherever they went, and the horror with which they regarded the oppression and tyranny under which the community at large laboured, and the degraded state to which it had reduced the people, alarmed the Sicilian court. They began to suspect that our intention was to wrest from their hands the reins of government. A suspicion of this nature, originating from jealousy, was strengthened by the conviction, which they could not but feel, of their own weakness. Naturally of an intriguing and restless spirit, the court of Palermo, now irritated by all these circumstances, secretly opposed measures, which it was impossible could, on our part, have been undertaken without *her* sanction. Obstacles have repeatedly been thrown in our way even to putting the coast in a military state of defence. Numberless are the instances we could quote of this nature, in which we have been enabled to trace the origin of their complicated and intriguing plans to the court itself, through some of its debilitated "cavalieri servanti," or favourites.

The defenceless and impoverished state to which the island was reduced by the pernicious corn laws, by the tribunal of patrimony, and by the exemptions enjoyed by the barons, could not but attract the attention of our ministers. The resources of the country were drained, and the affections of a people, naturally loyal, and made of such materials as are capable of raising its government to a high state of power and wealth, were alienated from their government. In so deplorable a state, evident to every Englishman in the island, our ministers must have been



convinced that the most effectual method of placing the island in a situation to resist the attacks of the French, would be to repair the vital injuries which the country had sustained, and to contract the breach between the government and its subjects. After what has already been remarked, concerning the conduct of the court of Palermo, it will not be unreasonable to conclude that all attempts to this effect, and all our enlightened and generous counsels, would meet with but an unfavourable reception. The pages of history afford us many examples of corrupt governments, hurrying on in the most destructive plans, as if they were carried by infatuation, to their destined ruin, notwithstanding the almost self-evident result of their policy. Such advice on the part of our cabinet must have still further excited their jealousy and suspicion; and drawing a fair inference concerning the steps they would take, from their previous conduct, we shall find reason to conclude that the court of Palermo, ever since they have seen the possibility of entering into terms with the French, would have opposed any interference on our part, in the internal government of the kingdom, and would have heaped up obstacle on obstacle, in the way of any salutary reforms, however sincerely we might have wished them to appear to their subjects as originating from themselves. And this reasoning, we have had occasion to find corroborated throughout the island, by many minute circumstances and inferences, which it is impossible to detail in these pages.

The government, in short, expects that we shall confine our operations to defending the island from the French; and to protect itself against its own subjects, it keeps arms out of their hands, and maintains in the capital a force sufficient (as it believes) to put down any sudden insurrection. And this is the position in which it is willing to await the Chapter of Accidents.

Another difficulty in bringing about these reforms would be found to exist in the parliament. The interest which the members of that assembly whose votes are valid, have in the present state of things, every body may clearly see in Mr. Leckie's account of their immunities. And though amongst the barons, we must do them the justice to say, that there are many who are enlightened enough to see their own advantage in reforming the present system, yet the court has managed, by many artful intrigues, to attach to its views, several of those who have the greatest number of votes, (and amongst them, one, on whose panegyric Mr. V— so unadvisedly dilates, and on whose friendship he has, it would appear, prized himself,) and has thus been able to maintain a majority. It is notorious, that since the year 1809, circumstances have occurred on the continent, which very probably may have had no inconsiderable

influence on the Sicilian cabinet. On these we shall presently make some remarks; but must first proceed to state, as briefly as possible, the remaining parties of the island, and their dispositions.

The barons are divided into two parties, perfectly inimical to each other; the one, truly Sicilian, born and resident in the island; the other, Neapolitan, who being attached to the court, and having large estates in the island, abandoned Naples with their sovereign. We have already had occasion to remark the hatred which exists between the Sicilians and Neapolitans. The very same distinction exists between these barons. The Neapolitans, considered as foreigners by the Sicilians, are, as it were, in exile in the island; and having relations and friends in Naples, they always retain the pleasing hope of joining them, and regaining their estates in that country. These ties strengthen their connection with the court, which equally dislikes its residence at Palermo, and sighs for its return to Naples. The dislike of the Sicilians for the Neapolitans has increased since their residence amongst them, by causing it more repeatedly to recur to their minds, that they are oppressed, not for the support of their own countrymen, but of foreigners. The Sicilian barons, excepting those who, from particular motives, are attached to the court, principally reside at Catania. That city is the seat of literature of the island. They are of much more pleasing manners, more hospitable, and less corrupt, and infinitely better educated than the Neapolitans. The greater proportion of these nobles are not truly barons, that is, having right to sit in parliament; they either possess rustic fiefs, or are of the second class of nobility.

The priests and religious orders are the next class we have to consider. Speaking of them "en masse," they are ignorant unenlightened men. It is an unpleasant task to pronounce judgment on any body of men, particularly on one so respectable as the clergy. Many exceptions are to be made, and a priest whom we would place foremost on that list, made so good an observation on this subject, that we cannot help repeating it.—"The Catholic clergy is too numerous," said he, "more so than any other class, and consequently it must have a greater number of bad characters in it." As to the disposition of this order, we believe it is not truly very cordial to the government, in consequence of the many lands it has taken from them, and the many reductions it has made, and is still making in their revenues; but notwithstanding this, their situation is still so good and so enviable, in comparison with that of the other classes, that they certainly cannot be inclined to a change. Under the actual state of the island they enjoy large benefices and

rents, and live in peace and plenty. Such comforts they surely would not risk for the precarious results of a reformation, which it is manifest cannot be brought about without some violent commotion, in which, were the minds of men once engaged, it would be impossible with any degree of probability to calculate the consequences. With regard to their disposition towards the French, it is as decidedly in detestation of them as that of the peasantry. They know too well what they have to expect from them; their property alone would not satisfy them, their persons would be requisite to fill up the deficiency in the French lines. On this subject they have received sufficient information from their brethren in Calabria; and the affairs of Spain are still too recent in their minds. We were shewn by a monk at a convent near Messina, at the time the enemy were on the opposite shores, a decree of the French for the more effectually abolishing the religious orders in Italy, dated but a month or two before. "This," says the monk, "lets us know clearly what we are to expect should they succeed. The influence which the priests have over the minds of the Sicilian peasantry is perhaps greater than that of the clergy in any other country; and perhaps to it is to be attributed some part of the patience with which they have borne all the vexations under which they groan.—Confessors at different convents have often observed to us the many good qualities these people possess, and have described their patience and long suffering with a degree of admiration and surprise, to which even the constant habit of experiencing it had not made them callous. We may, however, here remark what Plutarch somewhere observes to be frequently the case in the characters of individuals, that when once these patient people are wound up to desperation their anger knows no bounds; and it requires nearly as great a time to appease them as it does to excite them. This will be found to have been the case in the Sicilian insurrections. Some animals, particularly the camel, are found to possess this peculiarity of temper to a great degree.

Such is a brief sketch of the different parties in the island; and we will now proceed to view the ground on which we consequently stood in Sicily, and the policy of our conduct with regard to the actual government, which has been the subject of much discussion in this metropolis, and for which many and loud censures have been passed upon the British ministry. We have seen that the court of Palermo will not effect such reforms as can alone restore the island to prosperity, and place it in a state capable of defending itself—at all events it has not made these reforms. An Englishman, whether traveller, soldier, sailor, or merchant, on witnessing the degraded state in which Sicily is, exclaims, "And

is it possible that we are supporting a government of this description?" On his return to England, the abuses of the government afford him ample matter to prove to his friends that he has not travelled without making observations; the contagion spreads, and we hear, even in the senate, declamations against the abuses of the government, and consequent censures on our conduct in supporting it at so enormous an expense. They ask, whether Britons, whose government is the finest model of any in the whole globe, and who so highly and justly prize the blessings of independence, shall be the instruments of tyranny and oppression; and whether it will not be to our eternal disgrace that we support despotism and injustice?

We have already stated our opinion, that some conditions favourable to the people should have been inserted in the treaty made, when the Sicilian Government was altogether in our hands. But that having been omitted, and the French having contrived by intrigue to get a footing in their councils, we fear that our means are not now sufficient for more than to compass our principal object; which was, we conceive, to form a barrier to the conquests of the French, and thus to prevent them from extending their influence over the Mediterranean and its coasts; but particularly from obtaining possession of Sicily, which would furnish them in the execution of their ulterior projects with incalculable advantages. Of the infinite importance of such an object to Great Britain while in possession of Malta there is no occasion to enlarge. For this cause have we been at such heavy expense in subsidizing the Sicilian government, and in maintaining a large naval and military force there; and it was this which caused us originally to enter into the alliance: mutual were the advantages of the contract. This appears to us to be the true point of view in which we ought to consider our connexion with the court of Sicily; for such is our true relation with it.

Are we asked why we do not extend and strengthen our plan, by causing the requisite reforms to be effected, and thereby rendering the island in a state to which we may look forward to its relieving us from that great expense, and capable of defending itself? We answer, it is evident from what we have stated of the Sicilian court, that they are not now disposed to make the reforms we should require; and consequently, that if we adopt the determination of producing them, we must have recourse to compulsory measures. Now of the wisdom and policy of such a mode of proceeding, we confess ourselves to be very doubtful.

In the first place, we think, that having made the original

treaty with our eyes open, we are bound to preserve it, unless it can be shewn that it actually endangers our existence as a nation. But we are willing at present to consider the question solely as it relates to our interest, and on this ground we are utterly averse to imposing upon our small army in that island, the double task of revolutionizing the government and of defending it against the French. It would be perfectly impossible to reconcile all the discordant parties to any new system. We should therefore, although they are for the most part now perfectly unanimous as to the great object of keeping out the French, necessarily make many enemies by interfering with the tyrannical but highly valued privileges. The court would make what resistance it could, and their party would become somewhat formidable. Their force would amount to nearly 8000, which would be joined by all the Neapolitan nobles and their followers, by the lawyers, placemen, clergy, &c. They would hold possession of the capital, or more probably some strong position in the neighbourhood, whence it would be our object to drive them, in order to enforce such measures as we might have decided upon. We should thus have to withdraw our troops from the points they now occupy on the coast, which would be left unprotected against a threatening enemy.

The peasantry would in the first instance join us: they now, it is true, look up to us for relief from their present sufferings, but they have had reason to suspect that we are not on the best terms with their government; they have observed the horror with which we view the general corruption of the government, and from concurrent circumstances know that we do not abet their measures. They are convinced that our sole object in expending such sums of money, is to keep the French out of the island; and though they are aware of our want of influence in its government, yet they are perfectly sensible of the strict principles of honour which actuate and bind us in our conduct with regard to their sovereign. They are therefore obliged to attribute this conduct to the right motives, and they really give us some degree of credit for it. In the conduct we are recommended to adopt, by those who declaim against that which we now hold, they would no longer find these favorable impressions. No sooner would the peasantry be in commotion, than the priests would begin to exert their influence over their minds. The intolerant spirit of the Catholic church cannot regard Protestant controul with any degree of complacency. Nor could they possibly be brought to believe that Protestant reforms would be favorable to the privileges and immunities of a Catholic Clergy. They would represent to the people, that having once broken our

faith, they could have no pledge for the observance of any agreements we might make. They would apprehend that we were instigated by motives of interest, and that we might sacrifice their property. They would so far succeed as to inspire the minds of the people with diffidence and suspicion as to our plans. The Sicilian barons would very probably coalesce with the peasantry renouncing some of their immunities. But if anarchy and confusion did not take place amongst them, the suspicion they would entertain of our plans would render them wavering and unsteady. In the mean time, whilst we have withdrawn our troops from the coast of Messina, and are occupied in reducing the court party and enforcing our measures, the French indubitably would not neglect so favourable a crisis. They would avail themselves of the opportunity of landing a considerable force on the shores of the Pharo, against which the peasantry would not be able to make head with the same hopes of success as against those enemies to whom we are desirous that they should be opposed.

And let it not be thought so difficult a matter for the French to effect a landing on the island; the affair at Mili did not only prove to us, but clearly to Murat,\* not only the perfect possibility of eluding our naval force, but also the facility with which this could be effected during the changeable and boisterous weather which succeeds the autumnal equinox, and which precludes the possibility of our vessels and boats keeping their stations on so perilous a coast. But Murat evidently had been misinformed as to the disposition of the peasantry—he expected that they would rise against their own government on his making his appearance, and as many English have asserted, would receive the French with open arms. The probabilities are, that he secretly placed all his hopes in them, while he pretended to befriend the Neapolitans. When these two factions had come to open violence, he would then have profited by the disorder, and making sure of one or other joining him when he had effected a landing, he would have upheld that which he found most to his advantage, and have sacrificed the other. He was deceived as to the peasantry; they not only made no movement on his unfolding the French ensign on the mountains of Calabria; but when his troops did land at Mili, kept up from the hills so spirited a fire, that the French thought they were occupied by light infantry, and no longer pushed for them. Such a demonstration made him renounce all

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\* Vide his proclamation in retiring from Calabria.

hopes of their succour. The Neapolitan party was too distant to be of any use to him; besides, he saw how they were situated, and that their aid was but precarious; for that party naturally would not make any decided movements without being strongly supported: the plot could not be opened by them.

Thus, though he had proved the possibility of landing, all these circumstances, added to that of his communication with Calabria being cut off by our navy and gun-boats, and the immediate operations he would have to oppose, of a British army of 9000 men, in the highest spirits and discipline, whose valour the French had already experienced on the plains of Maida, gave so unfavorable an aspect to the enterprise, that he very wisely resolved to give it up. These circumstances in themselves contain more proof in favour of our argument than all the reasoning we could use. So to return from what may have appeared a digression, let us demand whether the interfering in the internal discords of the country, and exciting them to action, would not be bringing about that which Murat may very justly consider the most favourable state for renewing his attack? Just what he in vain waited for during the months of June, July, August, and September, last year? It is surely totally against our interest to excite such commotions at such a crisis. Besides this great risk and hazard, we should find other difficulties.

The royal family and the whole of its party must be removed from the island, or they would constantly, by their secret intrigues, be disseminating discontent. The new modelling and organizing a system of government would be a task to which we should scarcely find ourselves equal. To reconcile the discordant pretensions of so many clashing interests, would be an undertaking arduous in the extreme, even for natives, conversant with the genius, manners, and dispositions of the parties;—and how much more so to us. Besides, there are other reasons, before alluded to, which should determine us not to take upon ourselves the responsibility of interfering with the internal government of the island. To these we have already made some allusions. The relationship which now exists between Bonaparte and the queen of Sicily, since the marriage of the former to the princess of Austria, in April, 1810, together with the repeated communications which take place between Naples and Palermo, *under peculiar circumstances*; and the conduct of the court of Palermo already remarked, might lead us to suspect that the latter look forward to the restoration of Naples, or to some other part of Italy, as a compensation for the island of Sicily, which

they may have secretly determined to give up to the French.\* We have already shewn the little power the court of Palermo has of making even a movement to aid the French in getting a footing in the island. This, we may observe, principally arises from the position our army occupies, opposed on one hand to the French, and on the other, separating the Neapolitan party completely from a communication with them, and also from the manner in which that party is surrounded by an irritated peasantry, not only disaffected to them, but naturally hating the French, between whom and their court they have long since suspected an understanding to exist.

In the actual distribution, then, of our force in Sicily do we not observe a very desirable arrangement. Against the veteran soldiers and skilful commanders of the French, we have opposed British valour and discipline, which have so often proved more than a match for them: whilst the brave, hardy, and justly incensed peasantry are watching with a jealous eye every operation of the Neapolitans, whose unwarlike mercenaries they would extirpate with the same vengeance as they did in the end of the 13th century the venal and oppressive followers of Charles of Anjou. It appears, that in the course of events there remains no other alternative for the country. If the people themselves do not feel it necessary to assert their own rights, we do not wish to excite them to any such act. For we assert, that in such a case they would neither be able to appreciate nor to preserve the blessing. In what chapter of history, or in what speculation of sound argument, can we find any proof, that a foreign army can conquer and preserve for an ignorant and degenerate people the blessings of civil liberty? It is a matter then which must be left to the Sicilians themselves;—and it appears to us that the conduct of the existing British Government, in its relations with the court of Palermo, cannot but call forth our approbation. Their counsels have been guided by a sound and honest policy.

Although however we are averse to using our army, introduced for other purposes, as the instrument for revolutionizing Sicily, we trust most confidently, that it will never be used to rivet the chains of oppression, if the Sicilians themselves should shew a disposition to shake them off. We cannot help expressing our hopes, that ministers may have foreseen the probabilities of an insurrection in this ill-fated island, and the consequent necessity of instructing their agents and commanders as to the conduct they

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\* A Proclamation of the Sicilian Government in the early part of 1811, strenuously denies any connection with the French.



should pursue in so critical a conjuncture. In the month of February last, inflammatory placards were stuck up in Messina, and we understand that the same spirit manifests itself in other parts of the island. Should this burst forth, as we have no doubt it will, the safety and ultimate prosperity of the island would almost entirely depend on the conduct of Great Britain. But the situation in which we should be placed would be rather a delicate one. As the commotion would be more sensibly felt in the metropolis, the apprehension that the French might make any attack on the eastern or northern shores of the Pharo, would be quite a sufficient reason for detaining our troops in the neighbourhood of Messina, and would thereby enable us to preserve a neutrality which would add weight to our mediation.

Proclamations might be issued by our Commander in Chief to appease the people, assuring them of our impartiality. The court might once more experience the generosity of our government, and the people profit by a more enlightened policy than that by which we formerly were guided; and a glorious opportunity would occur of remedying the omission left in the original treaty, by mediating such moderate reforms, as the disposition of the people, and the relative strength of the contending parties, might justify us in recommending. Enjoying a high character in the minds of the people, and having at our command so respectable a force to control the licentious, they would accept our mediation with open arms. We might thus, without interfering with the secure defence of the island against the French, be enabled to restore tranquillity, by obtaining the abrogation of the corn laws, the abolition of the tribunal of patrimony, and the establishment of a more equal mode of taxation. Thus the island would be restored to a permanent state of prosperity and safety without our having either officiously or dishonorably interfered in its administration, or having run any of those risks to which we should otherwise have been exposed.

But we had much rather on every account that the reform should proceed from the Sicilian Government itself. It would be well if the court of Palermo would take warning, and consider and amend her state before she is driven to it. Did we believe that her Sicilian Majesty could so far lay aside the ancient prejudices of her station and family as to prevent the impending mischiefs by seriously setting about to ameliorate the condition of her subjects, we would venture to intrude something like the following advice upon her; which we would also recommend as the best, perhaps *the only*, and certainly *the safest* and most expeditious means of

permanently securing the Island from foreign invasion, and domestic insurrection.

1st, To act with unbounded confidence towards an ally who can have no other interest at heart than the protection of the weak powers of Europe against the overbearing preponderance of France.

2dly, To ask and to follow the advice of the British Commander upon every point relative to the maintenance, command, and organization of their army.

3dly, To give as much freedom to the trade of their subjects and of foreigners in the Sicilian Ports as may enable them to rival the once flourishing free ports of the Mediterranean.

4thly, To punish strictly and impartially such of their judges as are guilty of corruption.

5thly, To trust Sicilian counsellors alone so long as Sicily is all they have to preserve.

6thly, Not to allow a Frenchman to exist upon the Island, but as a prisoner.

7thly, To allow perfect freedom of export and of import of corn and all kinds of provisions.

8thly, To incur no useless expenses in the maintenance of squadrons either for parade or secret communication.

9thly, By economy to enable the Revenues to purchase the monopolies of the proprietors and to abolish them entirely when once purchased.

10thly, To reform the whole of the courts of justice, particularly that of the tribunal of patrimony, the abolition even of the name of which, and the substitution of a more equitable court for the management of the Crown property, would have the most beneficial effect.

11thly, To cause the ports of Girgenti and Trapani to be cleared of the sand which now chokes them, and to encourage traffic as well there as in all the harbours of the Island.

Such measures, with many others which may be pointed out, if gradually taken, would indissolubly unite the Government and the People; and we might once more see the Island of Sicily rising from insignificance to the control of the Mediterranean.

We have already extended this article to such a length, that we have no room to make many remarks on the information contained in the work before us with respect to the antiquities or ancient history of the Island. It is of the most superficial nature. We have to regret that Mr. V.— instead of detailing his sensations of

horror at an earthquake, or giving us a copy of his invitation to a nunnery, did not favor the public with some real information on the more interesting subjects with which the Island abounds. The "Eloro" and "Assinario" as he has translated them, or the Elorus and Assinarius, are two rivers concerning which he might have given us some notes of considerable interest. The latter is the stream referred to by Thucydides, (in the 7th book) where he describes the bloody battle between the Athenians and Syracusans in language which almost transports the reader into the very heat of the action. It was on its banks that Nicias surrendered himself up to Gylippus; the closing scene of the disastrous Expedition to Sicily. Mr. V—'s notes on Leontium are also incorrect. Cicero makes no mention whatever of that territory being particularly appropriated "to the feeding of the Romans." He tells us that Verres made such extortions from the occupiers of it, that when Cicero visited the place he found it totally abandoned; that in the first year of Verres's prætorship there were 83 labourers, whilst they were reduced to 52 in the third year. We can find no mention of Leontium as paying any other tribute to the Romans than the rest of the Island, (excepting the free cities and towns,) and the tenth, which was levied by the Lex Hieronica, a law whose very name was never to be changed. Cicero informs us that the difference between Sicily and the other Roman provinces was, that the other provinces, besides the tenth part of their produce, paid a tax in money, as the price of conquest: (this was the case in Spain and Carthage:) whilst Sicily was received into their faith and under their friendship with this condition only; that it should enjoy the rights and immunities possessed previous to its submission to the Roman dominion. He further observes, that there were few powers in Sicily which had been subjugated by the arms of their ancestors to which their lands were not restored, although by the right of war they might have been added to the territory of the republic. We do not find that Leontium is mentioned as one of these.

The very extensive subject of the corn laws of Sicily under the Roman republic, as they operated upon the agriculture and prosperity of the island, must be left for discussion to a future opportunity.

ART. XVI. *Practical Piety; or, the Influence of the Religion of the Heart on the Conduct of the Life.* By Hannah More. —Cadell and Davies. 1811.

As this is the first time the production of any female writer has fallen under our cognisance, we are desirous of shewing that, in the discharge of that scrupulous justice which belongs to us as critics, we are mindful of that delicacy towards the sex which belongs to us as gentlemen. But besides these general regards to which the authoress of the book now under our hands is entitled, the dignity of her moral and intellectual services challenges great personal respect; and to the influence of these impressions may be added the homage with which we approach every sincere exertion in behalf of religious improvement. Surrounded by these distinctions, Mrs. Hannah More presents herself to us as a person whom it would be criminally indecent to make the sport of precipitate criticism, or presumptuous judgment. We have, therefore, carefully perused her volumes, as well for the sake of the instruction they offer, (for who can undervalue advice so accredited), as in order that in quality of critics we may not insult her by vapid common-place, or compel her to carry from our self-constituted tribunal her lofty appeal to the public. With the lady in question we have no personal acquaintance: but we have owed to the efforts of her pen some of our most pleasant and profitable hours, and have often heard the stupid sentence of methodism pronounced upon her with the indignation which experience of the mischief of that portentous term should honestly excite.

The methodist has done harm to the established church, but the *term methodist* has been infinitely more successful against the cause of religion itself. The forges of the Philistines never sharpened a weapon of more destructive effect against the people of God. It has a magical irresistible force, independent of the hand which employs it. Women and children, and beaux and apprentices, are sturdy polemics with this weapon in their hands, and victorious over truth, and reason, and scripture. Has any man the fear or hope of what is to happen to him hereafter present to his thoughts, and impressed on his behaviour; has he the boldness to maintain the character of a Christian, and to carry the injunctions of Christianity into the practice of life, with whatever sobriety, consistency, and modesty—call him but a methodist, and every fat, 'unthinking face brightens into malicious meaning,' a shade at once envelops every virtue which belongs

to him, and every profligate fool, that listens to the charge, exults in the contrast between himself and the hypocrite.

To represent every appearance of devotion in the conduct of a Christian as an indication of methodism is a libel upon our church communion, without being intended as any compliment to those who dissent from it. The real object is to degrade that practical piety which is the subject of these volumes. While religion preserves that distance which her enemies would assign to her, while she languishes in her sabbath of secluded ease, or confines herself, within the porch and the academy, to fruitless speculation, without venturing her footsteps on the threshold of social life, she may live unmolested in a sort of holy sufferance; but if she descends into the busy walks of men, if she crosses the paths of pleasure, if she casts her bitters into the chalice of debauchery, or frowns upon the licentious levities of the tongue, the dread of her interference, like the alarm of invasion, unites the mass against her, and every voice is raised in unison to brand her with methodism, saintship, and hypocrisy. When shall we have a truce from this stupidest of all cants, this most childish and mischievous nonsense? Not certainly until the well-born and well-educated will learn to distinguish between rational piety and raving zeal, between a religious life and the shallow pretence of religion; and leave to vulgar wilters the dangerous and intolerant practice of charging with hypocrisy every characteristic of devotion, and assuming, as the test of a scismatic departure from our church, that practical holiness of life which is the *specific* result of its doctrines.

That no church or communion was ever so well framed to propagate not only the spirit but the works of piety as our own, will be readily admitted by those who best understand its economy and its history; but yet it seldom produces its natural fruits without subjecting him, whose conduct bears this testimony to its excellence, to a coarse and ignorant charge of methodism, with which is usually coupled the imputation of hypocrisy. If this pernicious habit were confined to persons of unripe years, to minds unmeliorated by thought or experience, to mere men of the world, to the trifling, the vicious, or the profane, our reflections upon it would be less painful; but unhappily the propensity to this practice has of late extended itself to classes of much higher respectability, and has insensibly betrayed the judgment of men of real worth and eminence. It is a plain and ordinary rule, that actions, and even professions, which have the resemblance of good in them, should be charitably and favourably interpreted. On what principle of justice, then,

is the display of religion in the only way in which it can be sensibly demonstrated, to be turned without farther evidence into a charge of hypocrisy? for such truly is the meaning and effect of the term *methodism*, when applied to those who, without any of the presumptuous pretensions which distinguish that sect, endeavour to embody their religion in their conduct, and to plead for its introduction into life and society, with the visible rhetoric of their example.

It is surely a very obvious duty, (and one whose obligation on other questions of conduct we are ready enough to acknowledge), to consider what is the proper and specific test of hypocrisy, before we cast upon any man so opprobrious an imputation. Consistency and constancy are the only candid and appropriate tests for trying the sincerity of religious professions, and, however wild and fanatical these professions may be, we have no right to arraign them of hypocrisy, unless we can found the charge upon some overt acts of incongruity and contradiction. The grossest excesses of fanaticism may be sincere; while a conduct conformed to the dictates of the soundest discretion may conceal dispositions of a very opposite character, which wait only to be unmasked by opportunity. In the same manner *methodism* which may or may not be hypocritical, (as is the case with respect to the profession of every other communion,) has its proper marks and characteristics. We may safely pronounce him a *methodist* who goes to the meeting-house instead of the church. And though a man may choose, from whatever motives, to adhere to the communion of the established church, yet if he talks and acts as a believer in the doctrine of sudden conversion, periodical visitations of the spirit, inward assurances of salvation, and other such holy experiences, though a member of the church by profession, he has practically adopted tenets very remote from its grave and orthodox simplicity, and equally remote from the sacred text, when rationally and soberly expounded, and with sufficient regard to the bearings of one part upon another. But these wanderings of the heart and perversions of scripture, though they may be plain indications of a proud imagination, undisciplined affections, and defective understanding; still they are no proofs of hypocrisy, even though accompanied by occasional aberrations of conduct; nor are they to be reclaimed, we fear, by the gravest censures, much less by the ridicule or rage of unscrupulous hostility. Some too there doubtless are within the pale of the church, who may carry their notions of particular providences, their speculations upon faith, their expectations of supernatural aid, and their views of the doctrines of election and

probation, to an extent bordering upon the persuasions of methodists, or calvinists. But, in the name of common decency and charity, let such persons be treated with the respect and candour due to a discrepancy upon points on which to dispute, and to err, belongs equally to the curiosity and weakness of our nature. If, without attending to any distinguishing characteristics of theological difference, we take the strenuous adherence to religious practices, or a more than ordinary activity in diffusing the elements of sound instruction, or a more emphatic use of religion in the intercourse of life, as the indication of a methodistical or sectarian tendency, what a costly present do we make to the dissenters, of character, of dignity, and of excellence; and what a calumny do we cast upon that church whose dear-bought title to the crown of sanctity is recorded in the lives and deaths of her triumphant martyrs!

The practical precepts which these volumes inculcate, and which, we have no doubt, there are many sagacious persons who, without reading them, will pronounce rank methodism, in the despicable cant of ignorance and impiety, is the truest commentary upon the creed and worship of our national church. If Socrates conferred a benefit on mankind by bringing down *philosophy* from her scholastic heights and speculative abstractions, to the familiar walk of domestic life, can those be said to deserve less praise who bring *religion* into contact with the business and actions of men; who carry its influence from our altars to our hearths, and cause it to be heard and seen in the harmony of the heart, and the beauty of regulated affections?

Those humble and holy men—our Hookers, our Hopkins's, our Tillotsons, and our Seckers, thus thought and predicated of our national church. They were not behind the dissenters in a virtuous severity of discipline, and the duties of a reasonable service; but they unfolded the *peculiar* graces of our church in the spiritual sublimity of their doctrines, and the sober sanctity of their lives. Shall all imitation of these excellent men be called hypocrisy; and shall we renounce, in favour of the dissenters from our church, this holy inheritance of example? Shall it be denied that a practical and pervasive piety is as much the real characteristic of a sincere churchman, as the fervid persuasion of a spiritual illumination is the distinguishing mark of the methodist?

The spiritual improvement of the true churchman is progressively matured with the aid of the holy spirit silently seconding his endeavours, but affording him no other assurances than what are contained in the promises of the written word; and if there

be any more *compendious* method of salvation, he pretends not to it. It is therefore as false in fact, as it is fatal in consequence, to give to this practical profession of piety the name of methodism, or to refuse to recognise it as the legitimate offspring of the rational religion of our church. Were the pure essence of virtue to present herself in a visible form to the eyes of men, the ancients imagined that all hearts would be enamoured of her, and virtue was inseparable from piety even in the contemplation of heathens. Half the piety which the great captains of Greece and Rome displayed under religious institutions which we so much despise, if manifested in the life of a christian clergyman, would bring him under a suspicion of hypocrisy and schism. In the midst of their career of glory, the Fabii and the Emilii left the field of victory, obedient to the solemn calls of their religious functions, and Rome saw with tranquillity the campaign suspended while her warrior presided at the celebration of her superstitious rites. But what would be the fate of such men at the present day? Without doubt we should make a present of them to the conventicle. The blooming integrity and juvenile graces of Nasica's character would have ranked him in modern times among puritans, methodists, and pretended saints.

Unless care be taken we shall soon have persons of no religion at all authoritatively promulgating the creed and character, the duties and distinctions of our national religion. There is no doubt but that under such hands it will soon be negatively distinguished from all other religions, and will be as distant from methodism as if Mahomet had moulded its institutions. But the people of this country are not to be so cajoled. A religion they will have, aye, and a religion of the heart, as it is distinguished in the language of Mrs. More; and if they do not find it in our church, which is its safe and proper abode, they will look for it where excess and fanaticism are blended with its operations. It is the want of adverting to these distinctions, and of doing justice to our church and the memory of her founders, that gives the methodists at this time such a formidable success in drawing off its members. In vain do we clamour against them; in vain do the clergy join in that ridicule and abuse of them, by which the freethinkers gratify their enmity towards religion itself; in vain do we refuse them the hostile justice of representing their tenets and practices as they exist in fact and truth: under this sort of pressure they will act with elastic force. One solitary method remains to us of stopping this alarming defection. Our clergy and the faithful members of our church must, instead of a flag of defiance, erect a rallying standard round which her faithful champions may



resort; on which her peaceful achievements, her victories of patience, her triumphs of zeal, and her trophies of faith, may be modestly but conspicuously blazoned. The practice of her professors must be the mirror of her perfections; and those who are sincerely attached to her cause must shew that a pure religion can warm the heart, and produce a correspondent system of behaviour, as well at least as a religion of vain illusions and fallacious assurances. This is the last solemn stake of our established religion. By this it must stand or fall. It will be as vain for her to place her security in the rampart with which authority and antiquity have encircled her, as it was for Rome, in the days of her declension, to trust to her wall between the Rhine and the Danube, or to the awe of her prescriptive grandeur. The church's true and only barrier is her *interior* discipline.

The professed member of the church of England, who desires to be informed how he may best adorn his profession, will find his object answered by consulting this little treatise on *practical piety*. The writer has displayed a deep insight into human nature, and a freshness and verdure in her observations on living manners, astonishing in one who has passed her latter years in literate ease, removed from that broad intercourse with society from which this intelligence is drawn. The proud aberrations of the heart, the selfish sophistry of the passions, the dangers of self-confidence, the vanity of a mere exterior devotion, and the beauty of internal holiness, are here described with great vigour, truth, and vivacity. To a mind constituted and exercised as Mrs. More's seems to be truth is natural and habitual; and truth on divine subjects produces correctness of thinking; and from correctness of thinking comes propriety of expression. But her aim and her execution were certainly beyond this. She seems to have been fully sensible that the difficulty of her task consisted in giving to a beaten track the invitations of novelty, and opening prospects from the road which less minute observers have left unnoticed. Every now and then she has conducted us to a point of view that has spread our intellectual vision over scenes of contemplation, in which beauty has been combined with grandeur, under new and interesting forms. But she most excels in those livelier details, which bring religion home to our business and bosoms; presenting her in the useful sphere of her active duties, and within the glowing precincts of her charities and affections.

So convinced are we that on this subject the voice of the charmer will not be listened to, charm he ever so wisely, unless he possesses also the charms of novelty and vivacity,

that we are disposed to make great allowance for those errors of composition into which the authoress has sometimes fallen. In her desire to dress up her subject with all the allurements of style, she has sometimes given it a drapery a little fantastic, and somewhat unsuited to the sober grace which belongs to its character. In striving to be new, she is sometimes unnatural; in endeavouring to be striking, she is in some few instances extravagant; her thoughts are sometimes too crowded for perspicuity, and too encumbered with epithets to move on with ease. Her liveliness of imagination, combined with her dread of being dull, has sometimes, though rarely, got the better of her admirable taste, and betrayed her into the use of an ostentatious diction, and a lavish waste of decoration. Sometimes she is chargeable with incongruity of metaphor, and is obscure by excess of illustration. The play of her genius sometimes tammers too long with a thought, and the exuberance of her imagery sometimes expands a sentiment till its force is dissipated. To take leave of a favourite idea in proper time is a discretion not often observable in animated writers; and on topics in which the heart is strongly engaged, the zeal of the writer will often counteract itself.

Mrs. More, like other vigorous writers, delights in the antithesis. But this, and indeed all artifices of style, should be frugally employed; never but when the sentiment naturally suggests and almost requires it. Weakness is the sure result of every endeavour to swell the natural size of a sentiment, in order to fill out a period of artificial structure; but vigour and point-edness is the general consequence of contracting the language to the dimensions of the thought. The antithesis is very apt to lead into error. Its beauty does not consist in the semblance of opposition produced by a contrariety in the *language*, but in the vivacious contrast between two branches of a *sentiment*, imparting strength and relief to each other. The antitheses of Mrs. More are, for the most part, of this latter sort, brilliant and correct; but she is not wholly guiltless of that spurious kind so common in the ambitious publications of the day, which seek rather to captivate than convince. One or two instances we have noticed of words rather quaintly used, and which we should say, if we were not reviewing the production of a person so exalted above any such suspicion, had a sort of scholastic affectation in them: and it is this same dignity of the writer which makes us always sorry to meet with a French word in her masculine and truly English pages. We shall take the liberty by and by of producing a passage or two to instance these observations, but

we are unable any longer to refrain from exercising the more agreeable part of our province—that of doing justice to the excellencies of a work of such extraordinary merit.

The object of the first chapter is to shew that Christianity is an internal principle, and not merely a religion of forms and decencies: that it is not to be satisfied by the mere observance of its exterior injunctions, but must be seated in the bosom, and regulate and exalt the affections. That our religion, to be sincere and acceptable, should be of this inwardly operative character, no man will deny in theory, who has any knowledge of the Christian profession: and every professed member of our truly Christian establishment, unless he entertains this view of its discipline and spirit, professes it unworthily, and does the grossest injustice to its character. Mrs. More has, with great elegance of thought and discriminative force of expression, defined this deep-seated sentiment of piety, and shews it in the true and only form in which it is calculated to become the foundation of that practical system which her subsequent chapters develop. A religion which expends itself in raptures, or confines its illuminations to the bosom, instead of casting its holy beams upon life and society, leads, by a very regular course, from self-confidence to self-abuse, and by degrees into all the sottish absurdities of fanaticism. But the best security against mistakes so seducing and so pernicious, is to rectify our thoughts by the standard of purity and humility which is recommended in this chapter. We are there taught to disclaim every ground of internal assurance but what springs from a comparison of our conduct with the rule of scripture. This seems to us to be a true account of the scope of the first chapter of the book; and if this be not good and sound doctrine, we must avert our eyes from the lessons and examples of Hooker, and Taylor, and Hopkins, and Horne, and Beveridge. Without these internal graces the gait of piety will always be awkward, and her deportment formal and frigid. Her discipline must begin at the heart: and from thence its gentle influences silently mixing with our passions and affections, and softening down their asperities, will gradually be identified with our general character, and dissolved into the mass of our feelings and habits. We will now let Mrs. More explain herself upon this subject.

“ The change in the human heart, which the Scriptures declare to be necessary, they represent to be not so much an old principle improved as a new one created; not educed out of the former character, but infused into the new one. This change is there expressed, in great varieties of language, and under different figures of speech. Its being so frequently described, or figuratively intimated

in almost every part of the volume of inspiration, intitles the doctrine itself to reverence, and ought to shield from obloquy the obnoxious terms in which it is sometimes conveyed.

“The sacred writings frequently point out the analogy between natural and spiritual things. The same spirit which in the creation of the world moved upon the face of the waters, operates on the human character to produce a new heart and a new life. By this operation the affections and faculties of the man receive a new impulse—his dark understanding is illuminated, his rebellious will is subdued, his irregular desires are rectified; his judgment is informed, his imagination is chastised, his inclinations are sanctified; his hopes and fears are directed to their true and adequate *era*. Heaven becomes the object of his hopes, an eternal separation from God the object of his fears. His love of the world is transmuted into the love of God. The lower faculties are pressed into the new service. The senses have a higher direction. The whole internal frame and constitution receive a nobler bent; the intents and purposes of the mind a sublimer aim; his aspirations a loftier flight; his vacillating desires find a fixed object: his vagrant purposes a settled home; his disappointed heart a certain refuge. That heart, no longer the worshipper of the world, is struggling to become its conqueror. Our blessed Redeemer, in overcoming the world, bequeathed us his command to overcome it also; but as he did not give the command without the example, so he did not give the example without the offer of a power to obey the command.

“Genuine religion demands not merely an external profession of our allegiance to God, but an inward devotedness of ourselves to his service. It is not a recognition, but a dedication. It puts the Christian into a new state of things, a new condition of being. It raises him above the world while he lives in it. It disperses the illusions of sense, by opening his eyes to realities in the place of those shadows which he has been pursuing. It presents this world as a scene whose original beauty sin has darkened and disordered, man as a helpless and dependent creature, Jesus Christ as the repairer of all the evils which sin has caused, and as our restorer to holiness and happiness. Any religion short of this, any, at least, which has not this for its end and object, is not that religion which the Gospel has presented to us, which our Redeemer came down on earth to teach us by his precepts, to illustrate by his example, to confirm by his death, and to consummate by his resurrection.

“The religion which it is the object of these pages to recommend has been sometimes misunderstood, and not seldom misrepresented. It has been described as an unproductive theory, and ridiculed as a fanciful extravagance. For the sake of distinction it is here called, *The Religion of the heart*. There it subsists as the fountain of spiritual life; *thence* it sends forth, as from the central seat of its existence, supplies of life and warmth through the whole frame; *there* is the soul of virtue, *there* is the vital principle which animates the whole being of a Christian.

“ This religion has been the support and consolation of the pious believer in all ages of the church. That it has been perverted both by the cloystered and the un-cloystered mystic, not merely to promote abstraction of mind, but inactivity of life, makes nothing against the principle itself. What doctrine of the New Testament has not been made to speak the language of its injudicious advocate, and turned into arms against some other doctrine which it was never meant to oppose ?

“ But if it has been carried to a blameable excess by the pious error of holy men, it has also been adopted by the less innocent fanatic, and abused to the most pernicious purposes. His extravagance has furnished to the enemies of internal religion arguments, or rather invectives, against the sound and sober exercises of genuine piety. They seize every occasion to represent it as if it were criminal, as the foe of morality; ridiculous, as the intallible test of an unsound mind; mischievous, as hostile to active virtue; and destructive, as the bane of public utility.”

If any man can read the passages above produced without a cordial assent to their reasoning and sentiments, and without recognising in them a very just picture of true devotion, and such as well becomes the most solid and rational member of the church of England, we have no part in his feelings; and are entirely ignorant what model of religion his private thoughts have suggested to him, unless it be a system of cold and barren generalities that belong rather to the porch and the academy than the church of Christ.

The succeeding chapter is upon the practical principle of religion, for which the previous discussion was a most suitable preparation. This part of the subject is treated in a style and manner that makes the religion of the heart the object also of exalted taste. After reading this chapter, a reasonable unprejudiced mind must feel a repugnance to any system of morals of which religion is not the soul. The cold didactics of ancient prudence will afford but a dry amusement to one, whose heart is warmed by the temperate beams of that holy fervour, and spiritual benevolence, which shine with such sober lustre in the sentiments and diction of this beautiful chapter. We have read it with the greatest admiration of the heart and head of the authoress. She has done the cause of the human soul a most acceptable service, by her accurate and amiable display of social energetic piety. Who would not wish to dress his religion before so polished and faithful a mirror? We shall be forgiven, therefore, for presenting a copious specimen of this vigorous and animated lecture.

“ All the doctrines of the Gospel are practical principles. The word of God was not written, the Son of God was not incarnate, the

Spirit of God was not given, only that Christians might obtain right views, and possess just notions. Religion is something more than mere correctness of intellect, justness of conception, and exactness of judgement. It is a life-giving principle. It must be infused into the habit, as well as govern in the understanding; it must regulate the will, as well as direct the creed. It must not only cast the opinions into a right frame, but the heart into a new mould. It is a transforming as well as a penetrating principle. It changes the tastes, gives activity to the inclinations, and, together with a new heart, produces a new life.

“Christianity enjoins the same temper, the same spirit, the same dispositions, on all its real professors. The act, the performance, must depend on circumstances which do not depend on us. The power of doing good is withheld from many, from whom, however, the reward will not be withheld. If the external act constituted the whole value of Christian virtue, then must the author of all good be himself the author of injustice, by putting it out of the power of multitudes to fulfil his own commands. In principles, in tempers, in fervent desires, in holy endeavours, consist the very essence of Christian duty.

“Nor must we fondly attach ourselves to the practice of some particular virtue, or value ourselves exclusively on some favourite quality; nor must we wrap ourselves up in the performance of some individual actions as if they formed the sum of Christian duty. But we must embrace the whole law of God in all its aspects, bearings, and relations. We must bring no fancies, no partialities, no prejudices, no exclusive choice or rejection, into our religion, but take it as we find it, and obey it as we receive it, as it is exhibited in the Bible without addition, curtailment, or adulteration.

“Nor must we pronounce on a character by a single action really bad, or apparently good; if so, Peter's denial would render him the object of our execration, while we should have judged favourably of the prudent economy of Judas. The catastrophe of the latter, who does not know? while the other became a glorious martyr to that master whom, in a moment of infirmity, he had denied.

“A piety altogether spiritual, disconnected with all outward circumstances; a religion of pure meditation, and abstracted devotion, was not made for so compound, so imperfect a creature as man. There have, indeed, been a few sublime spirits, not “touch'd but rapt,” who totally cut off from the world, seem almost to have literally soared above the terrene region; who almost appear to have stolen the fire of the Seraphim, and to have had no business on earth, but to keep alive the celestial flame. They would, however, have approximated more nearly to the example of their divine master, the great standard and only perfect model, had they combined a more diligent discharge of the active duties and beneficences of life with their high devotional attainments.

“But while we are in little danger of imitating, let us not too harshly censure the pious error of these sublimated spirits. Their

number is small. Their example is not catching. Their ethereal fire is not likely, by spreading, to inflame the world. The world will take due care not to come in contact with it; while its distant light and warmth may cast, accidentally, a not unuseful ray on the cold-hearted and the worldly.

“ But from this small number of refined but inoperative beings we do not intend to draw our notions of practical piety. God did not make a religion for these few exceptions to the general state of the world, but for the world at large; for beings active, busy, restless; whose activity he, by his word, diverts into its proper channels; whose busy spirit is there directed to the common good; whose restlessness, indicating the unsatisfactoriness of all they find on earth, he points to a higher destination. Were total seclusion and abstraction designed to have been the general state of the world, God would have given man other laws, other rules, other faculties, and other employments.

“ There is a class of visionary, but pious writers, who seem to shoot as far beyond the mark, as mere moralists fall short of it. Men of low views and gross minds may be said to be wise *below* what is written, while those of too subtle refinement are wise *above* it. The one grovel in the dust from the inertness of their intellectual faculties; while the others are lost in the clouds by stretching them beyond their appointed limits. The one build spiritual castles in the air, instead of erecting them on the “holy ground” of Scripture; the other lay their foundation in the sand, instead of resting it on the rock of ages. Thus, the superstructure of both is equally unsound.

“ God is the fountain from which all the streams of goodness flow; the centre from which all the rays of blessedness diverge. All our actions are, therefore, only good, as they have a reference to him: the streams must revert back to their fountain, the rays must converge again to their centre.

“ If love of God be the governing principle, this powerful spring will actuate all the movements of the rational machine. The essence of religion does not so much consist in actions as affections. Though right actions, therefore, as, from an excess of courtesy, they are commonly termed, may be performed where there are no right affections; yet are they a mere carcase, utterly destitute of the soul, and, therefore, of the substance of virtue. But neither can affections substantially and truly subsist without producing right actions; for never let it be forgotten that a pious inclination which has not life and vigour sufficient to ripen into act when the occasion presents itself, and a right action which does not grow out of a sound principle, will neither of them have any place in the account of real goodness. A good inclination will be contrary to sin, but a mere inclination will not subdue sin.

“ The love of God, as it is the source of every right action and feeling, so is it the only principle which necessarily involves the love of our fellow-creatures. As man we do not love man. There is a partiality but not of benevolence; of sensibility but not of philan-

thropy ; of friends and favourites, of parties and societies, but not of man collectively. It is true we may, and do, without this principle, relieve his distresses, but we do not bear with his faults. We may promote his fortune, but we do not forgive his offences; above all, we are not anxious for his immortal interests. We could not see him want without pain, but we can see him sin without emotion. We could not hear of a beggar perishing at our door without horror; but we can, without concern, witness an acquaintance dying without repentance. Is it not strange that we must participate something of the divine nature, before we can really love the human? It seems, indeed, to be an insensibility to sin, rather than want of benevolence to mankind, that makes us naturally pity their temporal and be careless of their spiritual wants; but does not this very insensibility proceed from the want of love to God?"

By the perusal of this and the forgoing chapters, we are impressed with a conviction that, after education and general artificial culture have done their utmost, there is yet a grace beyond their reach, which it is the prerogative of this practical religion alone to bestow; that he must have a bad taste in moral behaviour, who can deem any specimen perfect without a prevailing mixture of this quality; and that this is that fine, yet artless instrument of fascination, which imparts energy to ease, and puts a soul into that which, without it, is mere machinery and lifeless imitation.

The chapter also on the mistakes of religion is full of useful observation pointed with great felicity of phrase. It is impossible to refrain from laying a specimen or two before the reader. The chapter describes the prevailing mistakes belonging to three different sorts of religious professors. On the first of which Mrs. More makes the following observations.

"The religion of one consists in a sturdy defence of what they themselves call orthodoxy, an attendance on public worship, and a general decency of behaviour. In their views of religion, they are not a little apprehensive of excess, not perceiving that their danger lies on the other side. They are far from rejecting faith or morals, but are somewhat afraid of *believing* too much, and a little scrupulous about *doing* too much, lest the former be suspected of fanaticism, and the latter of singularity. These Christians consider religion as a point, which they, by their regular observances, having attained, there is nothing further required but to maintain the point they have reached, by a repetition of the same observances. They are therefore satisfied to remain stationary, considering that whoever has obtained his end, is of course saved the labour of pursuit; he is to keep his ground, without troubling himself in searching after an imaginary perfection.

"These frugal Christians are afraid of nothing so much as superfluity in their love, and supererogation in their obedience. This



kind of fear however is always superfluous, but most especially in those who are troubled with the apprehension. They are apt to weigh in the nicely poised scales of scrupulous exactness the duties which must of hard necessity be done, and those which without much risk may be left undone; compounding for a larger indulgence by the relinquishment of a smaller; giving up, through fear, a trivial gratification to which they are less inclined, and snatching doubtfully, as an equivalent, at one they like better. The gratification in both cases being perhaps such as a manly mind would hardly think worth contending for, even were religion out of the question."

On the subject of 'conversion' she expresses herself in a way to remove all obloquy from the term, and give it acceptance with the rational Christian and orthodox churchman.

"Among the many mistakes in religion, it is commonly thought that there is something so unintelligible, absurd, and fanatical in the term conversion, that those who employ it run no small hazard of being involved in the ridicule it excites. It is seldom used but ludicrously, or in contempt. This arises partly from the levity and ignorance of the censurer, but perhaps as much from the imprudence and enthusiasm of those who have absurdly confined it to real or supposed instances of sudden or miraculous changes from profligacy to piety. But surely, with reasonable people, we run no risk in asserting that he, who being awakened by any of those various methods which the Almighty uses to bring his creatures to the knowledge of himself, who seeing the corruptions that are in the world, and feeling those with which his own heart abounds, is brought, whether gradually or more rapidly, from an evil heart of unbelief, to a lively faith in the Redeemer; from a life, not only of gross vice, but of worldliness and vanity, to a life of progressive piety; whose humility keeps pace with his progress; who, though his attainments are advancing, is so far from counting himself to have attained, that he presses onward with unabated zeal, and evidences, by the change in his conduct, the change that has taken place in his heart—such a one is surely as sincerely converted, and the effect is as much produced by the same divine energy as if some instantaneous revolution in his character had given it a miraculous appearance. The doctrines of Scripture are the same now as when David called them 'a law *converting* the soul, and giving *light* to the eyes.' This is perhaps the most accurate and comprehensive definition of the change for which we are contending, for it includes both the illumination of the understanding, and the alteration in the disposition."

Again we are tempted to transcribe a passage in which the authoress has embellished her theme with the graces of her rhetoric.

"If, then, you resolve to take up religion in earnest, especially if you have actually adopted its customary forms, rest not in such

low attainments as will afford neither present peace nor future happiness. To know Christianity only in its external forms, and its internal dissatisfactions, its superficial appearances without, and its disquieting apprehensions within, to be desirous of standing well with the world as a Christian, yet to be unsupported by a well-founded Christian hope, to depend for happiness on the opinion of men, instead of the favour of God, to go on dragging through the mere exercises of piety, without deriving from them real strength, or solid peace; to live in the dread of being called an enthusiast, by outwardly exceeding in religion, and in secret consciousness of falling short of it, to be conformed to the world's view of Christianity, rather than to aspire to be transformed by the renewing of your mind, is a state not of pleasure but of penalty, not of conquest, but of hopeless conflict, not of ingenuous love but of tormenting fear. It is knowing religion only as the captive in a foreign land knows the country in which he is a prisoner. He hears from the cheerful natives of its beauties, but is himself ignorant of every thing beyond his own gloomy limits. He hears of others as free and happy, but feels nothing himself but the rigours of incarceration.

“The Christian character is little understood by the votaries of the world; if it were, they would be struck with its grandeur. It is the very reverse of that meanness and pusillanimity, that abject spirit and those narrow views which those who know it not ascribe to it.

“A Christian lives at the height of his being; not only at the top of his spiritual, but of his intellectual life. He alone lives in the full exercise of his rational powers. Religion ennobles his reason while it enlarges it.

“Let, then, your soul act up to its high destination, let not that which was made to soar to heaven grovel in the dust. Let it not live so much below itself. You wonder it is not more fixed, when it is perpetually resting on things which are not fixed themselves. In the rest of a Christian there is stability. Nothing can shake his confidence but sin. Outward attacks and troubles rather fix than unsettle him, as tempests from without only serve to root the oak faster, while an inward canker will gradually rot and decay it.

“These are only a few of the mistakes among the multitude which might have been pointed out; but these are noticed as being of common and every day occurrence. The ineffectiveness of such a religion will be obvious.

“That religion which sinks Christianity into a mere conformity to religious usages, must always fail of substantial effects. If sin be seated in the heart, if that be its home, that is the place in which it must be combated. It is in vain to attack it in the suburbs when it is lodged in the centre. Mere forms can never expel that enemy which they can never reach. By a religion of decencies, our corruptions may perhaps be driven out of sight, but they will never be driven out of possession. If they are expelled from their outworks, they will retreat to their citadel. If they do not appear in the grosser forms prohibited by the decalogue, still they will exist. The

shape may be altered, but the principle will remain. They will exist in the spiritual modification of the same sins equally forbidden by the divine expositor. He who dares not be revengeful, will be unforgiving. He who ventures not to break the letter of the seventh commandment in act, will violate it in the spirit. He who has not courage to forfeit heaven by profligacy will scale it by pride, or forfeit it by unprofitableness."

In the chapter on periodical religion those fits and starts of piety and repentance which checquer the existence of a man of the world, who is sensible of the obligations of religion and the precarious state of his soul; his struggle to reconcile what will never coalesce, his warmth in the cause of religion as opposed to infidelity, and his little regard to it as opposed to our appetites and desires; his solicitude about the worship of God, and his practical renunciation of his service, are represented with great spirit and penetration. Her observations seem all to be fresh drawn, and racy from the living fountains of truth and experience. We will just give the reader the concluding passage of this chapter.

"The hackneyed interrogation 'What—must we be always talking about religion?' must have the hackneyed answer—Far from it. Talking about religion is not being religious. But we may bring the *spirit* of religion into company, and keep it in perpetual operation, when we do not professedly make it our subject. We may be constantly advancing its interests, we may without effort or affectation be giving an example of candour, of moderation, of humility, of forbearance. We may employ our influence by correcting falsehood, by checking levity, by discouraging calumny, by vindicating misrepresented merit, by countenancing every thing which has a good tendency—in short, by throwing our whole weight, be it great or small, into the right scale."

The chapters on 'prayer' and 'the devotional spirit' contain much excellent matter, expressed with her accustomed force and vivacity. And the same may be said of those on the love of God and a particular Providence; though we must confess that, on the latter subject, she seems to us to urge the doctrine into something like an excess of minuteness, and a little beyond the point of useful applicability, as a regulator of ordinary life. It seems a little too much to conclude that "for our purification and correction, the hand of Providence has been secretly at work, in the imperfections and disagreeableness of those who may be about us, in the perverseness of those with whom we transact business, and in those interruptions which break in upon our favourite engagements." If some are made perverse and disagreeable for the correction and exercise of others, as the mercy of God is over all his works, the principle of the ar-

gument must suppose that those perverse dispositions find their correctives in the obliquities of temper with which others are afflicted *for their sakes*, that others of a darker quality are still behind, and that thus the shades of deterioration may go on deepening in an indefinite succession.

That the whole of the moral as well as material world is under the just and general dispensation of Providence; and that the ordinary and appointed course of things is frequently superseded by his special interposition: that nothing is so minute as to elude his omniscience, or so remote as to be beyond the puissant range of his will; that every thing in existence is fulfilling his word and conspiring to his eternal purposes; are unquestionable truths: but still it seems to us that they may be pressed too far in their application: and that to refer every familiar occurrence to a special Providence, is not useful in practice; and may sometimes, by raising confidence too high, or depressing too low the active principle, perplex the dispositions of common life, and become the source of much practical illusion.

Life is so well provided with folly and perversity, that there is no doubt but that we shall continue to have enough to supply the reciprocal exercise of our religious forbearance out of the permanent stock of our infirmities, without calling in aid specific contrivance or appointment; and though it is certain that not a sparrow falls to the ground without the knowledge of its creator; yet in the moral world it may be safer to confine our speculations to the general displays of his providence, the guidance of that interior monitor which he has set up in our hearts, and the standing monuments of his holy pleasure with which we are surrounded; lest by venturing too far into surmises concerning particular events, constructions flattering to our pride, or seducing to our imaginations, may destroy the balance of our minds.

What is said of repentance, among many keen observations, in the chapter on self-examination, deserves to be produced for its excellent sense and utility.

“That general burst of sins which so frequently rushes in on the consciences of the dying, would be much moderated by previous habitual self-examination. It will not do to repent in the lump. The sorrow must be as circumstantial as the sin. Indefinite repentance is no repentance. And it is one grand use of self-enquiry, to remind us that all unforsaken sins are unrepented sins.”

In the chapter on self-love Mrs. More makes several just remarks upon the moral theory of the *Essay on Man*; in which, certainly, the unsoundness of the theology is but ill compensated

business, you would not think it was the same man. The one are to be got over, the others are enjoyed. He goes from the dull decencies, the shadowy forms, for such they are to him, of public worship, to the solid realities of his worldly concerns, to the cheerful activities of secular life. These he considers as bounden, almost as exclusive duties. The others indeed may not be wrong; but these he is sure are right. The world is his element. Here he breathes freely his native air. Here he is substantially engaged. Here his whole mind is alive; his understanding broad awake; all his energies are in full play; his mind is all alacrity; his faculties are employed; his capacities are filled; here they have an object worthy of their widest expansion. Here his desires and affections are absorbed. The faint impression of the Sunday's sermon fades away, to be as faintly revived on the Sunday following, again to fade in the succeeding week. To the sermon he brings a formal ceremonious attendance; to the world he brings all his heart and soul, and mind, and strength. To the one he resorts in conformity to law and custom; to induce him to resort to the other, he wants no law, no sanction, no invitation, no argument. His will is of the party. His passions are volunteers. The invisible things of heaven are clouded in shadow, are lost in distance. The world is lord of the ascendant. Riches, honours, power, fill his mind with brilliant images. They are present, they are certain, they are tangible. They assume form and bulk. In these therefore he cannot be mistaken; in the others he may. The eagerness of competition, the struggle for superiority, the perturbations of ambition, fill his mind with an emotion, his soul with an agitation, his affections with an interest, which, though very unlike happiness, he yet flatters himself is the road to it. This factitious pleasure, this tumultuous feeling produces at least that negative satisfaction of which he is constantly in search—it keeps him from himself.

“Even in circumstances where there is no success to present a very tempting bait, the mere occupation, the crowd of objects, the succession of engagements, the mingling pursuits, the very tumult and hurry, have their gratifications. The bustle gives false peace by leaving no leisure for reflection. He lays his conscience asleep with the ‘flattering unction’ of good intentions. He comforts himself with the creditable pretence of want of time, and the vague resolution of giving up to God the dregs of that life, of the vigorous season of which he thinks the world more worthy. Thus commuting with his Maker, life wears away, its close draws near—and even the poor commutation which was promised is not made. The assigned hour of retreat either never arrives, or if it does arrive, sloth and sensuality are resorted to as the fair reward of a life of labour and anxiety; and whether he dies in the protracted pursuit of wealth, or in the enjoyment of the luxuries it has earned, he dies in the trammels of the world.”

Many passages might be produced of great excellence from the chapters on ‘happy deaths,’ and “the sufferings of good

men;" but the generality of our readers will perhaps think that we have already bestowed too much room upon a treatise on the subject of religion, and we have already run a great risk of being set down for methodists and saints. We will, therefore, instead of extracting any more, direct the attention of the reader to the valuable observations on the ill success of good men in their most virtuous undertakings, contained in the last-mentioned chapter. In the same place too there is a beautiful passage on the superior happiness of him in his last hour who has not only had recourse to his God as a last resource, and 'in time of the great water-floods,' but had long and diligently sought him in the calm. Who had sought God's favour while he enjoyed the favour of the world; who did not wait for the day of evil to seek the supreme good; who did not defer his meditations on heavenly things to the desolate hour when earth had nothing to offer him; who can cheerfully associate religion with those former days of felicity, when with every thing before him out of which to choose, he chose God.

After deriving so much pleasure and instruction from these volumes, it looks almost like ingratitude to animadvert upon the blemishes and mistakes which occur in them. They bear so inconsiderable a proportion to the beauties with which the work abounds, that we are sure it will cost Mrs. More but little trouble to make the necessary alterations and sacrifices. She is always secure of the opportunity of polishing and purifying her diction in successive editions. And we are persuaded that without any suggestions from us, the stamina of her own good sense, and the humility and honesty of her mind, qualify her for the task of self-correction, as well in her character of author, as of a moral agent.

We think that some of her metaphors and comparisons will principally need the touch of her reforming hand. They are sometimes crowded in a confused assemblage of incongruous allusion, they are occasionally drawn out into allegorical prolixity, and sometimes they are below the dignity and demand of her subject. This ambitious fault is that into which the vivacity and vigour of her imaginative powers place her in the frequent danger of committing. We will advert to some instances, in full confidence that our mention of them will rouse her excellent judgment to the task of correction.

The allusion, by the words 'tripartite agreement\*' to the forms of legal instruments, is technically vulgar; and the same

sort of objection may be made to the illustration of St. Paul's delineation of charity\*. Again, 'the golden zone of coalescing charity †,' 'reversionary equality ‡,' the comparison of self-correction with the correction of a literary performance §. The allusion to the labours of Hercules || are in the same inferior taste. But there is no passage in the whole work with which we are so ill pleased as that in which the authoress expresses her indignation at the cruel vagaries of the despot of France ¶. She has fairly given her imagination the reins in this passage, or rather a complete holiday from all the restraints of her judgment, and it very improperly riots in the indulgence. It would give us great pleasure to find the whole passage omitted in another edition of the work.

We have noticed the inferiority of the chapter on zeal. It contains several instances of the same sort as those which we have already specified, and much indifferent composition. Specimens of hasty writing occur here and there in other parts of the work. We have a general disrelish of all trite French words, particularly when introduced in a treatise on so very serious and lofty a subject. Such as *manuvres*, *dernier ressort*, and others of the same kind. And we have an objection to the use which is made of some of our native words. To 'compassionate \*\*,' as a verb; 'frames ††,' for dispositions; 'approximate,' in the neuter sense of approach; 'implantation ††,' 'inwoven principle §§,' 'a weaning from life ||||,' 'coalescing,' in a transitive sense ¶¶; 'a sharp look out \*\*\*,' 'Both,' for each †††; 'to get his understanding enlightened,' 'playing into each others hands †††,' 'making God a dernier ressort §§§,' 'to condition,' as a verb; are instances either of an illegitimate use of terms, or of awkward or vulgar phrases, the admission of which are, we are sure, to be ascribed only to inadvertency, and perhaps strike us the more offensively because they stand in the midst of so much fine and correct writing.

The word 'equally' as it is used in page 167 of the second volume is agreeable to a vulgar idiom, but by no means correct. 'Seasons of alternation and repose,' is a phrase which supposes alternation to be contrasted with repose; whereas 'repose' contrasted with tumultuousness, its opposite, makes up the alternation, which supposes a state of fluctuation between the extremes. "To raise a suspicion of his own Islamism," which occurs in page 74 of the second volume, is incorrect. The author intends to say,

\* 1 Vol. 200. † id. 198. ‡ id. 197. § 2 Vol. 19. || id. 75. ¶ id. 169.  
 \*\* id. 13. †† id. 23. ††† 1 Vol. 31. §§ id. 148. §§§ id. 149. |||| id. 178. ¶¶ id. 193.  
 \*\*\* id. 63. ††† id. 138. id. 136. ††† id. 168. §§§ id. 253. id. 255.

‘to raise a suspicion of his being a Mahometan,’ but the phrase strictly implies what might be properly predicated of one who being a professed Mahometan, rendered his sincerity suspicious by his conduct. The phrase occurring in page 253 of the second volume, viz. “A bright conviction that his Christian feeling under trials is a cheering evidence that his piety is sincere,” is scarcely intelligible. We would also intimate it as our opinion, that a studious endeavour to avoid the recurrence of the same word, where the identical idea is again to be expressed, marks that over-minute attention to language which rather displeases than gratifies the judicious ear. It ought to be remembered that tautology resides not in the expressions, but in the sense. Sometimes, however, we even detect Mrs. More in the injudicious attempt to disguise her repetitions of thought, by the variation of her phrase, and sometimes affecting the air of antithesis, with a perfect identicalness of idea, by the mere artificial collocation of the words. In a word, for we are anxious to put a period to remarks which are at all unfavourable to what, in general, so strongly engages our esteem and admiration, we wish to see the exclamations towards the end of the work expunged; and that a similar fate should attend the numerous poetical quotations which are made to run into the context with a very awkward effect. We do not like, in such a work, that trite mode of citing authorities, as ‘that accurate judge of human life, Dr. Johnson, &c.; that acute thinker, Dr. Barrow, &c.’ These additions, by way of eulogy, to those great names, are only the idle expletives of common-place. And, in general, we should be better pleased with the mention of historical personages by their simple names, than by such circuitous description as ‘the execrable Florentine’ for Catharine de Medicis, and ‘the sage of Ferney’ for Voltaire. We think, upon the whole, she would please more by studying to please less; by condescending less to vulgar taste, and by dressing up her thoughts less in the mode. In the simple majesty of her native perfections, in the graces emphatically her own, this daughter of Sion comes forth with unrivalled lustre; but she excites in us real regret when, in the mistaken effort to please or astonish, she appears in her bracelets, her chains, her round tires like the moon, and descends to dazzle us with the bravery of her tinkling ornaments.

Upon the whole, we consider the work which we have had such pleasure in reviewing as a great ornament to the literature of the country, and a most valuable accession to the fund of moral and religious instruction. We are rejoiced to perceive that time has produced no diminution of the powers of this estimable lady;



that there is a vernant vigour and adolescence about her heart which keeps her spirits from ordinary decay; and that for the duties of life, and the interests of humanity, she is yet strong and agile in spite of sickness and suffering.

We are impressed both as men and as Reviewers with the profoundest respect for Mrs. Hannah More and her works; and have treated her in a manner consonant to these feelings. We hope she will meet with similar treatment from other critics whose judgment she will have to encounter. It is to be feared, however; that those who have so severely treated the good and venerable Mrs. Trimmer, will not quietly look on while the zeal of Mrs. More is so busy and so persuasive. Those who have not thought it hard in the cause of their favourite Mr. Lancaster (whose system of rewards and punishments has certainly seemed wanting in discretion to others besides 'feeble old ladies,') to rake into the language for terms of the bitterest sarcasm to be employed against an aged woman whose infirmities had rendered her but ill-able to contend in the arena with juvenile gladiators; who have thought it not unjust to ridicule the 'rudity' of one, the evening of whose life was setting in the calmest sunshine that an approving conscience can afford, and for the sake of a derisive sentence or two about horn-books and primers, and sixpenny books for children, to suppress the knowledge, as far as in them lay, of those other works of this 'feeble old lady,' which by the purity of their style, and the dignity and utility of their subjects, will probably live long after she will have settled her accounts with her Reviewers in *another* world, and their hostile criticisms shall be remembered no more in *this*: we say, that those who have not thought it hard or unjust to deal with a most deserving lady after this manner, and to praise themselves for their tender mercies in not drawing blood from her at every line, will not be very likely to spare another lady who has certainly written many books for the young and the illiterate, and probably very pleasing 'to mothers and aunts,' and has instructed them on a plan very different from that of Mr. Lancaster. But if any gentleman is to be selected for the task of drawing blood at every line from this respectable lady, we warn him to beware of the recoil of her character, which has been found hitherto sufficient to confound her bitterest enemies.

For our parts we are very well satisfied with this lady's method of instructing the young, and are heartily desirous that her advice may be followed by the manly and the mature. We shall be better pleased to see the societies of this country shaping themselves to the model of her admirable rules of conduct, than copying the wretched coteries of Parisian Mesdames and Mesdemoi-

selles, with their retinue of blaspheming philosophers, which some are so fond of describing as good society. Where there is a contract of mutual toleration of each other's egotism, vice and vanity, a society may be raised upon it, in which some may, doubtless, find their entertainment; but what man of moral worth or vulgar honesty in this country could breathe in such society, without feeling the atmosphere pestilential? And where, but in the dregs of prostitution, shall we search, in England, for fit associates, in point of moral debasement, for those societies of Paris, in which the names of Du Deffand and Lespinasse were consecrated and adored?

ART. XVII.—*A Treatise on the Defence of Portugal, with a military Map of the Country; to which is added a Sketch of the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants, and principal Events of the Campaigns under Lord Wellington, in 1808 and 1809.* By William Granville Eliot, Captain in the Royal Regt. of Artillery.—Egerton, 1810. PP. 244.

THE public opinion in this country respecting Portugal has gradually undergone so great a change, which late events, and the glorious and successful termination of the campaign in the spring of 1811, have converted into a complete revolution of sentiment, that every thing which can throw light upon the ultimate causes of that change assumes a new and peculiar interest. Those causes are by no means ill traced in the little work now before us; and although it must have been read with diminished interest, while the operations of the British army were confined within the small portion of territory in the immediate neighbourhood of Lisbon, yet its accurate details and the sagacity of the conclusions drawn from them, having been completely justified by the event, now assume an importance both with respect to past and prospective measures which they never yet possessed. For these reasons we are persuaded that we cannot bestow a more useful lesson, or a more acceptable present upon our readers, in this moment of national exultation, than by retracing, through a brief summary, those vicissitudes of war and policy, those alternate triumphs of heroism and imbecility, of humanity and cruelty, of generosity and rapacity, through which the brave and interesting Portuguese have toiled and suffered, have been by turns oppressed and relieved, up to the period of their glorious and we trust final emancipation from French tyranny.

Information collected upon the scene, and observations drawn

from experience, are at all times deserving of attention. But when they are communicated by a British officer, who, like Captain Eliot, has had the opportunity of examining with a professional eye the topography of a country, about which we are so much interested individually, as well as nationally; of comparing the present state of the army of that country with its former disorganized condition, and of judging from personal intercourse with the natives, of the public sentiment upon the subject of the contest in which they are engaged, our feelings are if possible quickened with regard to every thing that passes, and our minds are better prepared to weigh the consequences of every event.

Captain Eliot appears to us to have written this work without any party or political bias, and to have made the public service his chief object. He shews that the disposition of the people of Portugal, the natural strength of the country, with the augmentation and improved discipline of its military force, all conspired to encourage us to persevere in those exertions for expelling the enemy, which have at length been crowned with complete success: for to use his own words,

“Whilst the present system of warfare is continued in Spain, which from the appearance of things seems likely to be of long duration, the French cannot spare a force of sufficient magnitude for the conquest of Portugal. Nothing under 150,000 men, I am persuaded, will be able completely to subdue it; even with such a force, the contest may be doubtful, and should fortune, in the first instance, favour the allied army, so large a force would be obliged to evacuate the country for want of provisions and forage for their cavalry.” (P. 91.)

The first and two succeeding chapters treat of the topography of the different provinces, and furnish that information in aid of the map, which was so much wanted with regard to Portugal. To give to the other parts of the narrative the connection which appears to us necessary to their elucidation, we shall make our extracts without following the arrangement observed by the author. We shall occasionally introduce information derived from other sources, and add such reflections as suggest themselves to us upon an attentive consideration of this important subject.

Captain Eliot observes, page 94,

“In the war of 1762, when the French were in alliance with Spain, the Count de la Lippe Schomberg was invited by the court of Lisbon to new-model the Portuguese army, consisting at that time (upon paper) of 26,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry, and 100,000 militia. The latter served without pay. Of the above number of regular troops, the count on his arrival could scarcely collect more

than 10,000 fit to take the field, and those very deficient in point of discipline. The count remained in Portugal too short a time to bring to perfection the plans he had adopted for the improvement of the army. He left the country in the year 1764, returned again in 1767, and left it for good the following year. After his departure, the army again relapsed into its former state of wretchedness; since which time it has continued to decline both in appearance and discipline. In 1797 it consisted of 20,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and 25,000 militia."

With an army of this character, (and the description corresponds with every other account that we have seen), with a government without energy, and under the administration of Monsieur d'Araouja, who not only did not possess the confidence of the nation, but who was strongly suspected of being under the influence of Buonaparte, we cannot be surprised that Portugal should have been subjected to the humiliating conditions of the treaty of Badajos:—or that no greater advantage could be obtained for her than those arising from the stipulations, which, much to the honour of the British government, were provided in her favour by the treaty of Amiens.

To the same causes may be ascribed the failure of the different overtures which, it is well known, were subsequently made by the British administration to the Prince Regent, with a view of stimulating him to those exertions, which alone could have justified them in giving him the aid of a British force for the protection of Portugal. Monsieur d'Araouja had placed that country in a state of tributary vassalage to Buonaparte. He continued at the head of its administration, and our government, despairing of being able to effect such a change of system as would be calculated to bring forth the resources of Portugal, not only ceased to remonstrate, but had acquiesced in the Prince Regent's submitting to shut his ports against the British flag. It was at this period that the advance of General Junot to the capital at the head of a military force made it manifest that the subversion of the throne, and the expulsion of the house of Braganza, could alone satisfy the inordinate ambition of Buonaparte.

"On the 17th October, 1807, the first division of the French troops under General Laborde, destined for the conquest of Portugal, passed into Spain, and was shortly after followed by the main body of the army under General Junot.

"Buonaparte had previously demanded as the conditions on which the Portuguese might still preserve the shadow of their independence:

1st.—A contribution of 4,000,000 of crusades.

2dly.—The possession of the Portuguese fleet: and,

3dly.—That the ports should be shut against the English.

“ These terms, degrading as they were, the Prince Regent was at first inclined to listen to, and published a proclamation on the 22d October, in which he announced his intention of acceding to the cause of the Continent, and of uniting himself with France and Spain. On the 8th November a second proclamation was issued to sequeſter all British property, however inconsiderable it might be, and to detain all British ſubjects who ſtill remained in the country. In conſequence of theſe proceedings, Lord Strangford, the British miniſter reſident at Liſbon, demanded his paſſports, and joined the fleet off the harbour on the 17th of the ſame month.

“ In the mean time the French army had paſſed the frontiers of Portugal, and was rapidly advancing towards the capital. In the Month of the 13th of November we find the following declaration of Buonaparte: ‘ The Prince Regent loſes his throne, he loſes it, influenced by England, he loſes it, becauſe he would not ſeize the English merchandize which was at Liſbon.’ Theſe circumſtances no doubt had their weight in influencing the ultimate determination of the prince to put into execution the plan he had formed of leaving the country in caſe of emergency.”

Thus far our private information correſponds with Captain Eliot’s account; but when he proceeds to ſtate, “ that on the 27th Lord Strangford re-landed from the British fleet, and procured a conference, in which the Prince Regent acceded to the propoſition made by this miniſter;” we are compelled to ſay that he has been led into an error, by the falſe account which was published by authority in this country; and that, if he had extended his inquiries, he would have learned, that in point of fact, the Prince Regent and the royal family, accompanied by Don Rodriguez de Souza and M. D’Almeida, had not only embarked, but had actually paſſed the bar of the Tagus with the Portuguese ſhips of war on the 29th November, before he was joined by Lord Strangford, who had remained ever ſince the 17th with the British fleet off the Tagus.

We muſt therefore think, that as Lord Strangford could not have had an opportunity of influencing the deciſion of the Prince Regent, who, as we have obſerved, had actually embarked and ſailed out of the Tagus before the conference with him took place; and as the Prince Regent “ had already formed the plan of leaving the country in caſe of emergency;” it is to be lamented that Lord Strangford ſhould have been allowed to aſſume any portion of the merit that muſt ever attach to the meaſure, then carried into execution, of transferring the ſeat of government to the Braſils.

It is well known that Mr. Pitt, Mr. Addington, and Lord Grenville, had in their ſeveral adminiſtrations ſtrongly recommended to the court of Liſbon the adoption of that meaſure,

and had offered the support of a British fleet for carrying it into effect. They might therefore, respectively claim the credit of it with as much reason, at least, as the ministers of 1807. We have shewn that Portugal had been for some time under the direction of a minister, who was suspected of being more inclined to favour the interests of France than to attend to British counsel. The extravagant propositions, indeed, made by Buonaparte in September 1807, are known to have so far shaken the influence of that minister, that the Prince Regent thought it necessary to call to a special council the ex-ministers Don Rodriguez de Souza and M. d'Almeida, and did then hear, (as the public was afterwards informed,) their decided opinion of the necessity for preparing without delay to transfer the seat of government. Yet as Monsieur d'Araonja found means to recover his ascendancy over the mind of the Prince Regent, no measures appear to have been actually taken for the purpose of carrying the transfer into execution. And we have no doubt, that if the presumptuous violence of Buonaparte, in ordering General Junot to advance upon the capital by forced marches, and his declaration in the *Moniteur* of the 13th November, that "the Prince Regent loses his throne, &c." had not again roused that sovereign, and made him sensible of the imminency of his danger, even the patriotism of Don Rodriguez de Souza, and of M. d'Almeida, would not have enabled them to save the person of their prince, and the existence of the monarchy.

The advice which those statesmen had given to their sovereign in September 1807, and which he now adopted, and acted upon, necessarily exposed them and their families to all the violence of Buonaparte's resentment. Moreover, they had followed to the Brasils a prince who had not always fully appreciated their services, and who, though actuated by the best intentions, was known to be accessible to the insinuations of intrigue. It was, therefore, in every sense, the duty of his Majesty's ministers to have left to Don Rodriguez de Souza, and M. d'Almeida, the entire credit of a measure which so highly entitled them to the gratitude of their sovereign and of their country.

We now proceed with the narrative of Captain Eliot. In page 175, he says, "Previous to the departure of the prince, a proclamation dated from the royal palace the 27th November was issued, in which he states, that to prevent the effusion of blood in an useless defence, he had adopted the resolution of quitting the kingdom; and had entrusted the government of it to a regency, which he had appointed to act in his name during his absence."

As that proclamation was dated on the same day that Lord

Strangford was stated to have landed, and to have had a conference with the Prince Regent, those who made that statement might in fairness be required to admit that his lordship stands charged with some share of the responsibility incurred in the selection of the persons appointed to the regency. But we are happy to have had it in our power to remove so heavy a charge from the British character, by having shewn that, in point of fact, Lord Strangford did not see the Prince Regent till after the Portuguese ships had passed the bar of the Tagus on the 29th November, two days subsequent to the date of the appointment. We have thought it necessary, in a national point of view, to place this circumstance beyond a doubt, because we find that the persons then composing the regency published an ordinance on the 3d December, five days only after the Prince Regent had sailed from the Tagus, whereby they recognised, and announced to the Portuguese nation, the appointment of a French administrator—general of the finances of the kingdom: that on the 7th another ordinance appeared, under the authority of their names, which directed that *all payments of money on account of absentees should be discontinued*; that on the 10th they sanctioned a decree which required that the revenues, arising out of such of the commanderies of the three military orders as were held *by absentees*, should be paid into the treasury, then under the direction of a French administrator general; and that on the 14th December they ordained, that the funds belonging to the royal appanage, called the Infantado, and all further revenue that might arise from that property, should in like manner be paid into the treasury: so that in the short interval of fifteen days, from the day on which the Prince Regent had passed the bar of the Tagus, the property of the patriots who had emigrated with him, and the revenue of the crown, were put under sequestration by the persons to whom he had delegated his authority, and whose decrees were officially published in Lisbon.

Those decrees were followed by other acts equally objectionable under the sanction of the same persons; who at length, as it appears from the *Courier Brasiliensis*, issued a circular letter of recall to the several ministers whom the Prince Regent had accredited to the different courts of Europe. After that act of abject subserviency to the French ruler, and of wanton insult to their sovereign, they became too contemptible to be further employed, even as instruments of power. Captain Eliot accordingly informs us that, on the 1st of February, 1808, Junot published the decree of Buonaparte, dated 23d December, 1807, stating, "*that the Prince Regent has ceased to reign in Portugal! The Emperor Napoleon wills that this fine country shall be go-*

turned entirely in his name, by the general in chief of his army." The regency in consequence was abolished, and the reins of government vested solely in the hands of Junot, who accompanied the decree of his master with one in his own name, directing that a contribution of forty millions of crusades should be levied upon the country in a manner therein prescribed. His next act was to march a great proportion of the best of the Portuguese army into France, and to disarm and disband the remainder, forbidding at the same time the use of fire-arms throughout the country, even for the purposes of protection or for killing game.

The devastation and plunder that took place in a country thus stripped of all means of resistance, and in which the rapacity of Buonaparte's agents was in full activity, may be supposed to have known no other limit than the apparent exhaustion of its resources. Exposed to every species of exaction, and to all the horrors of military execution, the people were at length rendered desperate by the pressure of their sufferings, and being animated by the patriotic efforts of the Spaniards, they rose simultaneously in the northern and in the southern provinces. Having possessed themselves of arms, they formed juntas of government in the name of their lawful sovereign the Prince Regent, and placed the bishop of Oporto at the head of the northern junta, which included the provinces of Beira, *Tras os Montes*, and *Entre Minho et Douro*, comprehending nearly one half of the population of the kingdom; and raised the Count *Castro Marim*, *Monteiro Mor*, to the head of the southern junta, called the junta of the kingdom of *Algarva*. Having completed these arrangements, application was made, respectively in the name of each of those bodies, to his Majesty's ministers for support and assistance.

The applications from the juntas of Oporto and *Algarva* could not have reached England at the time the expedition under Sir Arthur Wellesley sailed from Cork for the coast of Spain. But some previous communication had been received of the disposition of the Portuguese, and Colonel Brown had been sent to the coast of Portugal for the purpose of procuring intelligence.— Upon the arrival of Sir Arthur Wellesley at *Corunna*, he was informed of the events that had taken place at Oporto; and having at the same time received the unqualified opinion of the provisional government of *Galicia*, "that the most favourable diversion that could be made for the Spanish cause would be to dispossess the French of Portugal;" it was determined that the British troops should be disembarked in the river *Mondego*, and that application should be made to the bishop of Oporto for



such assistance as it might be in the power of the junta to afford.

We have already seen from Captain Eliot's work, that "a great proportion of the best of the Portuguese army had been sent by General Junot into France, and that he had disarmed and disbanded the remainder." It could not, therefore, have been expected that the levies which had been raised in the short period between the 18th June, when the French yoke was shaken off, and the 1st of August, the day on which the British army began to land, could have been disciplined like regular troops. It was evident that the juntas so recently established, and who were without any other resources than what might arise from the voluntary contributions of the people, almost exhausted by the plunder and exactions of the French, could not have provided funds for their regular pay, nor magazines for their subsistence. It was also evident that without money, without adequate supplies of provisions or military stores, and probably without proper arms, *it was not possible* that what was at that time called the Portuguese army, under General Freric, could have been so efficient as to be fit for active service in the field. We have been led to these observations from a recollection of the unfavourable impression that was too generally received of the Portuguese troops, from the little aid that was, or that could have been derived from them in that unorganized state.

But though our operations in the field could not, in any material degree, have been assisted at that time by the junction of such a force, its name and existence as a body necessarily had a considerable influence upon the minds of the people of the country, as well as upon the French; a division of whom had but a short time before "been attacked by the brave peasantry of the *Tras os Montes*, and obliged to recross the Douro with considerable loss." (P. 180.)

The security which we derived from knowing that the northern provinces under the government of the junta were not only friendly to us, but enthusiastically hostile to the French, must have added to the confidence with which Sir Arthur Wellesley proceeded against the enemy. In point of fact, one half of the kingdom of Portugal was, by these means, taken out of the scale of the French and thrown into that of the English.

Under these advantages Sir Arthur Wellesley thought himself warranted in marching with his small but gallant army from the Mondego on the 9th of August, for the purpose of compelling the French to retire upon Lisbon. A short detail of the operations is given by Captain Eliot, but it will be enough to observe from him here, that "on the 17th the strong pass of *Roliga* was

stormed by the British army;—that the day after the action at Roça, the army again commenced its march, and arrived at Vimiera on the 19th; and that on the 21st the main body of the French army commanded by General Junot, and consisting of 16,000 men, attacked the British position at Vimiera. In this action the British army 17,000 strong, in conjunction with 1600 Portuguese troops, gained a signal victory, which in all probability would have been most decisive, had the pursuit been vigorously continued. One half of the troops were not engaged, and the whole were amply supplied with provisions and ammunition, carried in the rear of each brigade upon mules.”

Concurring entirely in the opinion here recited, we must add, that instead of the important consequences which ought to have been drawn from that brilliant victory, the fatal Convention of Cintra limited its advantage to the temporary removal of the French troops from Portugal, and even that advantage was more than neutralised by the measures that arose out of it. We allude particularly to the military proclamation of Sir Hew Dalrymple, who, having on the 22d of August assumed the command of the army, did, on the 18th September, by his sole military authority as British commander, re-establish a commission of regency. In this commission he most unaccountably included two of those persons who, as we have before stated, had abused the confidence that had been reposed in them by their sovereign; while he did not even once refer to the juntas, who were known to possess the confidence and were most clearly entitled to the gratitude of their country, and who had given a direction to the national spirit that, had it been improved by us, might have produced incalculable benefits to the cause of the peninsula.

It is not intended by these observations to attach any blame upon Sir Hew Dalrymple. Ministers have admitted that in re-establishing the regency he acted in conformity to their instructions; and as they did not avowedly disapprove of the mode in which it was done, we may assume that the military proclamation was their act. But from whatever quarter it may have proceeded, we can never sufficiently deplore its consequences; for it converted the ardour that had been awakened in the Portuguese nation into torpor and indifference; and it introduced suspicion and distrust in the place of the confidence that had been inspired into all descriptions of the people by the promptitude of our support, and the brilliancy of our success.

One of the first acts of the regency, so established, was to rescind an ordinance that had been published by the junta of Oporto, giving a small augmentation to the appointments of the soldier, which brought his pay to nearly sixpence a-day. To

disallow this was at once to dissolve the military force that had been collected under the stimulants of want and revenge, and to reduce an army which was rising into a state of considerable promise to its original character of mere irregulars.

Captain Eliot informs us, page 191, that "instead of completing and training the regular regiments, the Portuguese were employed in forming bodies of volunteers armed with long pikes, and that a force of nearly 70,000 men appeared on paper, and actually received pay, without their being able to bring 10,000 effective soldiers into the field." With these pikes the people were enjoined by a subsequent decree to defend their houses and villages, under the penalty of death to those who should, under any circumstances, abandon them. A far different ordinance has since been promulgated by the able and popular administration that now presides over Portugal, under a special appointment of the Prince Regent, by the observance of which the army under Massena was for some time so much harassed in its operations.

It would be painful and disgusting to follow the regency established by Sir Hew Dalrymple in all their absurd and neutralising acts; those which have been adduced sufficiently shew the character of their administration, and therefore we will only add, that although it was established on the 18th September 1808, which was nearly a month subsequent to the Convention of Cintra, it was not until the 11th of December following that they called upon the people to enroll themselves for the defence of the country; that is to say, seven days after Buonaparte had entered Madrid, having first defeated and dispersed all the armies which the Spaniards had been able to oppose to him. These are facts of public notoriety. They must consequently have been within the knowledge of the minister of Portugal residing in this country, who could not, without a positive dereliction of his public duty, have neglected to communicate them officially to the foreign department of his Majesty's government.

As we are actuated in these observations solely by motives of a public nature, we shall not attempt to throw any blame upon ministers for not having taken at an earlier period the course they have since adopted with respect to Portugal; but shall proceed to remark, that Captain Eliot, in treating of the former state of the Portuguese army, says in page 97, "Without an efficient commander in chief, staff, or commissariat, it was easy to foresee what would have been the fate of the country as well as of the troops sent from England to assist in its defence, had the French taken advantage of the state of torpor into which the government was plunged by its fancied security, and pushed on immediately after

the embarkation of the British army at Corunna." And again, page 98, "The ordnance for the garrisons or field were without serviceable carriages, or horses or mules to move them, except such as were pressed into the service, together with their drivers, the day previous to a march. As late as the month of June, 1809, recruits were enlisted into the *regular* regiments for the *space of four months*; this period of service entitled them to an exemption for a certain time. The subsequent revocation of this order reduced the strength of the garrison of Elvas from nearly 7000 men to about as many hundreds. Such was the state of the Portuguese army when General Beresford arrived to take the command of it; since that event, it has rapidly advanced to a state of discipline far beyond what might have been expected." In page 95, he informs us, that "the present strength of the Portuguese army is nearly as follows:

Infantry, 24 regiments of two battalions each	53,600
Chasseurs, or light infantry	6,000
Cavalry	3,000
Engineers and artillery	3,000
Loyal Lusitanian legion	3,000
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Regulars	48,600
Militia *	50,000
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	98,600.

Well armed, clothed, fed, and paid, it now vies in appearance with the first troops of the continent." In page 100, he observes, "that the Portuguese army under British officers will be found an efficient force, I have not the smallest doubt; in proof of which, we need only refer to the gallant defence of the bridge of Alcanfara, by the first battalion of the loyal Lusitanian legion; the exertions of the second battalion of that corps at Carvalho d'Este, and the handsome manner in which Lord Wellington mentions a Portuguese regiment at the retaking of Oporto. If any further proof is wanting of the energy of the Portuguese soldier, when properly disciplined, we need only look to the map of the peninsula, and we shall be astonished how so small a part could possibly maintain its independence, when on the north and east frontier it is completely bounded by Spain."

To this account we may add their recent and more important displays of spirit and steadiness in the battles of Buzaco and of

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\* There is also now an efficient and numerous ordonanza, an irregular armed force. And the liberal parliamentary grants of this year will, we trust, place the defence of Portugal upon grounds morally certain. Its army was already carried beyond its establishment before the grant was made.

Barrosa, upon which occasions the Portuguese troops particularly distinguished themselves, and proved how deserving they are of fighting in the ranks with British soldiers against the best troops of the continent; and how ill-founded was the despondency expressed by the leaders of opposition in parliament, a despondency which, at that time, was too generally disseminated in this country, and in our army. We have seen that in a very short space of time Marshal Beresford has, by proper encouragement and the introduction of discipline, formed an efficient army of Portuguese, to whose co-operation upon the first of those memorable days the repulse of Massena, with the loss of from 5000 to 6000 of his best troops killed and wounded, is partly ascribed by Lord Wellington. At the battle of Barrosa, a regiment of Portuguese displayed an impatience for the conflict, and a cool and determined valour when engaged, that was by no means surpassed by our own troops, eminent as their services were on that memorable day.

It is not possible to calculate what might have been the advantages to the great cause, if, instead of the paralyzing regency of September, 1808, a patriotic government had at that time been formed under the direction of the Bishop of Oporto, who was afterwards placed at the head of affairs by the Prince Regent; and if the judicious system that was introduced under Marshal Beresford had been adopted six months earlier. But it cannot be too much to say, that if those measures had not saved Oporto and the northern provinces from the calamities which they suffered from the French army under Marshal Soult, in March and April 1809, it would at least have enabled Sir Arthur Wellesley to have improved the victory by which he forced Soult to abandon those provinces in May, and to seek safety for the remnant of his army, by dispersing it among the mountains of the northern frontier. We may add, that it would probably have rendered the victory of Talavera in July as decisive in its consequences as it was glorious in its achievement, and have rendered much more difficult, if not absolutely impossible, the advance of Marshal Massena in the summer and autumn of 1810.

This advance has certainly given rise to a campaign that has crowned the British army with a ray of glory, which we trust will play round it for its country's safety and honour for many generations. But the wide field of the peninsula could scarcely fail to have afforded opportunities for a similar display which must still be fought for in other quarters. And it is impossible to reflect, without a heart wrung with anguish, upon the bitter sufferings to which the finest portions of the territory of our gallant ally

have been exposed, at the uncontrolled discretion of a naked and famished army of unprincipled invaders. From the Mondego to Caldas, parallel with the shores of the ocean, runs a rich, fertile, and extensive valley, heretofore the seat of plenty, prosperity, and happiness. The hasty retreat of the British army after the battle of Busaco, rendered it impossible to drive this valley; and from it the French army drew its supplies and subsistence for many weeks. We have now before us a letter from an officer who was sent with a squadron of horse to repress their plundering parties near our posts to the south of the valley:—it was his duty or his lot often to patrol into the villages within an hour or two after the French had visited them. His account of the execrable perfection to which they had brought the art of pillage and devastation is truly afflicting. In one of these villages, where a few weeks before

The joyous train from labour free,  
Led up their sports beneath the spreading tree;  
And many a gambol frolick'd o'er the ground,  
And sleights of art and feats of strength went round,

was now to be seen nothing but stripped walls and smoking ruins; not an article of furniture, not an object living or inanimate met the eye, save one human corpse, extended in the middle of the street, and the famished cats voraciously devouring it. The dragoons often cooked their dinner with the beams of the houses left burning by the French, and on one occasion when they chased up a hill a party of French cavalry retreating from the plunder of a village, like smugglers they cut from behind them the fruits of their illicit pillage, and the ground was strewed with every imaginable article of domestic comfort and provision. Well may we exclaim of the wretched Lusitanian villages, and with much greater justice than of those for which the complaint was written,

“ Amidst thy bowers the tyrant's hand is seen,  
And desolation saddens all thy green;  
Amidst thy desert walks the lapwing flies,  
And tires their echoes with unvary'd cries;  
And trembling, shrinking from the spoiler's hand,  
Far, far away thy children leave the land.”

If these cruelties were exercised when the French had complete possession of the country, what must have occurred when they were flying before Lord Wellington, exasperated at sufferings, and overwhelmed with shame at their defeat? The smoke of the burning villages and towns marked their route through the country. To use Lord Wellington's words:

“They have no provisions excepting what they plunder on the spot; or having plundered, what the soldiers carry on their backs; and live cattle.

“I am concerned to be obliged to add to this account, that their conduct throughout this retreat has been marked by a barbarity seldom equalled, and never surpassed. Even in the towns of Torres Novas, Thomar, and Pernes, in which the head-quarters of some of the corps had been for four months, and in which the inhabitants had been induced by promises of good treatment to remain, they were plundered, and many of their houses destroyed on the night the enemy withdrew from their position; and they have since burnt every town and village through which they have passed. The convent of Alcobaca was burnt by order from the French head-quarters. The bishop's palace, and the whole town of Leyria, in which General Drouet had had his head-quarters, shared the same fate, and there is not an inhabitant of the country of any class or description, who has had any dealing or communication with the French army, who has not had reason to repent of it, and to complain of them.

“This is the mode in which the promises have been performed and the assurances have been fulfilled, which were held out in the proclamation of the French commander in chief; in which he told the inhabitants of Portugal, that he was not come to make war upon them, but with a powerful army of 110,000 men to drive the English into the sea. It is to be hoped that the example of what has occurred in this country will teach the people of this and of other nations what value they ought to place on such promises and assurances, and that there is no security for life or for any thing which renders life valuable, excepting in decided resistance to the enemy.”

The proceedings in parliament upon the motion of the Earl of Buckinghamshire are to be found in Stockdale's collection of the debates. It may be seen by a reference to that work, that the sources from which that noble lord formed his opinion, which subsequent events have proved to be a sound one, were open to the enquiries of every intelligent public man. The Count de la Lippe, Lord Townsend, and the Duke de Chatelet, had distinctly stated, not only that the native of Portugal had the capacity, but that he possessed a peculiar aptitude for the duties of a soldier. Captain Eliot has since told us in page 99, that “the Portuguese peasant possesses two of the most invaluable qualities requisite to form a good soldier; namely, sobriety and a passive obedience to the commands of his superiors.” Docile and brave by constitution, abstemious and persevering by habit, he wanted only encouragement and discipline; and Marshal Beresford has shewn us in how short a space of time those requisites could be supplied.

But it is not merely to the thirty thousand Portuguese troops in British pay, and embodied with our army, that we are to look for

efficiency; it has been displayed on several occasions by the separate corps serving with Romana, whose loss in the present state of the contest can never be sufficiently lamented; by the troops employed under the Portuguese General Silveira; by the militia and armed peasantry acting under the orders of Brigadier General Miller and Colonel Wilson, and in a still more distinguished manner by those under the command of Colonel Trant. A military spirit pervades the whole male population of the kingdom, and we are called upon by every motive of interest and by every feeling of duty to support it in activity by further aids of money or credit, or by any other means which Portugal, under her present circumstances, cannot afford.

The materials for a complete history of the late campaigns are not yet in this country; and we would by no means mar so noble a story by premature attempts to delineate its features. The time will come, we trust, when it can be done with effect; and we should be glad to see it done by Captain Eliot. In the mean time we have briefly drawn out this sketch of the conquest and liberation of Portugal, because we think that it may suggest several useful reflections both as to our past and future conduct towards the peninsula. And first, we may observe with gratitude the admirable nature of our own constitution, which renders even the blunders and omissions of our political agents insufficient to ruin a cause, the evident justice and policy of which call forth the united efforts of men of all parties in its support. We say of all parties, for we cannot consent to count as anything that diminished and still diminishing circle, whose pusillanimous and shortsighted policy would have left the Spaniards and Portuguese to their fate, under the pretence, forsooth, of husbanding our resources; that is, (setting aside all considerations of justice and feeling towards the peninsula,) they would, out of *economy*, have made Buonaparte a present of the most convenient stepping-stone to Ireland, where we must have been content to defend ourselves, at a great expence, without any chance of injuring him; instead of availing themselves of the energy of those nations to keep that stepping-stone out of his hands; and as we really believe, to use it ourselves for the ultimate subversion of his tyranny over Europe. But it is cruel, perhaps, in the hour of successful triumph, to press these puny and timid politicians too sorely upon the subject of their melancholy predictions; let them blush and hide their diminished heads! No, it is not on such a contest as that in the peninsula that even the blunders of a government can have any permanent effect. The "good men and true" of every party recollect, on such occasions, that they are Englishmen;—and though they



may wish to chastise the ignorance and folly of such freaks as were exhibited at Buenos Ayres and at Walcheren, they will throw in their mite of information and support to the cause of Spain and Portugal, with a generous disregard of the effect it may possibly have on the private interests of their party.

We must observe, however, secondly, that although the blunders of a government may not *ruin*, they may very much *injure* a good cause; and in addition to those which the preceding pages have developed, we would remark the injurious effects on the Spanish affairs of the six months delay in the departure from England of the noble lord, whose vigour, conciliation, and sagacity, were peculiarly necessary at that precise moment in the peninsula; nor can we recollect without indignation, that the best interests of our country were endangered by this delay, and that the lives of our brave soldiers, at and after the battle of Talavera, became an useless sacrifice, because some of our ministers at home thought proper to plot against each other instead of against the enemies of their country; and to shed their own or each other's blood, instead of saving that of their countrymen whom they had sent to support the tottering cause of Europe. Happily those scenes, and all that reminds us of them, are removed from the public eye; and we may perhaps venture to bestow unqualified praise on the measures which have been since pursued towards the peninsula, as far as they have gone. Ministers must not suppose, however, that they have yet redeemed the pledge staked with their country.

Their views must be extended beyond the mere augmentation of military force before they can indulge any reasonable hope of expelling the enemy from the peninsula. The treasury of England cannot always be resorted to for the supplies necessary to the maintenance of a large subsidiary force, nor can the limited revenue and population of Portugal bear, for any long continuance, such heavy burthens as are now necessarily imposed upon them, although the nation cheerfully submits at present in the hope that by such strained exertions they may the sooner be relieved. A system must therefore be adopted for improving the internal resources of the kingdom, which shall consolidate the interests of the sovereign and of the people, and recompense the nation for its sufferings and privations, and for its persevering spirit in the present contest. A system should be adopted, which, while it secures to the crown of Portugal all its *just prerogatives*, shall equally provide for the *substantial rights* and *welfare* of the people: without this Lord Wellington will have fought, and our gallant soldiers have bled, in vain.

Under the influence of such a system, wisely arranged and well

administered, an effectual barrier would be established against any renewed attempts of Buonaparte upon Portugal; the scourge of desolation would never again be necessary to rouse the energies of the people and stimulate them to arms. Their attachment to their country, to their sovereign, and to their religion, would be elevated in principle, and strengthened in degree, by the feelings of personal liberty, by the security of property, and by the due administration of justice.

What has passed at the sittings of the Cortes in Spain, even confined as it has been to mere words, cannot fail to excite a strong sensation among the Portuguese. Equally loyal with the Spaniards, their feelings are as much alive to the necessity of having some efficient corrective applied to the abuses that have crept into the administration of their country, and against the recurrence of which they may reasonably expect to be secured.—Let us not wait until the expression of such a desire shall be manifested by the people.—Let us rather concert with the Prince Regent, the depositaries of whose authority we should consider ourselves to be, how to anticipate their wishes, and by what means such a direction may be given to the public sentiment in Portugal, as should lead to the introduction of measures calculated to produce substantial benefit to the country. Let this be done in time and with discretion, and it will not be in the power of faction to check the ardent love and gratitude of the people, who in their turn will be eager to support in its full extent the legitimate authority of the sovereign; and that union of interest which is now so happily and we trust permanently re-established between Great Britain and Portugal.

The national authority is now in the hands of persons who equally enjoy the confidence of the prince and of the nation. The Bishop of Oporto, lately made patriarch of the kingdom, has been placed by his sovereign at the head of the regency. Lord Wellington, the deliverer and the protector of the kingdom, and Mr. Stuart, the active, intelligent, and conciliatory minister of Great Britain, have by the prince been appointed coadjutors to the patriarch, and with four other members now constitute the council of regency. To the judgment and discretion of such men, holding all the power of the country in their hands, and influencing the public sentiment as much by their character and conduct as by their authority, may safely be committed the work of preparing the measures to which we have alluded; and upon their decision and spirit the Prince Regent may fully rely, that measures calculated to promote the substantial interests of the kingdom would alone be proposed.

The proceedings might be made to furnish a bright example

to other countries; and Spain might derive some advantage by seeing in how short a time, and by how simple a process, the most important objects of national interest may be secured. Animated by one spirit, the same public benefits might be pursued in both kingdoms; and instead of the implacable animosity, that has for ages been kept alive by war and intrigue between the Spaniards and the Portuguese, we might hope to see the people of both nations vying with each other in public acts of patriotism, and in the private duties of conciliation and good will.

Inigorated by such an union of sentiment, the nations of the peninsula would find that their resources would augment with their exertions, and that they would in course of time be in a condition to concur with Great Britain in offering to the other nations of the Continent the means of recovering their own freedom, and of contributing with them to the glorious work of enabling France to free herself from the disgrace of having submitted to the tyranny and oppression under which she now groans.

Nor is it only to the peninsula and the disjointed states of Europe that the benefits of this system would be confined. Its influence would embrace the *whole western hemisphere*. The interests of the widely spread countries in America that have acknowledged Ferdinand the Seventh for their sovereign, as well as those of the Brasils, where the authority of the Prince Regent is established, would participate in its beneficial consequences.

The principle of union between the parent states and their distant connexions would be strengthened and knit together by the ties of reciprocity and mutual benefits. The discordance that hath been manifested at Buenos Ayres and the Caraccas;—the sanguinary commotions that have taken place in the vice-royalties of Santa Fe and Mexico, and which cast so unfavourable a colouring upon the proceedings in those countries, would give place to principles of accommodation, and of an enlarged policy; and the varied industry of its population, no longer restricted by the palsyng shackles of monopoly, either in culture or in commerce, would be extended and improved to the incalculable benefit of themselves, and of all the free maritime states in the world.

The nobility and all the orders of the church in Portugal, and in Old Spain, should emulate each other in offering up at the shrine of their country their antiquated exemptions. Their example would be followed by the churches in America; and every description of persons in both hemispheres would be prepared to contribute, in proportion to their means, to the support of the state, the dignity of the sovereign, and the security of their common rights.

From late experience, however, we very much doubt whether any part of this wished for consummation will arise in Old Spain under the present system, and so long as the national exertions take their directions from the counsels of the higher ranks of native Spaniards. With a very few splendid exceptions, the long course of debasement through which they have laboured renders them quite unequal to the office of leaders in the present contest. They contemplate the French their ancient masters, as the ultimate possessors of the peninsula; their estates are actually in French possession, and their degenerate minds very naturally prefer the chance of a quiet possession of them under French domination, to perseverance in the doubtful struggle into which the patriotic energies of the people have driven them. How far Lord Wellington's victories may gain over this selfish principle to the side of patriotism, time will shew;—but we confess that, in our opinion, it is a very disputable problem, whether it would not be of advantage to the cause, if the whole of the system which now professes to direct the public mind from the Isle de Leon were entirely broken up and dispersed, and clear space left for the unshackled range of the exertions of the people, at least till the French are driven beyond the Pyrenees. They might then elect a Cortes really and efficiently the representatives of the nation; and its decrees would be something more than *vox et preterea nihil*. It is our duty however to try;—and to make the best of the present materials. But we must not wait till it is too late, in the vain hope of improbable success.

The noble lord whose energetic representations as an ambassador we have with so much satisfaction adverted to, is now at the head of that department of our government from which instructions are sent to ministers at foreign courts. We may therefore reasonably expect that the enlarged views and public spirit, that distinguished the conduct of Lord Wellesley when ambassador in Spain, will have dictated his instructions to the embassy now at Cadiz. We trust that the British representative in that country has been authorised to interpose his good offices with the regency, for the purpose of leading them to adopt a plan for the formation and discipline of a portion of their army under British officers, and for laying open to them, and to the members of the Cortes, the machinations of Buonaparte and his satellites, who endeavour to excite discussions for the purpose of leading to controversy, and of diverting the attention of the assembly from objects of immediate and essential import.

We trust that he will shew them without reserve that something very rotten still rankles in the frame of their mili-

tary system. To use the words of Lord Wellington, "The Spanish nation has lost, in the course of two months, the fortresses of Tortosa, Olivenza, and Badajos, without any sufficient cause; and at the same time M. Soult with a corps of troops never supposed to exceed 20,000, besides the capture of the two last places, has made prisoners or destroyed above 22,000 Spanish troops." "The number of the garrison of Badajos at the time of the surrender was 9000; that of the enemy only 9600 infantry, and 2000 cavalry. The garrison wanted neither provisions nor ammunition, and the breach was not practicable. General Imas, the governor, acted with evident treachery." "It is useless to make any reflection on the facts here stated." (*Lord Wellington's dispatches to the regency of Portugal, March 14th, 1811.*) To this we may add the shameful conduct of the Spanish officers at Barrosa, and other places. Now it appears very evident to us that there is but one description of remedy for all this:—the spirit of the people is universally good—that of the higher orders generally detestable. Either, therefore, a revolutionary system must be adopted, and Spaniards promoted for approved and notorious talent and patriotism, and the confidence consequently reposed in them, or military commissions of responsibility must be entrusted to British officers on the same scale as in Portugal; and finally, every public functionary conducting himself with cowardice or treachery should be tried by a summary process, and punished if found guilty. We believe that the governor of Tortosa has been beheaded. These military measures are indispensable for carrying Spain successfully through the struggle. Is it said they are violent—we answer, so is the attack upon their liberties; and do they suppose that half measures will resist it, or will they submit after their glorious resistance to be conquered at last for a shadow? We the English, and the Spanish people are Ferdinand's trustees for the preservation of his kingdom from French dominion. Neither we nor they are bound in alliance or allegiance to any particular ministers of Ferdinand, if they conduct themselves weakly, or treacherously to the cause. On the contrary, we are then bound by every principle of self-preservation and enlightened good faith to resist those ministers on behalf of Ferdinand, and to replace their system by a better. These principles ought to be diligently inculcated, well understood, and strictly acted upon both by the Spanish people and ourselves.

We trust that he will convince them that although the first great national concern to Spain was the recognition of the constitutional right in the Cortes of providing for the defect in the legislature from the absence of the monarch; this

has been completely established by the removal or resignation of the old regency, and the appointment of a new council. A competent authority has in consequence been provided, for giving full effect to every ordinance that the states of the kingdom may enact. That great basis of a constitutional government being secured, it would seem to be the ordinary course of proceeding, that the attention of the Cortes should progressively be directed to the mode and form of providing for the periodical assembling of the states; for the responsibility of ministers and the mode of proceeding against them, upon any charge of malversation; for the organisation and pay of the army; and for the establishment of the principles by which the internal policy, and the commercial relations with the Spanish trans-marine possessions are in future to be maintained. These would appear to be measures of urgency, the consideration and decision upon which could not be postponed, and the constitutional provision for which would eternise the fame of the first assembly of the general Cortes of the kingdom, and secure to its members the gratitude and veneration of their country.

But it would be to endanger such a fabric of wisdom and national benefit to attempt, before its foundation has taken full bearing, to raise upon it the superstructure of those improvements which, at a time of less exigency, it might be advisable to establish; or even to suffer the consideration of them to divert the public attention from the great object of compelling the enemy to repass the Ebro, if not the Pyrenees, which alone can enable the power of the state to acquire solidity. The sober dignity of the Spanish character well knows how to appreciate the advantages that have arisen to Great Britain from a progressive amelioration of its constitution; and the assembly of the Cortes, unlike the national assembly of France, will consider as enemies to their country those political empirics, who shall assume the possibility of arriving at perfection in a first session by the fermented composition of a new system.

We trust that he will impress upon their minds, that if the public spirit, that has been hitherto so profitably confined in Portugal to the means of improving and augmenting the army, and to the provision for its maintenance in the field, had been suffered to evaporate in discussions upon the liberty of the press, or upon any other topics not connected with measures of military preparation, Massena would ere now have been in possession of Lisbon, and at the head of a new dynasty would have been dictating to the southern provinces of Spain the dogmas of Buonaparte's civil and military code at the point of the bayonet. The Cortes assembled at the Isle de Leon cannot be insensible to this,

and seeing, as they must do, that the cause of the peninsula has been brought to its present state of promise by the conduct that has been pursued in Portugal, of looking to the expulsion of the enemy in *the first instance*, they cannot hesitate, (having already established the basis of a free constitution of government in Spain), to pursue the same course; and for the purpose of rendering it effectual, to adopt the policy by which Rome was actuated in the proudest enjoyment of her liberty, of confiding the safety of the state, in times of exigency, to an absolute but responsible executive.

If the British resident, aided by Lord Wellington's victories, succeed in persuading the present government of Spain to accede to and seriously to act upon this system;—well! They may yet be the instruments of salvation to their country. But if prejudice, obstinacy, weakness, or treachery be still predominant;—we trust that the fatal example to be found in the conduct of our affairs in another quarter will not be followed here; that we shall not be condemned to a permanent annual expenditure of millions, for the purpose of supporting a rotten government in opposition to the wishes and interests of the people over whom it presides. Such absurd conduct must evidently reduce us either to lock up our forces for an unjust and useless purpose; or to render the whole expence nugatory upon the first instant in which their necessary removal leaves the people to their rage, and the government to their weakness.

If the Spanish administration will not cordially do their part, we trust that the only manly and effectual expedient will then be resorted to; that a declaration will be made to the Spanish people, that willing and anxious as we are to undergo any temporary sacrifice to place them in a situation to defend themselves;—yet that it is impossible for us to do this without the cordial co-operation of their own government in every liberal sacrifice; which we unfortunately have not hitherto seen. That we have too many objects at stake in other parts of the world to waste our strength and our money in a contest evidently hopeless on its present system: unless, therefore, a radical change takes place that we must withdraw and leave them to their fate. It will then be for the people to decide whether they will renovate their system, or submit to the loss of our assistance. We believe that but one opinion would exist as to this alternative either in Spain or Sicily\*; and that the Spaniards

\* If this policy had been adopted in Sicily, ten thousand men at least might have been lauded in the south-east of Spain from that island.

by an unreserved communication with the British resident, and through him with Lord Wellington, would ultimately free the peninsula from the French, and secure to it and to its transmarine connections the blessing of a free constitution.

That effected, the nations of the North might look up in hope, and catching the fire of freedom, prepare to rival their brethren of the South, in the bright career of regeneration. Then might the sons of Germany stand forth to revenge their country's wrongs, and recover their own wonted fame. Then might the martial spirit of France assume a right direction, and make atonement in the cause of social order for the sufferings it hath inflicted upon mankind. Then would the embers of his incendiary decrees rekindle around Buonaparte, and consign to dissolution and to infamy his person and his name. And then would England, and her king and people, find their reward for sacrifices and exertions beyond parallel, in having been the instruments under Divine Providence of re-establishing peace upon its only solid foundation throughout the civilised world.

And now what shall we say, in conclusion, of the man who, under Providence, has been the chief cause of our brightened prospects in the peninsula; of the brave, the enterprising, the prudent, and the modest Lord Wellington: of the *Indian* general, as Buonaparte termed him, whom he was anxious to chastise by the hands of his victorious marshals, but who has chased before him the most renowned of those marshals, burning with shame, and overwhelmed with confusion and disgrace? Before the battle of Rolica, in the first of these campaigns, Lord Wellington never saw a French regiment manœuvre;—yet so apt was his genius, so penetrating his military coup d'œil, that four days afterwards at Vimiera he fairly outmanœuvred them, and beat them at their own weapons. With great versatility of mind and manners, and extraordinary talents for civil affairs, he has the art of conciliating the regard and exciting the affection and admiration of every man in his army, from the general to the drummer. No praise-worthy action escapes his notice; no real duty can be left unperformed under his eye. But he is no measurer of whiskers, or gauger of pigtails. He does not insist upon a French regiment's being charged at the lock step, seventy-five paces to a minute; and if his serjeants use their swords, he does not much care whether they be furnished with a pendulum. His army, in short, must do their duty;—but he knows in what that duty consists, and does not generally require more. And the natural consequence is, that nothing of which human exertion is capable is found too arduous for their achievement, when he leads them on in the day of hot and perilous trial.



With such a constellation of talents, and with the ray of glory which they now emit round his head, we do not hesitate to declare our conviction, that if Providence spurs him to his country, he has a brighter career to run than that through which the great Marlborough sped his course: their talents are certainly in some respects similar, but the field upon which Lord Wellington acts, and the enemies he has to encounter, appear to us to place him in a much more arduous situation. We will not, however, disguise our opinion, that his talents are, upon the whole, of greater promise. Nor can we by any exertion of philosophy bring ourselves to despair of beholding him the instrument of as much good to prostrate Europe, as it received a century ago through the medium of his renowned predecessor.

ART. XVIII. *Account of some Experiments on the Ascent of the Sap in Trees.* In a Letter from Thomas Andrew Knight, Esq. to the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. K.B. P.R.S. (From the Philosophical Transactions for 1801. Part 2.)

*Account of some Experiments on the Descent of the Sap in Trees.* By the same. Phil. Trans. 1803. Part 2.

*Experiments and Observations on the Motion of the Sap in Trees.* By the same. Phil. Trans. 1804. Part 1.

*Concerning the State in which the true Sap of Trees is deposited during Winter.* By the same. Phil. Trans. 1805. Part 1.

*On the Inverted Action of the Albuminous Vessels of Trees.* By the same. Phil. Trans. 1806. Part 2.

*On the Origin and Office of the Albuminum in Trees.* By the same. Phil. Trans. 1808. Part 2.

WE have selected these from about twice as many papers by Mr. Knight on the physiology of vegetables, published in the Transactions of the Royal Society; being directed in our choice by that particular branch of the subject to which they relate, viz. the circulation of the sap. The laws by which the motion of this fluid is governed, constitute one of the most refined and intricate departments of the history of vegetables, which is by no means remotely connected with practical utility. But the inquiry necessarily leads into details, which will be thought as dry by the idle reader, as they are interesting to the lover of scientific research.

Much diversity of opinion has prevailed concerning the vascular system of vegetables. By some it has been judged to be

almost as complete as that of animals, and to vessels destined for the propulsion of the sap, a distinct set have been added for the transmission of air. Others have denied the existence of a circulating system in vegetable bodies, and have endeavoured to prove by actual experiment, that in plants the same vessels are equally well calculated to carry their contents in opposite directions. The experiments to which we allude are those of Hales and Du Hamel, and we consider them as decisive. Mr. Knight is of a different opinion, yet many of his experiments appear to confirm those of the great naturalists we have mentioned. He speaks, however, of *two important errors* in the writings of Hales and Du Hamel. "The plates of Hales (he says) are not always taken correctly from nature, and therefore are better calculated to support his own hypothesis than to elucidate the facts he intends to state." (Phil. Trans. 1804, page 188). He alludes particularly to the eleventh plate (vegetable statics.) But the conclusions drawn from the experiment which that plate represents have been confirmed in a repetition of the same experiment, by the late Dr. Hope of Edinburgh. Du Hamel's *error* consists in his not having employed cuttings quite as long as Mr. Knight's; but they were long enough to establish the object he had in view; and Mr. Knight admits that "his assertion with respect to the result is perfectly correct." With what propriety then can they be termed *important errors*?

We shall briefly state Mr. Knight's hypothesis concerning the circulation of the sap; but in order to facilitate our reader's comprehension of a subject intricate in itself, and by no means rendered less so by Mr. Knight's mode of treating it, we shall premise a general view of the structure of the vegetable body according to the observations and highly magnified dissections of M. Mürbel, which go far beyond those of Grew, Malpighi, Du Hamel, &c. He finds, by the help of the highest magnifying powers, that the vegetable body is a continued mass of tubes and cells, the former extended indefinitely, the latter frequently and regularly interrupted by transverse partitions. These partitions are ranged alternately in the contiguous cells, and each cell increasing in diameter after its first formation, an hexagonal figure is given to them all. The sides of the cells are variously perforated or torn. Of the tubes, some are without any lateral perforations, at least for a considerable extent; others are pierced with holes ranged in a close spiral line; in others several of those holes run together, as it were, into interrupted spiral clefts; in some those clefts are continued, so that the whole tube is cut by an uninterrupted spiral line, and occasionally, young branches and tender leaves will unroll to a great

extent when they are gently torn asunder. The cellular texture especially is extended to every part of the vegetable body, even into the thin skin called the cuticle, which covers every external part, and into the fine hairs or down, which in some instances clothe the cuticle itself\*.

In the above view of the general texture of vegetables we are for the first time made acquainted with the real structure of the spiral tubes. The same was indeed conjectured by Darwin, who remarks that these tubes are probably formed of a spiral line. He regarded them as the true absorbent vessels or lacteals of vegetables, and supposed their action to consist in a vermicular or peristaltic motion of the vessel, which Malpighi once fancied he actually saw. Being sometimes dry, as in summer, they have been supposed by others to be designed for the passage of air, and have been actually compared to the bronchia of animals by Malpighi and Grew; but it is probable that the true air-vessels of plants pass through the bark into the soft wood or alburnum in a horizontal direction only, figures of which are to be found in the works of Malpighi and Du Hamel. Mr. Knight appears to be totally ignorant of Mirbel's discovery respecting the spiral tubes, for he every where speaks of them as separate vessels, accompanying the central or sap vessels in the annual shoot, the leaf, and the seed. "To these vessels the spiral tubes are every where appendages." (Phil. Trans. 1801, p. 336.) "These vessels are always accompanied by spiral tubes, which do not appear to carry any liquid." (Phil. Trans. 1805, p. 100.) Mr. Knight questions their existence in other parts of trees, "having," he says, "often attentively searched in vain for them with glasses of different powers, in the root, in the alburnum, and in the bark."

His original hypothesis, which, as we shall presently see, subsequent experiments have compelled him to modify, is as follows:

"The common tubes of the alburnum, which do not appear to me to have been properly distinguished from the central vessels, by the authors that I have read, extend from the points of the annual shoots to the extremities of the roots; and up these tubes the sap most certainly ascends, impelled, I believe, by the agency of the silver grain†. At the base of the buds, and in the soft and succulent part of the annual shoot, the alburnum with the silver grain ceases to act and to exist; and here I believe commences the action of the

\* *Traité d'Anatomic et de Physiologie végétales.*

† The *silver grain* is the cellular texture of Mirbel (*tissu cellulaire*.) It is named *silver grain* by Mr. Knight from the appearance which it assumes in dry timber.

central vessels, with their appendages, the spiral tubes. By these the sap is carried into the leaves, and exposed to the air and light; and here it seems to acquire, (by what means I shall not attempt to decide), the power to generate the various inflammable substances that are found in the plant. It appears to be then brought back again through the vessels of the leaf stalk to the bark, and by that to be conveyed to every part of the tree, to add new matter, and to compose its various organs for the succeeding season." (Phil. Trans. 1801, p. 351). •

Mr. Knight has been anticipated in some of the experiments upon which his hypothesis is built by Hales, Bonnet, and Darwin\*. But his observations with respect to the central vessels appear to be original, if not true. They are denominated *central* from their surrounding the medulla, in fascies or bundles, in the succulent annual shoot; and are represented in several beautiful engravings as they appear in that shoot; in their passage from thence to the leaf stalk, and in the leaf stalk itself. They originate, we are told, from the lateral orifices of the alburnous tubes.† Lying parallel with, and surrounding them in the leaf stalk, appear other vessels, which are supposed by Mr. Knight to return the sap to the tree; for when a leaf was cut off which had imbibed a coloured infusion, he observed the native juices of the plant to flow from these vessels apparently unaltered‡. The same results were obtained by Bonnet and Darwin from similar experiments made upon the succulent annual shoots.

As the medulla remained uninjured in every branch in which Mr. Knight had attempted to trace the progress of the sap, he made the following experiments to ascertain whether this part was concerned in the propulsion of the sap.

"Having made a passage about half an inch long, and a line wide, into a strong succulent shoot of the vine, I totally extracted its medulla, as far as the orifice I had made would permit me. But the shoot grew nearly as well as the others whose medulla had remained uninjured, and the wound soon healed. Making a similar passage, but of greater length, so that part extended above and part below a leaf bud, I again extracted the medulla. The leaf and bud with the lateral shoot annexed continued to live, and did not appear to suffer much inconvenience, but faded a little when the sun shone strongly upon them. •

\* See Vegetable Statics, pl. 13, fig. 28, 29. Bonnet. Usage de Feuilles, pl. 29. Phytologia, Sect. II. 2.

† These lateral orifices are assumed in another place, in order to explain the nourishment of lateral branches, when every tube which led to them had been intersected.

‡ We do not conceive that the texture of these parts differs from that of the vegetable body in general, in any other respect than greater delicacy.

"I was now thoroughly satisfied that the medulla was not necessary to the progression of the sap; but I wished to see whether the wood and leaf would execute their office when deprived at once of the bark and medulla. With this view I made two circular incisions through the bark, above and below the leaf; and I took off the whole of the bark between them, except a small portion round the base of the leaf. Having then perforated the wood, where I made each of my incisions through the bark, I destroyed the medulla in each place, as in the preceding experiments. The leaf however continued fresh and vigorous, and a thin layer of new wood was formed round its base, as far as the bark had been suffered to remain." (Phil. Trans. 1801, page 338.)

In support of his hypothesis, Mr. Knight remarks, that the force with which the sap has been proved to ascend, by Hales, banishes every idea of capillary attraction being the cause. And as to the ascent of the sap, by the expansion of fluids within the vessels of the plant by the agency of heat, he says that the sap rises under a decreasing as well as under an increasing temperature, during the evening and night, if it be not excessively cold, as well as in the morning and afternoon. Is he then unacquainted with the experiments of Dr. Walker, who marked the progress of the ascending sap in various branches of trees, and observed that in cold weather it stopped many hours in the day, as well as in the night\*? Mr. Knight admits, however, that heat may be the remote cause of the ascent of the sap, and supposes that frequent variations of it are in some degree requisite; but he thinks that the immediate cause is to be found in an *intrinsic power of producing motion inherent in vegetable life*. This intrinsic power of producing motion consists in the action of the silver grain (tissu cellulaire of Mirbel) upon the tubes of the albumum.

The causes supposed to operate in promoting the descent of the sap are, gravitation, motion communicated by winds or other agents, capillary attraction, and "probably something in the conformation of the vessels themselves, whereby they are better calculated to carry fluids in one direction than in another." This "something" is afterwards suspected to be a valvular apparatus, like that found in the veins of animals, the extreme minuteness of which has hitherto concealed it from observation.

We are surprised at Mr. Knight's introducing the first of these causes, it being at variance with conclusions drawn by himself from his own experiments upon inverted layers of the vine, proving that the sap, which would have descended in the

\* Edinburgh Philosophical Transactions, vol. I.

natural position of those layers, actually ascended, for a time at least, contrary to the force of gravitation, producing new wood and roots at the inverted ends, where the separation from the tree had been made. (Phil. Trans. 1804, page 183\*.) The effects of agitation communicated by winds, in promoting the growth of young trees, are fully proved by Mr. Knight's experiments; but he is not justified in concluding that this arises from an impulse given to the descending sap only, until the truth of his hypothesis be proved in other respects. As to capillary attraction, there can be no necessity for introducing its agency here, when it has been denied to have any influence in promoting the ascent of the sap. The existence of valves in the vessels of the bark is inferred from the experiments already mentioned upon inverted layers of the vine. But we conceive that if new wood, and even roots were deposited at the inferior ends of the shoots, although rendered uppermost by the inversion, this may be attributed to a continuance of habit in the actions of the plant, rather than to any peculiar organization in the vessels of the bark. We find that the buds vegetated strongly at both ends of the layers, and in one instance the bud, at that end of the layer which had been attached to the tree, grew with greater vigour than at its proper end: and we have no doubt that the deposition of wood ceased after a time, and that the vessels of the inverted layer became capable of carrying their contents in an opposite direction, as in the experiments of Hales and Du Hamel. Besides, when cuttings were employed instead of layers, the effects observed by Mr. Knight took place only in cuttings a few inches in length; when he employed longer cuttings, vegetation became more languid in such as were inverted as the distance from the ground increased, and nearly ceased towards the conclusion of summer at the height of four feet. Whereas such an organization as he supposes to exist in the vessels of the bark ought to have rendered it equally vigorous in every part, whether more or less elevated from the ground.

Mr. Knight seems not to have been aware of other circumstances in these experiments requiring explanation, and which at present militate greatly against some parts of his hypothesis. He conceives that the substance which enters into the composition of the first leaves in the spring is derived from matter that has undergone some previous preparation within the plant, and

\* It is also at variance with his observations upon the peculiar growth of weeping trees, as they are called; in which he supposes that an excess of power in the organization of the vessels of the bark enables them to overcome the opposing force of gravitation. (Phil. Trans. 1804, page 186.)

that the leaves which are generated in summer derive their substance from a similar source. (Phil. Trans. 1806, page 98.) Now what previous preparation within the plant could the matter have undergone, which entered into the composition of the first leaves in these inverted cuttings and layers? They did not derive prepared matter from the true sap, which Mr. Knight supposes to exist in the alburnum during the winter, dissolved in the aqueous sap ascending through the alburnous tubes, (this being, we conceive, the preparation to which he alludes); for the course of the circulation being inverted, nothing could have ascended to the leaves by that channel. And as the vessels of the bark carried their contents upwards, they could not furnish matter for the production of roots: it must then of course have been derived from the alburnum, and the supply from that source being expended in this operation, the vessels of the bark could only receive their contents from the soil. The first leaves therefore of the inverted cuttings and layers could not have derived the substance which entered into their composition from matter which had undergone a previous preparation within the plant.

The reader will perceive that we have conceded to Mr. Knight, for the sake of argument, his hypothesis concerning the circulation of the sap, which in the inverted cuttings and layers must necessarily have had its course inverted likewise.

We have now taken a view of the hypothesis as it stood in 1805, when the fourth paper was published. In subsequent communications, however, it was regarded by its author as untenable, and even at that period he began to suspect that the true sap descends through the alburnum as well as through the bark. (Phil. Trans. 1805, page 102.)

It has seldom fallen to our lot to witness so many contradictions in the different publications of any author, as are to be found in the papers before us. Hypotheses, in the construction of which the greatest pains have been taken, are overturned by their founder, and new ones coolly produced in their room, not only without regret, but with an appearance of satisfaction. We certainly cannot but highly approve the disinterested impartiality with which a writer consents to load himself with the charge of having formed crude and hasty conclusions, rather than deceive the public by defending former speculations now proved untenable. But we think this should render him extremely cautious in setting up a new hypothesis. Amongst certain nations parents expose or kill their offspring; the circumstance not being regarded as criminal by the state, but merely as an act of political necessity: by us, however, it has ever been viewed with horror; because we do not think that Providence ever permits a child to

be born with a moral necessity for its being killed. But Mr. Knight brings forth his intellectual bantlings so prematurely, that in truth, though the world is by no means overstocked with the true breed,—his is of such a weakly frame that he is obliged, out of compassion, to knock it on the head himself. For this we can excuse him; but we know not what plea to urge in extenuation of his unfeeling barbarity, when he resolves, in spite of experience, to procreate other monsters with the certain prospect of being obliged to commit new murders upon them. The following quotation will shew the justness of these remarks.

“But it has been proved by Du Hamel, that a fluid, similar to that which is found in the true sap-vessels of the bark, exists also in the alburnum, and this fluid is obvious in the fig and other trees, whose true sap is white or coloured. The vessels which contain this fluid in the alburnum are in contact with those which carry up the true aqueous sap; and it does not appear probable that, in a body so porous as wood, fluids so near each other should remain wholly unmixed. I must therefore conclude, that when the true sap has been delivered from the cotyledon, or leaf, into the returning or true sap vessels of the bark, one portion of it secretes through the external cellular, or more probably glandular substance of the bark, and generates a new epidermis, where that is to be formed; and that the other portion of it secretes through the internal glandular substance of the bark, where one part of it produces the new layer of wood, and the remainder enters into the pores of the wood already formed, and subsequently mingles with the ascending aqueous sap; which thus becomes capable of affording the matter necessary to form new buds and leaves.

“It has been proved in experiments on the ascending sap of the sycamore and birch, that that fluid does not approach the buds of unfolding leaves in the spring in the state in which it is absorbed from the earth; and therefore we may conclude that the fluid which enters into and circulates through the leaves of plants, as the blood through the lungs of animals, consists of a mixture of the true sap, or blood of the plant, with matter more recently absorbed, and less perfectly assimilated.” (Phil. Tran. 1805, p. 100.)

Here Mr. Knight gives up the conclusion drawn from his own experiments, in the first paper, upon succulent shoots of the vine, and supported by similar experiments upon the succulent shoots of other plants by Dr. Darwin. At that time they proved to his apprehension, that the fluid found in the true sap vessels of the bark is totally distinct from that which exists in the alburnum. Behold an instance of the propensity to which we have alluded. One hypothesis is destroyed, that another may be fostered. After having concluded from experiments, contrived and executed by himself, and confirmed by similar experiments in the phytologia, that the ascending aqueous sap and native juices of the plant are



contained in distinct vessels, he now most inconsistently observes, "it does not appear probable that in a body so porous as wood, fluids so near each other should remain wholly unmixed." If this mixture be supposed to take place in every part of the plant, except the leaves, what becomes of that vegetable circulation which Mr. Knight is still so anxious to prove? What are we to think also of his ravings about "two important errors in the writings of Hales and Du Hamel, disproving, in the opinion of many naturalists, the existence of a vegetable circulation?"

But we have not yet noticed all the objections brought by this distinguished vegetable physiologist against his original hypothesis; for theory it cannot be called, although he is pleased to dignify it with this appellation. After adducing facts to prove that the vessels of plants are not equally well calculated to carry their contents in opposite directions, we find him in 1806 admitting the existence of a power in the alburnum to carry the sap in different directions, as proved in the growth of inverted cuttings of different species of trees. He expresses likewise much anxiety to shew, that his conclusions are not inconsistent with the facts stated by his *great predecessors*, Hales and Du Hamel. "The alburnous vessels appear, from the experiments I have related in a former paper, and from those I shall now proceed to relate, to be capable of an inverted action when that becomes necessary to preserve the existence of the plant." (Phil. Trans. 1806, p. 296.) We conceived that a verdict of *felo de se* might have been safely passed upon Mr. Knight at this period, but resuscitation seems somehow to have taken place, for in 1808 he exhibits himself in the act of making fresh attempts at self-destruction. He now denies that the alburnous vessels are the channels through which the sap ascends\*. They only retain it as reservoirs till it can be absorbed and carried off by the surrounding cellular substance. This new idea is derived from experiments upon the stems of young trees. Deep incisions were made beneath the bases of annual shoots, so that all communication through the alburnous tubes with the stem was wholly cut off; yet the sap passed into the annual shoots in the succeeding spring, all of which lived, and some grew with considerable vigour. (Phil. Trans. 1808, p. 315.) At the end of this paper we have the following account of the hypothesis as it stands at present.

"I shall conclude with observing, that in retracting the opinion I

\* The intrinsic power of producing motion inherent in vegetable bodies, consisting in the action of the silver grain or cellular texture (tissu cellulaire of Mirbel) upon the alburnous tubes, is here termed by its author an hypothesis inconsistent with the facts that he has now the pleasure to communicate.

formerly entertained respecting the ascent of the sap in the alburnous tubes, I do not mean to retract any opinion that I have given in former communications respecting the subsequent motion through the central vessels, the leaves, and bark; or the subsequent junction of the descending with the ascending current in the alburnum: every experiment that I have made has, on the contrary, tended to confirm my former conclusions." (Phil. Trans. 1808, p. 320.)

Much more ought in our opinion to have been retracted; for the experiments have certainly as powerful a tendency to disprove the existence of a circulation in vegetables, analogous to that of animals, as those of Hales and Du Hamel. If the ascending sap do not pass through vessels, there can be no reason to suppose the existence of vessels for the passage of the descending sap; but in whatever manner this fluid passes, either upwards or downwards, the mixture of ascending with descending sap, which is admitted to take place in every part of the tree, except the leaves and annual shoots, is altogether incompatible with the doctrine of a general circulation. The mixture of different currents in the circulation of animals, to which the mixture of ascending and descending sap is compared, takes place in the subclavian vein only, where the thoracic duct terminates, and not in every part of the animal's body.

The publication of these papers has certainly been premature. Instead of a "new theory" of vegetation, they contain only a series of suppositions, one part of which contradicts the other. Yet the experiments are interesting and valuable, and in the contrivance of some of them much ingenuity has been displayed. We have indeed heard one of our most eminent modern chemists declare, that there cannot be found any where more perfect models of scientific induction than Mr. Knight's experiments. Every precaution is taken, every impediment removed, with the utmost care, and the agencies which are to ascertain the facts left to their free and uninterrupted operation. But the conclusions are for the most part hastily and inaccurately drawn. We earnestly hope, however, that Mr. Knight, who has such excellent opportunities of prosecuting these inquiries, will continue his experiments, and communicate his speculations upon them to the public in a more cautious manner, that he may not bewilder himself and his readers with conclusions to be as soon retracted as those which he has already published. Let him continue to establish facts in the same elegant and conclusive manner which his experiments have hitherto exhibited, but let him recollect, that in the very obscure and intricate department of physics which he has selected for investigation, the establishment of a general system is rather a more difficult concern.

If we were to draw any conclusion from the experiments contained in these communications to the Royal Society, we should say, that they tend to establish no other kind of motion in the sap of vegetables than might be inferred from the microscopic observations of Mirbel. The tubes discovered by Mirbel, denominated vessels by Mr. Knight, extend through the whole length of the roots, trunk, branches, &c. without making in general any circuit. They are variously perforated or cleft, thus admitting a free course to the sap. But these tubes themselves, as demonstrated by Mirbel\*, are only modifications of the cellular texture, having no resemblance whatever to the vessels of animals.

It appears then that insensible transpiration, the motion of the sap, its various combinations and decompositions, and its situation with respect to the surface of the vegetable, whence results the more or less direct action of heat, light, and air; and lastly, the passage of this fluid through the membranous tissue, transforming water and air into oil, mucilage, and vegetable acids, are all performed without the aid of any particular organic apparatus, for the purposes of respiration, digestion, circulation, and secretion. Fluids pass through every part of the structure of vegetables, but their motion cannot with certainty be attributed either to external or internal cause<sup>‡</sup>.

We cannot conclude this article without noticing the opinions which the learned president of the Linnæan Society has given of these papers. He thinks that they establish "no less than an entirely new theory of vegetation, by which the real use and functions of the principal organs of plants are now for the first time satisfactorily explained†." In his Introduction to Botany he adopts all Mr. Knight's opinions, including those which were retracted 1808, previous to the publication of the second edition, in which, notwithstanding, they appear without any alteration. He not only thus "out-herods Herod," but absolutely praises the perspicuous mode in which the subject has been treated throughout. Our perceptive powers are probably less acute than those of the learned president; for we have seldom had more reason to complain of the want of perspicuity in any writer than during our perusal of Mr. Knight's communications to the Royal Society. He does not even stop here, but takes infinite pains to shew that Mr. Knight was thoroughly acquainted with the spiral coat of those vessels which he has named central; although every

\* Exposition de la Théorie de l'organisation végétale.—Paris, 1809.

† Smith's Introduction to Physiological and Systematical Botany, p. 46.

expression of that gentleman's upon the subject proves that he had not the least conception of such a structure. On the contrary, he supposed that the spiral tubes were every where appendages to those vessels, and always speaks of them in this manner. Why this bold and vain attempt was made to defend Mr. Knight's errors we know not, but we can readily pardon mistakes concerning the physiology of vegetables in one whose labours have been so successful in another department of botany.

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ART. XIX. *Cottage Dialogues among the Irish Peasantry.*  
By Mary Leadbeater.—*With Notes and a Preface, by Maria Edgeworth, author of Castle Rackrent, &c.*

ONE of our oldest statistical writers gives the following compe-  
dious but expressive description of the Irish. They are,  
says he, "Geas in omnes affectus vehementissima; quorum  
malis nusquam peiores, et bonis meliores vix reperias." (A  
nation always in extremes; you will hardly find any thing worse  
than their bad men, or better than their good ones.) Now nothing  
can be more dangerous than these superlative degrees of charac-  
ter. Considering the constitution of poor human nature, it is  
easy to see which extreme will predominate, unless the utmost  
care and attention are bestowed to give the vehement tempers  
a right direction. But as the reverse of this has unfortunately  
been the lot of Ireland for some centuries, as a melancholy  
course of neglect for ages, (to use no stronger term,) has, till  
within these few years, obscured her glorious destinies, we can-  
not be surprised at the pictures which successive writers, who  
have had opportunities of judging from personal observation, have  
drawn of her degraded state.

In 1566 a countryman and contemporary gives the following  
account of the Irish of his time. He describes them as warlike,  
patient of fatigue and hunger, but preferring indolence and  
liberty to every thing else; ignorant, credulous, and superstitious  
in the highest degree, remarkably fond of music, feasting, and  
merriment. He particularly notices a class of men very numerous  
at that time, who travelled over the country at night for the  
purpose of committing robberies, whose depredations were at-  
tended with cruelty, and whose occupation was not considered  
dishonourable. Whenever they set out on an expedition, they  
prayed to God that they might be successful in obtaining plunder;  
and when obtained, they considered it as a gift from him.

Another Irish writer in 1584, states that something like the feudal system existed there at that time: that they were constantly harassed by the number of quarrels in which they were engaged; that robberies were committed every night; the laws were extremely defective, and ill executed; the people very fond of whiskey, extraordinarily hospitable, good-natured and generous, their credulity great, and their reverence towards their priests extreme.

Two centuries afterwards, although in the interval mankind in other parts of Europe had made more rapid strides than were ever witnessed in arts, civilization, and commerce, the situation of the Irish peasantry was found but little improved. A countryman and eyewitness thus describes their state as he found it in 1780—90. At this period a considerable degree of improvement indeed had taken place in the cultivation and the manufactures of many parts of Ireland; but no corresponding amelioration had reached the peasantry. In no part of Ireland were the people so vicious as in those counties which were supposed to have been most civilized, in places which abounded with land speculators, rich graziers, and tythe-jobbers; for no pains having been taken to improve the moral condition of the people, they retained all the vices of their more barbarous state, but had lost its simplicity, and had engrafted the depravity of civilization on the ferocity of savage life. The Irish legislature, until the octennial bill which passed about this time, scarcely attended at all to the state of their peasantry. No community of interests, nor reciprocity of benefits, no kind of confidence or good-will existed between them. "To legislate for the dregs of the people, to render palatable the measures adopted against them,"—to endeavour to convince them that such measures were intended for their real benefit, was a condescension to which the parliament of Ireland, (where seats were held for life,) seldom stooped. It has been the policy of every wise government to improve the condition of the mass of the people, that they might have an interest in the defence and preservation of the state. A principle directly the contrary always prevailed in Ireland; and the effects which it produced can easily be traced to the cause.

Much of the old system of manners still continued in 1780—90, particularly in the interior and mountainous parts of the country. At a wedding feast they would sing and listen to the most plaintive ditties, and if they had drunk any whiskey would whine and weep over some woeful story: but at a *wake* (i. e. an assemblage of men and women round the corpse of a deceased neighbour,) although they went for the avowed purpose of weeping over the dead body; yet in the very room where it was laid

out they would spend the night in boisterous mirth, coarse jests, and all kinds of sports and gambols that were calculated to excite laughter; with intervals of five or six minutes every hour of a dreadful howl under pretence of joining in a general lamentation. Whenever whiskey was introduced into any of their meetings, intoxication and quarrels were the inevitable consequence. They were credulous in the highest degree, believed that old women could charm all the butter out of the milk of a neighbouring cow, and add it to their own; bought as sacred relics, possessed of great virtue, bits of old wood, &c. which itinerant mendicants carried about. They were implicitly obedient to their priests both in matters civil and religious, and placed no less implicit faith in every thing they said, however absurd and monstrous. In taking an oath, they considered it sacred if taken on a piece of iron. They knew nothing of the bible, and were equally unacquainted with the principles of moral rectitude. Their moral character therefore of course depended upon the circumstances under which they lived. In some places simple, harmless, generous, and benevolent; in others selfish and depraved:—but being universally ignorant, they were consequently universally indolent: Such was their state described between the years 1780 and 1790.

In order to bring the account down to the present time, we shall make a short extract or two from a work written about four years ago by an Irish gentleman, whose style, no less than his matter, proves his perfect acquaintance with the writings of Tacitus.

“The peasantry of Ireland are generally not exclusively of the Roman Catholic religion, but utterly and disgracefully ignorant. Of four millions—the probable population, one million perhaps can write and read: of this million three-fourths are Protestant and Protestant-dissenters; there remains a solid mass of dangerous and obstinate ignorance; the laws of God they take on trust; those of the land on guess; and despise or insult both. In agricultural pursuits they are neither active nor expert. It is often more easy to induce them to take arms, for their country or against it, than to cultivate the earth and wait upon the seasons. Fighting is a pastime which they seldom assemble without enjoying; not indeed with iron weapons, but with clubs, which they always carry and frequently and skilfully use. When not driven by necessity to labour, they willingly consume whole days in sloth, or as willingly employ them in riot. Strange diversity of nature! to love indolence and hate quiet; to be reduced to slavery, but not yet to obedience.”

For ourselves, however, we cannot but exult in this diversity. If they were quiet and obedient slaves, they would probably continue for as many more centuries in their present degraded state. But providentially for them their impetuosity is a little inconvenient, and as every method but their moral improvement has been ineffectually tried to restrain it, it is probable

that we shall at length be *constrained to do our duty*. But to return to our author.

“The peasant thinks not of independence, dreams not of property unless in dreams of insurrection. His wishes have no scope; he is habituated to derive from his land and his labour only his daily potatoe. Whoever assembles the Irish disturbs them; disturbance soon coalesces with treason; and the suicide avarice that drives the peasantry to combine, precipitates them to rebel.”

• Yet notwithstanding these accounts, we are persuaded that the vices of the people do not lie on their own shoulders;—destructive as they are, they spring out of passions that might have been the source of so many virtues. Why the current took a contrary direction it is not our present intention to inquire. Too much has already been written in that strain, and time and talents wasted in mutual recrimination, as to the cause, which had it been employed in mutual emulation to find a remedy, would long since have cured the evil. Like the couple, who, when their house was on fire, disputed so long as to the cause, that it was burnt to the ground before they had *leisure* to run for the engines.

Lamenting then as we have long done the deplorable state of a country whose people we love, and the fertility and apt disposition of whose territory we have long contemplated with admiration and hope, it was not merely with pleasure, it was with perfect delight, that we perused the entertaining little work now before us, of the merits of which we purpose to give our readers some account, though we fear necessarily a very imperfect one. It is the joint production of two Irish ladies, one of whom deservedly stands high in favour with the English public, and we are persuaded that it will not be diminished by the part which she has taken in the present publication. The body of the work consists of fifty-four short dialogues, between two couples of Irish peasants, and exhibits their adventures, habits, and “*manner of being*” more naturally, and as Miss Edgeworth assures us, more *to the life* than any studied narrative could accomplish. She also warrants Mrs. Leadbeater’s Dialogue to be a literal transcript of the language of the Irish peasantry; and of the tamer part of them perhaps it may. But Miss Edgeworth’s friendly solicitude for the credit of her protégée must excuse us for thinking, that there is a raciness about the short extracts of Hibernian dialogue to be found in her notes, which sounds more national to an English ear. The dialogues are evidently written with the philanthropic view of raising the tone of manners and morals, and of diffusing a taste for the comforts of life, and for the honest mode of acquiring them, among the lower orders of the Irish. They are probably intended to be printed in a cheap

edition, and distributed among the people. But we are grateful to Miss Edgeworth for presenting them to a wider and a more exalted circle; we thank her for attaching her Preface and Notes, like the wings of *Dædalus*, to a body that would otherwise have been confined to its native soil; and for directing its flight hither, to excite the benevolence and improve the best feelings of our English gentry, and of the *absentees* from her own country. But let not our readers suppose that this is a mere book of instruction.—They had better not take it up, unless their risible muscles are in very good order for exercise.

The story is short. Rose and Nancy are two Irish peasant girls,—the one active, cleanly, frugal, sober, industrious, and sensible:—the other good-humoured, thoughtless, frolicsome, and indolent. Rose never so happy as when picking potatoes for her father, leading the horse and car to draw them to the potatoe hole, or sitting down to teach Kitty to work;—Nancy disclaiming to be such a *black slave* as to demean herself by such *botheration*, thinks it the greatest blessing of life to be dressed in “a white cambric muslin gown, and to match that, a white dimity petticoat, white cotton stockings, Spanish leather shoes, and a plush bonnet, and to go to a fair, a dance, or a wake with Harry Delogher. This however was after she got into service, and after she had left her first place in a respectable family under a quiet, sober, regular mistress, to go into a shewy, irregular house, where, to be sure, she had high wages and *tea constantly*, but where she was much less happy and comfortable. Her mistress was probably always disposed to indulge her in such requests as the following:—“Ma’am my *shister’s* husband’s dead, and I’d be glad if you’d be *plased* to let me go to the wake to-night”—or “Ma’am, it’s Ciceley Gallager’s wake to-night, that was a great neighbour of my mother’s, and if you’d be *plased* to give me leave, I’d be sorry not to be *in it*. (p. 276). Our readers recollect what a wake was described to be in a preceding page. But, as Rose says, five guineas a year will go a short way indeed towards all this finery, and so she being now a considerate servant is content with a good calico gown for Sundays—worsted stockings for winter, and dark cotton for summer, common leather shoes, and three *shifts* at the least. This we presume to be the ordinary wardrobe of a decent Irish housemaid, and compared with that represented in preceding authors, and quoted by Miss Edgeworth in her notes, indicates one very great improvement in the arts of life. Now with these qualifications our readers will not be surprised to find that Nancy had the *luck* to take a *notion* one day that she would go and be married to Tim Cassidy, “a clean honest boy, able to earn good bread for her.” But as these seri-



ous affairs are not settled quite so much by *luck* and *notions* in our country, we must have recourse to Miss Edgeworth's notes for an explanation. Of *luck* she says—

“ When Tim and Nancy are going to be married they justify their precipitation by saying ‘ *Sure we don't know what luck is before us !* ’ and afterwards one of them exclaims, ‘ *I wish it had been our luck to have had more ‘cuteness in time.’* ’ This belief and trust in *luck* never quits the Irish from the cradle to the grave, and is the cause of many of their vices, and some of their virtues. If a poor man's crop fail in a bad season, or if his cattle die, he tells you, ‘ *Sure there's no use in fretting ; it was my luck to have no luck at all, the year.* ’ And if the same misfortunes happened in consequence of his neglecting to buy good seed, or of his having over-worked his horses, still he would attribute it all to *his luck*. It serves them as a satisfactory excuse for all their faults and follies. ‘ *How comes it,* ’ says a landlord to his tenant, ‘ *that you did not apply to me in proper time to renew your lease ? now you have double fines to pay, as a penalty for omitting to renew.* ’

“ ‘ *True for me,* ’ replies the careless tenant, ‘ *but I never had the luck to think of it at the right minute.* ’

“ ‘ *How has your lawsuit with O'Brannagan ended ?* ’

“ ‘ *O ! please your honour, he cast me ; I never had any luck at all at law.* ’

“ ‘ *Then I wonder you are so fond of going to law.* ’

“ ‘ *Sure, there's not a man in the kingdom hates law more than myself, please your honour ; but its always my luck to be in law :* ’ (an Irishman says *in law*, as another man would say *in love*.)

“ ‘ *Were you not in jail some time ago ?* ’

“ ‘ *I was, please your honour ; it was my luck to be put in for no fault of my own, at all, but just happening to be in bad company, that swore away my life behind my back. But I had the luck to have the best lawyer in Ireland, who made out an alibi for me to the satisfaction of the judge, who gave it in charge to the jury to bring in a verdict for me, entirely. So I got off, and was let out, and if I have any luck I'll never get in again, or put it in the power of any man to belie me, let alone hanging me.* ’ ”

The use of the word *notion* is thus exemplified :

“ ‘ *I took a notion I'd buy a pig.* ’ ‘ *The notion came across me that I would make a bit of butter'd toast for his cowld, and it cured him.* ’ ‘ *Then she took a notion, one day, she'd go and be married to Bartly Mac Doole, and there was no help for it.* ’ Often concerning the most important event of their lives, the lower Irish can ” (or rather will) “ *give no other account of the remote or the proximate motive of their actions than, that the notion took them one day and there was no help for it.* ” P. 285.

We think these traits, both with respect to *luck* and *notions*, peculiarly characteristic of the thoughtlessness of the Irish character, joined to the slyness rendered in many cases necessary by the op-

pression in which they live. The French have a synonymous expression when they do not choose to give their true reason; "c'est plus fort que moi." Both the Gallicism and Hibernicism are merely thin covers for doing what one likes at the moment, under the plea of necessity. We think that we have also heard a synonyme sometimes from the most amiable part of society in England. Very singular things for the health are sometimes found remarkably to agree with them, i. e. we suppose, if properly translated, to be agreeable to them. We beg a thousand pardons for this observation, and are persuaded, that the expedient is altogether to be ascribed to the unreasonable oppression exercised by the least amiable portion of the community,—by the brutes of human nature. Before Nancy's marriage, we are favoured with Tim Cassidy's notions of matrimonial comfort, in a conversation he held upon that momentous subject, with Jemmy Whelan, Rose's lover.

Tim being resolved to make an imprudent match, endeavours, like the fox in the fable, to draw his neighbour Jem into the same scrape:

"Tim. Why what more do you want than a cabin and a potatoe garden? and those you can get from Mr. Nesbit for four guineas a year; and the grazing of a cow for four guineas more.

"Jem. Do you mean one of the cabins on the hill that have no chimney? I would not live in one of them if I got it for nothing! What! would you advise me to marry to smoke-dry my wife?

"Tim. As good as you have lived and died in a cabin without a chimney.

"Jem. That may be; but I will never take a house without one. But suppose I had the cabin, must not I have some little articles of furniture to put into it?

"Tim. Furniture!—Dear me!—Furniture!—what I suppose you got these dainty notions when you went to see your uncle last year near Coleraine; those people in the north are plaguy nice.

"Jem. Just as nice, and no more, as I am myself; if you call it nicety to wish for a bedstead to raise one up from the floor, a straw bed in coarse sacking, and a warm pair of blankets.

"Tim. A man and his wife may be very comfortable on the floor, by the side of the fire. A few stones will keep in the straw, as well as the sacking; and as to blankets, sure one will do along with the big coat about one's feet.

"Jem. Why sure, Tim, you can't be in earnest: If I bought a sick sow at the fair, I might bring her home to such a place; but my wife I would wish to shew more respect to.

"Tim. But if your wife be satisfied, what need you bother yourself about the matter?

"Jem. The girl I intend to marry would not be satisfied; nor would

I wish that she should. She could neither be a fit companion for myself, nor an useful mother for my children.

“*Tim.* What I suppose she must have a dresser to put her crockery ware on?”

“*Jem.* Yes, and a chest for our clothes, and a cupboard, and some chairs, and a table; in short, every thing necessary for a family that don’t wish to live like the savages.

“*Tim.* And how do the savages live?”

“*Jem.* Why in a mud hovel without a chimney. The parents and children all pig together on the same wisp! The father goes out to look for food, and when the mother prepares it, they all fall to and tear it with their fingers and devour it. In the evening they smoke, and afterwards—

“*Tim.* Arrah, is it joking you are? Do you think to pass this on me for *the savages*? Why that’s the very way they live in the county my father came from; and I hope you don’t call them savages?”

“*Jem.* I call every one a savage, wherever they live, who act like savages, not troubling their heads about providing properly for their families. Sure that’s the difference between what they call civilized and savage life.”—(P. 73.)

Notwithstanding all *Jem*’s philosophy however, *Nancy* and *Tim* “went off in a frolic together and married;” hoping, as *Nancy* says, that “We will do very well, as there’s no more loving boy than *Tim*; and it will be all one a hundred years hence; and now I have one to work for me, I won’t make a slave of myself any more.” With such prospects and resolutions the cabin ménage could not be expected to have been a very happy one. *Nancy* grew lazy and dirty, and *Tim* a little sulky; *Tim* did not like to see *Nancy* flaunting about in her fine clothes with *Peggy Donoghue*, and to find, “when he thought to sit down to his supper,” that his fire was out, and his potatoes unboiled. But he said nothing till *Peggy* was gone—“then he told *Nancy* a bit of his mind; but she was on her high horse and aggravated him; so he *beat* her, sure enough.” *Nancy* too had more misfortunes, as will appear from the following brief dialogue:

“*Nancy.* *Rose*, will you lend me one of your caps for a day or two? See what a rag the *nasty pig* has made of mine! and I’ve never another but one that’s torn down the middle, and not fit to put on my head.

“*Rose.* I will not refuse you, *Nancy*; but pray take care of my cap, and mend your own as soon as you can. How could the pig contrive to get at it?”

“*Nancy.* My big pot does to boil our potatoes, and feed the pig in, and heat the water to wash, and wash in after; now I went a little way down the road without fastening the door, and left my little clothes in the pot, where I had just washed them; and sure

enough the pig went into the cabin as usual; and because the pot stood in the same place it does when she comes to feed in it, and the water was grown cold, she pops in her ugly nose; and though I was just coming back into the cabin, she found time to tear my poor cap as you see, and three handkerchiefs, and all poor Tim's cravats." (P. 135.)

Lest this little incident should appear incredulous to the English, Miss Edgeworth vouches in a note for its entire consonance with Irish habits. "Last winter a pig of the editor's acquaintance devoured or destroyed the entire wardrobe of a poor woman, who had left her clothes in a tub at the mercy of the swinish multitude." "A gentleman who had floored a room with boards for one of his tenants, found the pig one day in the sole possession of this room. Upon asking why the pig was allowed to have the best apartment in the house, he was answered, "*Because, please your honour, it has every convanieny a pig could want.*" (P. 510.)

Tim and Nancy contrived to rub on together for a few years longer; they lay "very snug in the chimney corner in winter; in summer that was too hot, and they lay *in the room*; but the straw grew damp and fusty, and Tim *threatend to get* a bedstead for themselves and another for the children." It ended in a threat, however, for no bedstead was *got*—Tim never had the luck to find that he had money to spare for such a *notion*.

At last poor Nancy's troubles came very thick upon her; she would not inoculate her son Pat with the vaccine, that she "might not give her own Christian child the disorder of a beast." The consequence was, that he died of the small-pox taken in the natural way, and "she could do nothing for thinking of her little darling. She thought she saw his little curly head and red cheeks every hour of the day." But Rose, nevertheless, could hardly make her pull the *hat* out of the broken pane to give her husband a little air in the same disorder, for old Katty told her to keep him warm, and to give him a little liquor to keep the pock *from his heart*.

But Tim struggled through this illness only to meet with more misfortunes:—for Nancy took to *the pipe* to console herself for the loss of little Pat, and would sit hour after hour smoking in the ashes, and afterwards went to *char* at Mr. Nesbit's; (i. e. to do all the work the squire's servants were hired to do, and which they paid her with their master's goods for performing;—) all this made Tim's home very uncomfortable; and he went to the sign of the Big Tree to talk over politics and secrets with Vester Toole, Bill Dunn, and other United Irishmen. But Jem cured him of this, by telling him "how the poor people were deceived

in the rebellion with fine talking, and lost their lives and all that they had." "They thought they were doing great feats, when they were just made a cat's paw of by those who did not care a straw what became of them after." To cut the story short, Nancy, by always having her lighted pipe in her mouth, and by often getting fuddled, became rather of the nature of a combustible: and one day going into Squire Nesbit's turf house, instead of one of the servants, set fire to it with a coal from her pipe, and it was burnt, with all its fine stables, to the ground. Tim exerted himself so much to put out the fire, that he was overheated, and caught a fever; and notwithstanding Dick Fahy the horse-doctor bled him, and Madge Doran gave him warm ale with liquor in it to raise his heart, and his room was so full of neighbours, who came to talk to him and *keep up his spirits*, that you could hardly turn round, (all which would certainly have cured him if *his time* (as old Katty said) had not been come;—) Poor Tim died, sure enough; and what could his poor, broken-hearted widow do with a cabin full of fatherless children, but just take a little drop to keep life in her, and make her forget her trouble? In short, Nancy ruined her health by whiskey, and soon followed Tim to the grave.

Her character cannot be better summed up than in the warning which Rose drew from her friend's fate for the use of their own daughter Betty.

"Nancy was a fine, lively young girl, but her fault was idleness. She would not stay in a good service, because she had a good deal to do; then she got into another, where she had a great deal more. She did not do as much as a poor woman *had a right*\* to do in her own cabin, and she worked harder as a char-woman than she need do at home. She did not exert herself under her troubles, but looked for comfort to what was not comfort. She took to tobacco when she lost her little boy, and to whiskey when she lost her husband. Her indolence in not getting him inoculated caused the child's death; by her smoking she set Mr. Nisbet's place on fire; his overworking himself to put it out, was the means of her husband's death; and drinking whiskey brought herself to the grave. And now, Betty, I don't rip up those things to make little of poor Nancy, but to shew you how much it stands every young girl upon to get into

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\* Miss Edgeworth informs us, that in Ireland *right* and *reason* are often used as synonymous terms, as for example: "A good *right* the boy has to be sick, for he never spared himself early or late, any way." "The house had a good *right* to come down, was it not a hundred years old?" "That stool had a *right* to know me, for I made it every inch." "That saw had a *right* to be a good one, for I paid a great price, and twice as much as ever it was worth, any how."

the way of working, to look more to pleasing her friends than to pleasing herself, &c. &c.—” (P. 266.)

Nancy and Tim are evidently intended by our author as the true representatives of the Irish peasantry, by whose fate they are to take warning. Rose is the splendid exception by the example of whose more imaginary standard of excellence they are instructed to profit. Nothing can well be more interesting than the detail of the history of Rose and Jem, and we strongly recommend its perusal to our readers in the original work; but as we have a practical inference or two to draw from the actual state of the Irish peasantry as it is here exhibited, we shall content ourselves with a brief sketch of their adventures, merely resting upon those points which are necessary to complete the picture of manners which we wish to lay before our readers.

Rose and Jem did not marry till they had something *to the fore* (i. e. beforehand.) And they did not wait long; for Jem was “mighty industrious entirely,” and on his guard against spending; and as Rose “had a liking for Jem all along, she still thought of making a little provision for housekeeping, and bought wool and had it spun, and wove for blankets, and *more times* she bought flax, and got linen made,” so they began the world well. She always kept her cottage neat and clean, brought up her children in the fear of God, and the love of one another, and by her admirable prudence and good temper entirely cured her husband of those propensities, which, by all accounts, are the most difficult to eradicate from the Irish disposition, viz. a love for drinking and fighting. We recommend the following recipe to ladies in all ranks of life:

“*Tim.* Sure you are no drunkard, Jem!

“*Jem.* I hope not; yet what else can I be called after what has happened? I *am* something given that way, and if I had not such a wife I might be bad enough.

“*Tim.* I suppose Rose *advises* you a great deal.

“*Jem.* No, she never said much to me about my misbehaviour, at the worst of times; but when I came home she was always sure to be in the way, to look pleasantly, to have the cabin floor clean, and the ashes swept up; and to have my bit laid out so neat and so comfortable, that I liked home better than any other place.” (P. 123.)

In this manner she cured him of drinking; and it was only the same principle differently modified that was applied to fighting.

“*Tim.* Oh, Jem! I was sorry I was not at the fair to back you. Was your head much cut? But next fair I suppose you will be even with Bill Dugan.

*Jem.* Oh, no, Tim, I have done! I would not go through all I did since Saturday again, for my hat full of guineas.

“*Tim.* Why, was your head so bad?”

“*Jem.* I did not care about my head; only I frightened my poor woman so when I came in all bloody.

“*Tim.* And did she scold you?”

“*Jem.* No, Rose never scolds. She cried though; and I knew it was not for my head only, but that I should make a blackguard of myself; but she never said “*Jem, why did you do that? Had not I the greatest luck in the world not to do as that unfortunate Dennis Broghall did?*”

“*Tim.* How was that? I don't know about it.

“*Jem.* Denny was a great fellow at fairs, and very bullying and overbearing, especially wher in liquor, and no one dared to stand before him. But poor Phil. Dogherty would not be crow'd over by him; and about as silly a thing as our potatoes, they fell out at the fair, and set to fighting; and Denny hit Phil. on the head with his unlucky *skillala*, and it is a folly to talk, he killed Phil. stone dead. Phil.'s people went to a justice, and Denny was taken up, put into jail, and tried for his life.

“*Tim.* Did he get off? Sure it was not murder.

“*Jem.* Indeed but it was brought in murder, for there was a quarrel before; and poor Denny was hanged. The poor creature expected his life to the very last, and when he found it was all over, why then the stout-hectoring buck, that did not care a chew of tobacco for any one, was so cut down at once, that he could not stand to have the halter put on his neck. Indeed some thought he died before he was turned off. And now that unfortunate boy had no notion of killing Phil. when he struck him that unlucky blow. But oh! the drink! the drink!”

Miss Edgeworth informs us, that the morning after fair day, in an Irish country town, the neighbouring magistrate has a crowded levee, thrusting themselves into his honour's *prísence* to get justice. “*Plase your honour see this cut on my head; it is what I was last night kilt and murdered by Terrence M'Grath there.*”

“*Plase your honour I never lifted my hand against him, good or bad at all, at all, as all the witnesses here will prove for me on oath, so they will.*” “*Plase your honour if you'll just take my examinations again him.*”

We shall close our extracts with a very touching dialogue, which seems to have been the favourite passage of the fair annotator; and truly we think that heart must either be a very faulty alembic, or must distil blood of a more black and glutinous nature than common, which does not separate and send up to the eyes a clear drop or two on perusing the passage. Let us contemplate the sober, sensitive, and religious Rose, who by pati-

ence, self-denial, and affectionate attention, had reformed her husband, brought up her children in virtuous habits, in love and duty to their parents and in affection to each other, who by her own industry and economy had raised around her a comfortable little property, which she hoped to see enjoyed and improved by her children, and then let us view her reaping the fair reward of her virtuous exertions, in the manner most delightful to such a mother's heart.

## DIALOGUE XLI.

*Spinning Match.*

“*Rose.* Welcome, my dear Betty. I see, by what you have brought with you, that you have won the premium for spinning at Belmour Hall, and I am as rejoiced as you can be for your life. I wish your father was come in!

“*Betty.* Oh! mother, how I'm obliged to you! and Tommy, I'm obliged to you for carrying the wheel home for me. I hope I'll spin you a shirt on it.

“*Tommy.* I don't doubt your goodness, Betty, and I am sorry ever I vexed you. If I could carry twenty wheels, it would not be enough for what you do for me.

“*Rose.* Oh! that's better than all the rest to see my children love one another! Now, Betty, let us hear all about the spinning match.

“*Betty.* I'm sure it was a fine sight to see twenty wheels settled in the lawn in a half-round, all going at once. Mrs. Belmour herself came out, and walked round by the spinners, and spoke to every one there, so free and so pleasant; and, oh! how beautiful she looked, when she stood by Cicely Brennan, who is so lame of one hand, that she was almost afraid to venture at all; till Mrs. Belmour told her, it was not who spun fastest, but who spun best, was to be looked to; and sure enough she got a premium. But when we had spun two hours, and laid our spools on the table, oh, how our hearts beat! I know mine did, when Mrs. Belmour called us up; and I could not tell you how her fine black eyes danced in her head; and the tears stood in them for all that; and she smiled so sweetly, and looked as if she was the happiest creature in the world.

“*Rose.* O Betty, I never wish to be rich, but when I see such ladies as her that can make so many people happy, and are so willing to do it.

“*Betty.* We stood before Mrs. Belmour while the judge examined the thread; and when she called me to her and gave me the wheel, and the cloak, and the cap, with her own hand, sure I did not know where I was standing nor what I said! but I know she wished me joy, and bid me use my wheel well.

“*Rose.* Well, my dear Betty, I must wish you joy too, though I can't do it so genteelly as Mrs. Belmour.



"*Betty.* Oh! mother, honey, I think more of your commendation than the lady's itself, though she is so grand, and so beautiful, and so good; and it is you I am obliged to for my cloak, my wheel, and my cap. If you had not taught me to spin, and watched to make me spin an even thread, I might have come off with no premium, or have been ashamed to go at all."

We have now finished our extracts, and although we have not been able to quote, or even to allude to, the twentieth part of the entertaining passages in this interesting work, we trust that we have in some degree elucidated the benevolent intention of the authors. The evil has been set forth, and the antidote plainly pointed out. The bane, a lazy and ignorant peasantry; the antidote, good example, fostered and encouraged by the notice and protection of the higher orders. By way of practical inference, we must observe, that a degraded peasantry always implies a degraded yeomanry and gentry. The people are what their superiors make them. They are, when properly managed, as yielding to the plastic hand of their governors, as clay under that of the modeller: and it depends equally on the skill and taste of the workman whether the object rises under his care a deformed mass, or a beautiful structure. If he make his proportions bad, and suffer the mass to *harden* in that form, the remedy is very difficult. So, if sound moral and political principles pervade the higher and middle ranks, they can scarcely fail to extend to the lowest ramifications in society. What is it that spreads that air of well-being and contentment over the face of England, even under the pressure of taxation, and calls for personal service, to which the Irish are wholly strangers? What but the system of our laws and our polity, the execution of which secures a close connection and mutual attention to each other's wants and conveniences between the lower ranks and those immediately above them. Every act of authority is carried into execution by magistrates, whose patriotism and independence, whose humanity and good-will, are perfectly known and respected by those very individuals upon whom they call for services and payments to the state, to which no other mode of government could induce them so quietly and contentedly to submit. They know that these gentlemen have a fellow-feeling with them, and are indeed their natural protectors; and if (as we think, notwithstanding the vulgar misrepresentations on this subject) the common people of England as far excels that of other countries both in comforts and in character, as Rose excelled Nancy, we can ascribe it to no cause which appears to us so well founded as that above-mentioned, which equally distinguishes England from all other countries.

The happiest condition of society, perhaps, that imagination can paint, is that, where under a system of laws as equal as practicable laws can be made, a conscientious and upright aristocracy acts towards the people with a real impression of the protection and assistance due in return for their respect and obedience. But the laws are far from being the most efficacious ingredient in this system. The manners of the superior ranks will operate with ten-fold greater force, and if depraved, are sufficient at any time to counteract a good system of laws. The only laws for the benefit of the lower orders, which can then be efficacious, are those, which, if the aristocracy neglect the people, will make such neglect recoil upon themselves by forcing the condition of the people, aggravated by such neglect, upon their notice for redress. We think there is a nation where such a system of laws is attended by the happiest effects.

But how does Ireland stand in these respects?

The Irish gentleman, to whose pamphlet we have before referred, states, that "The nobility and affluent gentry spend much or all of their fortunes or time in England; leaving their places to be filled *in the country* by hired agents; *in the city*, by a plebeian aristocracy: the former, solely engaged in increasing and collecting rents, can have little conciliatory power with the people; and the influence of the latter tends rather to increase than diminish the political danger."

"A great evil: not because the country is drained by remittances, but because she is widowed of her natural protectors. The loss is not of money, but manners; not of wealth, but of civilization and peace." The parochial clergy, so great a link in the chain of society in England, who alone are sufficient, when they do their duty, to preserve peace, order, and contentment among the lower orders, can fulfil no such office in Ireland. "Ireland is divided into 2,500 parishes, melted down into 1,200 benefices, on which there are but 1000 churches. The 1,200 beneficed clergy of these 2,500 parishes, where are they? one-third of them are not resident,—absentees from their duties, and mortmainers upon the land!" "The law has never thoroughly mingled itself with Ireland; there lately were, perhaps still are, districts impervious to the king's writs; castles fortified against the sheriff; and legal estates invaded by force of arms\* ; con-

\* A gentleman, of the name of O'Connor, descended from a monarch of Ireland, took it into his head that he had a better right to ascertain estate than the real owner, whose title was as just and legal as that of the Duke of Bedford to the domain of Woburn. Possessed with this notion, Mr. O'Connor collected several hundred peasants, armed with muskets and pitchforks, placed himself at their head, and

tumacities, not frequent indeed, but from which an inquirer will deduce, not unfairly, ordinary disrespect for the law. This in civil cases : in criminal, (how large a share of our jurisprudence) witnesses not unfrequently suborned, intimidated, or murdered ; juries subdued ; felons acquitted : in common transactions, the administration by justices of the peace sometimes partial, generally despised and unsatisfactory." "The blame is not easily apportioned ; much is in the pride and folly of the gentry ; much in the native perverseness of the people ; much in the indifference of the government ; something in an indiscreet nomination of magistrates." The effect, however, is easily ascertained, and we refer to the following picture of servility, which we suppose cannot be exceeded in Poland or in Russia, as a specimen.

"As your honour plases." "Sure whatever your honour decrees me." "Its not for the like of us to be speaking to your honour's honour." "I'd let your honour walk over me, before I'd say a word, good or bad."—Edgeworth's Notes, p. 332.

Again :

"Plase your honour, I know it was not the tree that I cut, that turned your honour *again* me ; tho' I beg your honour's pardon for that same, which I did, not knowing it was on your honour's land at all ; for I thought it was on the mearing betwixt you and counsellor Flannigan, that voted against your honour, else I would never have touched it, had I known it was your honour's ; and this is what them that informed *again* me to your honour knew as well as myself and *better*. But plase your honour it was not the cutting that *donny* stick of a tree that set your honour *again* me, I am sure and *sinsible* ; for it was what your honour was *tould*, concerning what I said about voting for your honour's *frind*, by one in the parish of Killospugbrone, that had a spite *again* me since last Holentide was two year, on account of a foal of mine, that he went and swore kicked his cousin's mare, coming from the fair of Tubberscnavan ; which, plase your honour, he did not kick, no more than myself standing here *prisint*, plase your honour, did ; but he, on account of that kick she got—

"She ! Who ?

actually took possession of the land in question ; which he held until he was ejected by superior force. Yet no prosecution was ever carried on against him, or any of his followers, for this act of violence ; and this proceeding was countenanced by many persons above the condition of peasants, who actually furnished O'Connor's adherents with provisions. If that expedition had succeeded, it was the intention of many others to have *recovered* estates in the same summary way. Our readers will of course conclude, we suppose, that all this happened a century or two ago. It is a fact well known to have happened in the county of Roscommon, in the year 1786 ; and the detail is to be found in the records of the Irish parliament.

“ The mare, please your honour. He had a grudge *again* me.

“ He! Who?”

“ The man from the parish of Killospugbrone I was telling your honour of, that owned the mare that was kicked by the foal, please your honour, coming from the fair of Tubberscanavan; and which was the whole reason entirely of his informing *again* me about that *switch* of a tree; and it was just that made him strive so to belie me behind my back to turn your honour, that was my only dependance, *again* me. Bad luck to him! and all belonging to him, for rogues, and thieves, and slanderers, as they are, saving your honour's favour, and ever was, and will be; and all their breed, seed, and generation, and that's no slander any how.”—P. 340.

This is precisely the sort of slave who, if the spring of oppression were suddenly unbent, or suapt in sunder by rebellion, would, without ceremony or compunction, riot in the blood of him, before whom he had been previously induced to cringe; and we, for ourselves, should much prefer the security to be derived from contented independence, which knows its rights, and will at all times fearlessly assert them in the face of power or oppression.

All this cries aloud for reformation; but it is evident that many more years than we can now afford of anarchy and turbulence to Ireland must necessarily, on the present system, pass over our heads, before the evil can be completely removed. Something, however, and that very essential, we are persuaded, may be immediately done. We are pretty confident that an improved spirit might be infused, by judicious measures, into the resident gentry; into that numerous class, which, not rich enough to commence absentees, have in truth the principal local authority of the country in their hands.

We have the authority of another Irish writer for asserting, that where the country gentlemen do their duty, where tithes are collected with comparative leniency, and Protestants and Papists live in a good understanding with each other, no formidable act of violence is ever committed; and the people are as orderly as from the nature of things can be expected.

Now upon these data we would recommend the two following expedients for adoption. In the first place, we would strongly recommend the institution of a society for improving the condition of the Irish peasantry, upon the most enlarged and extensive plan. We should wish to see it divided into four sections, one for each province, with a central committee in Dublin, and a corresponding committee in London. The fundamental objects of the society should be to disseminate instruction among the lower orders, to raise the tone of morals and the taste for the

comforts of life among them; and to create by every possible means, (that general inquiry and collective information can suggest,) objects of industrious employment for the population that now exists in the more sequestered parts of the country. We should wish to see the Irish archbishops and bishops at the head of the active departments of this institution, and the absentee and other great proprietors at the head of the pecuniary subscriptions, for the benefit of those from whose labour they derive their splendour. We would not exclude from this society any man of any persuasion, who would declare that he was willing that the poor should be instructed and should read their Bible. We would have every operation of the society carried on by private exertion, without assistance from government, that the imputation of a *job*, or of party bias, might be far removed from it. A society upon this plan would, we think, in a very few years operate much more than such an instrument may be speculatively supposed capable of producing. By bringing the labours and the schemes of philanthropic individuals into one point of view;—by showing those whose intentions are sound, but whose want of knowledge prevents their exertion,—how they may practically set about doing good;—by drawing the public attention to the subject, and rendering it fashionable:—by exciting emulation among the contributors to the reports of the society and among others who may wish to be distinguished in a similar manner;—a spring would be given to philanthropic exertion, that would operate upon the most remote ramifications of society, and do more than volumes of legislative enactments or of party debates “for uniting all classes of his majesty’s Irish subjects.” The society for bettering the condition of the poor in England affords a valuable precedent. It has actually realized all those objects which we therefore venture to predict upon safe grounds will flow from that which we recommend in Ireland. Were such a society established, we would undertake to lay before it in one year more practicable plans for the amelioration of Ireland by individual exertion than will or *can* be carried into execution by government in a century.

Our next object is the mutual interchange of the militia regiments of England and Ireland; and a very few lines will be sufficient to show the benefits which would result from this measure. The militia consists precisely of those ranks under whose observation it is the great object of true policy to bring the palpable advantages resulting from civilization and industry, and from close attention to the state of the lower orders, on the part of their immediate superiors. The privates of the militia are peasants, the bulk of the officers consists of middle and lower ranks of gentry. Give them the intimacy with English manners,

and the conviction of the advantages of industry, which a five years residence and mixture with their own ranks of society here would bestow, and the certain effects that would result are too obvious for us to extend our limits by detailing them. In a word, it would open their eyes, instruct them in the arts of life, give them a taste for its comforts, and shew them that by industry alone such comforts are to be acquired. The re-action also of the English militia upon the Irish population would not be a mere cypher in the account.

There are other schemes for the improvement of the Irish peasantry, which would lead to more discussion, and which we are the more willing at present to omit, because we are convinced that the two measures above-mentioned would *in time* inevitably lead to them. We shall be content therefore with once more strongly appealing to the hearts and the consciences of the great Irish proprietors, and imploring them to lay aside their feelings of private pique and personal ambition, for these truly *catholic* objects. Let them extend to their sober moments that harmony which is annually exhibited at the festive board of the benevolent society of St. Patrick; and let them be animated in their civil exertions by the glorious example set by their countrymen who are shedding their blood in foreign countries, that those exertions may be made in safety in their own.—We think it is the least they can do.

Two more short observations, and we have done: First, we would willingly have avoided on this occasion all reference to what is called Catholic emancipation, could we have been secure that others would equally abstain. But as this is not probable, we must just remark that there is now no one law in existence that makes any distinction between the civil condition or civil privilege of the Catholic and Protestant Irish peasant. If, therefore, it be a fact that the Catholic peasant is more ignorant and more indolent than his fellows, it is not the emancipation of the Catholics, but their emancipation *from* the Catholics, that must operate a cure. We think the following observations are fully applicable to those who are upon all occasions bringing forward the Catholic claims as an engine of party. “On the subject of Catholic emancipation, all men speak and write, but few candidly; the reason is, that the parties of the state have divided the question between them; and contest it, not for *its* sake, but *their own*: it is the means not the object of the war.

“The Roman empire (in the bas empire) was divided into two factions; and the green and the blue distracted the civilized world. Did the civilized world bleed for the colour of an actor's coat when they seemed to do so? No! they bled for their party; not for its symbol. Catholic emancipation is the green and blue

of Ireland; the *colour* of the division, not the *cause*. This Emmett and M'Nevin, liberal, sagacious, and well-informed, have admitted; though the furious, the shallow, and bigoted deny it."

Our last remark is merely an appeal to those philosophers who are continually complaining of the mischievous though well-meant interference of the higher ranks, with the view of ameliorating the condition of the poor, and who assert that the greatest boon which can be conferred upon them, is, to let them alone to manage their affairs among themselves.

In the preceding pages we have presented these gentlemen with the faithful picture of a peasantry uninterfered with to their heart's content for centuries; and we entreat them for once to put their philosophy into their pockets, and to call up their philanthropy for its consideration. Or if they wish to make up their minds upon evidence better detailed, and more agreeably expressed, we can assure them, that they "*winna be fashed,*" "*neither will they be bothered*" by too laborious an exertion, if they will condescend to give an attentive perusal to Mrs. Leadbeater's Cottage Dialogues, or "Mrs. Hamilton's admirable Cottages of Glenburnie." But we are disposed to believe, that they would be both "*bothered*" "*and fashed*" exceedingly, if they should afterwards be desired to recur to their own writings, and then honestly to declare, whether in the 19th century there is not to be found in philosophy as applied to politics a degree of bigotry, as obstinate, inexorable, and inaccessible to the convictions of truth, as any that disgraced the religious feelings of Duke George of Saxony, or of Bishop Bonner in the sixteenth century.

ART. XX. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London.* By John Lord Bishop of that Diocese, at his Primary Visitation in 1810. Published at the Request of the Clergy. London, 1810.

THE publication now before us purports to be a charge delivered to the assembled clergy of one of the most important dioceses in the kingdom, by a prelate no less eminent for his profound learning than for the station to which his acquirements have raised him. It is therefore with the utmost diffidence, and the most unfeigned reluctance, that we venture to make any observations upon a production deliberately issued from such a quarter. This reluctance however is much diminished by the striking difference to be observed between this charge, and the

eloquent and judicious appeals which we have been in the habit of reading from the other prelates of our church. In earnestly soliciting our readers' attention to the pastoral addresses of the late Bishop Porteus, of Bishops Barrington, Burges, Huntingford, and others, who are now the ornaments of the bench and the pillars of our church, we are not only furnishing the best antidote to the work before us, but a proof that it is not any wish to degrade the church in the person of one of its distinguished prelates, that has induced us to notice it with some degree of censure. Such an accusation against us would indeed be peculiarly hard; for we have already received some pretty intelligible hints from a part of the dissenters, respecting our intolerance to them in favour of the established church; and if ardent good wishes towards its excellent and venerable fabric, including its articles, liturgy, doctrines, forms and dignities; if a desire to see those doctrines disseminated, upheld, and secured by a *more extended zeal* among its members, and greater scope given to their exertions; and if an endeavour to produce a more pure and sober strain of religious doctrine among some of the dissenters themselves, be intolerance, we admit ourselves to be the most intolerant souls alive. But we assert that no real friend to the religious improvement of his countrymen, either by the exertions of churchmen or dissenters, can disapprove of these objects, or can hesitate in doing his utmost to promote them. He would blush after reading daily accounts of the devotion of every faculty, feeling, and affection to the furtherance of England's temporal glory, so conspicuous in our army and navy, if any view to his own paltry interests, or if a sober and well considered judgment could induce him to *feel*, or if called upon *to do less* for her temporal and eternal interests combined. We make this statement for the benefit of certain sagacious discoverers of the *cloven foot* in every piece of writing which does not accord either with their apathy on one hand, or their party feeling on the other; men who would brand every writer either with indiscretion or bad intention, who with a sincere regard to truth would rouse them from that indifference in which they would slumber under the crumbling establishments of their country. Nor let it be slipantly urged, "if you will let the church alone, it will do very well as it is." We cannot disguise our conviction that by a long and lamentable neglect on the part of the church and the legislature, the dissenters have prodigiously increased wherever an increase of population has occurred: that no check has yet been given to them, except where the extraordinary zeal of individual ministers of the establishment has excited them to more than ordinary exertion in the strict discharge of their



functions. We will boldly proclaim *these truths* which the dreaded imputations of *cloven feet* and *imprudent zeal* have too long kept in the back ground. And we will neither be so insincere to the church nor so unfair to the dissenters as not to state the fact as it really stands. It has already been triumphantly foretold by authority whose wishes make it eagle-eyed on this subject, that the church on its present footing will not endure another half century. Those who travel much about the country observe but too much cause to fear that, without an altered system, and much liberal assistance from the legislature, there may be some danger; and it is not such publications as that before us that will tend to delay the catastrophe. It seems to have met with the approbation of those who heard it. But we have since found many of the established clergy bitterly lamenting its tone and spirit. As laymen, however, we are the last persons who would interfere with a bishop in any matter of discussion confined to himself and his clergy. But when these productions are published and sold in the shops to the people of large they evidently assume a very different character, and become (as we think) as *necessary* objects of criticism as any others, being then nothing more than pamphlets intended for the instruction of the public. They operate in this shape upon the religious opinions of other dioceses and other societies; and we will briefly state our reasons for thinking that presumption cannot be laid to our charge, if we attempt to counteract some of the mischief which we apprehend this pamphlet will produce.

Its right reverend author, we believe, has passed the last twenty years principally within the walls of a college, or on the episcopal bench. In the latter situation though his way of thinking has been strongly marked and well understood, yet every one knows the difficulty with which disagreeable truths reach the ears of persons in exalted stations. We, on the contrary, are humble and obscure individuals, who run unnoticed about the town and the country, with our mental and corporeal eyes on the full stretch, to pick up something for the improvement of our countrymen in taste, morals, politics, or religion. We have lately had opportunities of making extensive observations on the state of the church in those parts of the kingdom where the population has most increased, and we are persuaded that the interests of the established religion will be seriously injured by the practical application of the reproaches contained in the charge. They will be far from conciliating those to whom they are justly applicable (if such strange reproaches from such a quarter can be really applicable any where), and they will afford to those who will be forward to consider this charge as breathing the general

spirit of our church, a notable argument in furtherance of their pernicious designs. We are anxious however to give the right reverend prelate full credit for the excellence of his intentions in its publication, for the general purity of his motives of action, and for the diligence and activity of his exertions in promoting what he believes to be the interests of his diocese. These are valuable qualities, and require only judgment to direct them; and we are persuaded, that no idea existed in his mind whither might lead the vague and undefined censures denounced upon men who are distinguished in the charge by the appellation of "*Gospel preachers*," at the same time that it seems to confound them with *Pædobaptists, Antipædobaptists, Wesleyans, Whitfieldians, &c. &c. &c.* page 16. Such however, is the proneness of mankind in general to confound things very different from each other, in order to avoid the trouble of making distinctions, that too much caution cannot be taken accurately to ascertain the real question in debate, particularly when that question involves severe censure upon individuals.

Having paid this sincere tribute to the purity of his lordship's motives, as to the effect intended to be made on the mind of the reader, we are sorry not to be able to bestow the same applause upon the mode unfortunately adopted in order to produce it. On the contrary, it is necessary to premise, that both the reader and the critic of this charge have to contend with a fundamental difficulty of a very embarrassing nature. There is a natural confusion about the style, which renders it difficult to ascertain the exact meaning of any of the propositions. This difficulty has likewise received a considerable accession, from an unfortunate ambiguity of terms; which, while it seems to include in one sweeping censure persons and objects the most dissimilar, guards the assertions from close examination, by cautions and exceptions involved in ten-fold doubt and obscurity. For example, a long strain of invective is indulged in against the professors of certain sentiments and doctrines stated in the charge. The greater part appear upon the face of them to be tenets exclusively held by some of the lowest sects of the dissenters; but with these are occasionally and incidentally coupled other doctrines, concerning the relative importance of which the several ministers of our own church differ. The whole together is made a ground of accusation against certain individuals who preach the Gospel; but who these individuals are, is left to be inferred by the description of their doctrine and tenets. We of course concluded that the low sects of the dissenters were intended, inasmuch as the greater part of the description applied to them. Satisfied with the justice, though lamenting the tone and the spirit

of the statement, we were disposed to admit the general correctness of this part of the bishop's reasoning, rejecting the more regular doctrines incidentally coupled with it as mere surplusage. Great then was our surprise, to find in a page (page 15) immediately subsequent, that these dissenters are *expressly excluded* from the accusation intended in the charge; which is now narrowed in its limits, to persons described as "halting between the church and dissention from it:" i. e. (as it appears to us) to certain ministers of the establishment who conscientiously differ in some points of mere moral practice from many of their brethren, but who hold precisely the same creed, who subscribe to the same articles, and are at least equally anxious to uphold the discipline of the church.

But it is evident that the greater part of the sentiments and doctrines originally stated as the ground of blame do not apply to these, or to any ministers connected with the establishment; although according to the letter of the accusation they stand charged with it to the extent in which any reader's prejudice, passion, or want of discrimination, may induce him to acquiesce in its literal meaning. To do justice, therefore, to these ministers, we are bound to reject the *main parts* of the charge as *surplusage*, and only to admit those immediately coupled with it, as questions for consideration. Now, the difficulty of doing this, by eliciting a plain statement from such a variety of contradictions, is obvious; as no statement can be made to which one part of the contradictions may not plausibly be objected in answer. The unfortunate ministers alluded to are thus left quite at a loss both as to the specific ground of complaint against them, and to the sort of defence and exculpation which would be thought satisfactory by their diocesan. Nor is this the whole.—The vague manner in which the censure is applied, has in many instances within our knowledge brought within its scope *all serious religion*. We have heard certain worldly persons exult very much in the *dressing* which the bishop has lately given to the *Methodists* and the *evangelicals*. And the worst of it is, that neither the charge itself, nor the understandings of these notable critics, are at all forward to define who these persons so worthy of reprobation are. The most common application of the terms which has occurred in our intercourse in this town is to those who are in the habit of attending the parish churches or chapels of the establishment, where due stress is laid from the pulpit upon the peculiar doctrines of Christianity. We refer to the quotations we are about to give for the truth of these observations.

In the mean time we submit with due humility, whether such a mode of "laying things to the consciences of men" is altogether

ther fair. It is perfectly clear, that in all matters of accusation, both law and equity require the utmost plainness and sincerity, not only as to the individual intended to be accused, but also as to the crime laid to his charge. How else can he frame his defence, so as fairly to meet it? Two individuals accused of different crimes are never allowed to be included in one indictment. Nor can one individual be indicted at the same time for two different crimes. Much less can the joint blame of two parties differently circumstanced be fairly imputed to one of them, by first confounding them together in the same accusation, and then withdrawing one of the parties in order to leave the other loaded with the whole charge. How would our judges be astonished to find a joint indictment preferred against one who had broken open a house, and another who was only accused of having committed an indictable trespass; that *they* by force of arms broke and entered a certain house and stole goods therefrom, and did moreover with a *congregation* of persons unlawfully collected together forcibly enter the close of the complainant. But how much would their astonishment increase, should the counsel for the prosecution get up and state, that as for the housebreaker, he was a manly sort of a sinner, whose crime was well defined, and could be guarded against by bolts, bars, and blunderbusses; he should not therefore press the indictment against him. But for the vile trespasser, one who "halting between" an honest man and a rogue, violently entered people's closes unawares, he must implore the verdict of the jury against him upon *every count* in the indictment, as a villain to whose depredations upon the public it was not easy to make out "any assignable limits;" and who should therefore be hanged out of the way, upon an imputed charge, to save the trouble of precisely defining the nature of his real culpability.

Influenced by these considerations, we are naturally inclined to enter into such a detail of the causes of complaint alleged in the charge as would lay each accusation at its right door. The Herculean labour of the task would not discourage us. But it is with sincere regret that we find our necessary limits too contracted for the undertaking. We must therefore be satisfied with the mode next to be preferred, and shall proceed first to lay before the reader's impartial judgment his lordship's sentiments in his own words. We shall then endeavour to rescue the character of those ministers whom we think unjustly accused, by discussing such of the imputations as might fairly be objected to them by any one who disapproves of their practice and opinions.

We think it necessary, however, previously to entering upon any arguments, to be more fair in our defence than the charge appears to be in its accusations; and to define exactly of what description the ministers are whom we wish to defend. They are then some of those clergymen of the established church, who, by a sort of vulgar and malicious irony, have been confounded in one sweeping censure under the term *evangelical*, because they preach openly, and with a decided preference to mere moral precepts, the peculiar and important doctrines of Christianity: namely, a saving faith in Christ as the only ground of all moral practice; and the utter inefficiency of our own merits to salvation.

But it is only to such clergymen as are strictly obedient to the discipline of the church, and hold themselves as much in due subordination to its government, as any of those who are exclusively attached to externals, and to such as are peculiarly correct in their lives and zealous in the discharge of all the functions of their sacred office, that we wish to confine our defence: and we will venture to assert, that although they are ironically termed "*Gospel preachers*," and "*new puritans*," they are worthy of any thing but reproach and irony from the dignitaries of the church. We must further subjoin that we do not mean to defend such ministers, (if any such there are in the church,) who preach to their flocks the doctrines of "sudden conversion," absolute election, impeccability of the elect, final perseverance, or any of the high Calvinistic tenets. So far, however, as our observation has extended, these characters are for the most part very rare within the walls of the establishment.

So much confusion and mischief has arisen from the use of the term *evangelical*, that we have thought it a laudable attempt to inquire into its real origin and present meaning; the result of the inquiry is as follows:—About thirty or thirty-five years ago, when the tone of religion and the practice of the generality of clergymen were very low indeed, a few zealous and well-intentioned ministers associated together with the laudable view of setting a better example; and believing that much of the mischief had arisen from a neglect in preaching the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, they particularly distinguished their discourses by pointedly enforcing those doctrines upon all occasions. It is asserted that these persons did not carry their faculties so meekly as to avoid making enemies; certain it is, that their *followers* (by a distinction which may well be supposed not to have been very agreeable to their brethren,) asserted that they alone were *evangelical* in their doctrines. They are also said to have shewn an

exclusive spirit, and to have declared such of their brethren as differed from them in practice and tenets in a state of reprobation. If any such there were, we think that they were not only imprudent, but highly blameable. But we must in candour admit, that, for the most part, this spirit was only charged upon them by implication. A man who sincerely differs from his neighbour in opinion, and quietly conducts himself according to the dictates of his conviction, acts uprightly and independently:—he can never be said to cast a reproach upon his neighbour. A comparison may indeed be made between them by others, and decided according to the dictates of each man's judgment; but we can never admit that the party, which the result of such judgment condemns, can fairly charge the other with an exclusive spirit. He must bring some better proof of such a spirit than merely the act of setting a superior example. It is also certain that some of these clergymen, with an ardour natural to their situation, did run into some of the excesses of the Calvinistic doctrines. These, however, were very few; and the greater part exhibited bright examples of zeal, moderation, and charity.

After a short period, such of the clergy as either through pique, unwillingness to give up their amusements, or other causes, chose to adhere to the ancient system, found it convenient to cast a stigma upon those, the conduct of the greater part of whom they could hardly approve, without laying themselves open to blame for not following it. They converted, therefore, the term which was invented as a compliment into one of ironical reproach: and "*the new puritans*" were called *evangelical preachers*, by such of their brethren as did not choose to be truly *evangelical* in their own doctrines and conduct. Such appears to have been its first invention. It has since with *characteristic accuracy* been applied not only to the methodistical sects, but what is still more absurd, is often, like that of *Methodist*, attached to any minister of the establishment, who is just one degree more correct in *practice* than the person who casts the reproach. We have heard a clergyman who gives up most of his time to hunting, shooting, and fishing, call another who does not hunt, and shoot, and fish, an *evangelical* minister. The same is said of any clergyman who does not go to the playhouse, the tavern, or the ball-room, by those who do frequent those places. Now, we think a severe reprobation, by their more serious brethren of those ministers, who occasionally may partake in some of these amusements very injudicious and reprehensible. The object rather should

be gently to draw them from the love of such amusements by inducing a taste for better things. But it excites our indignation to hear such as conscientiously abstain from those amusements branded with terms of reproach, which clearly imply an imputation of hypocrisy. We hate hypocrisy in all its shapes;—but we ask, can that vice assume a more contemptible and odious form than in a minister, who after preaching against the inordinate love of pleasure, and of the world, not only takes the lead in every riotous amusement, but attempts to load with opprobrium those who, from conscientious motives, will not follow his example. Thus, nevertheless, the stigma is affixed; and as the term is now ignorantly construed to include every thing that is *really* irregular in discipline and doctrine; as the same sweeping censures, which we complain of in the present charge, are scattered indiscriminately by those who have never inquired into the subject; the result is, that the most valuable ministers of the church are confounded with those who are deservedly censured; and the majority of mankind who take their opinions upon trust from others, are led into fatal and erroneous notions concerning the real value of our church establishment. When they see the most zealous of its ministers stigmatized by those who have no zeal at all, and who are only intent upon the temporarities of the profession, when they see this reproach countenanced by respectable members and even dignitaries of the church, what must be the natural conclusion? and how favourable must that conclusion be to the views and wishes of the sectaries!

We now beg to call the reader's attention to the following quotations.

“Men have sought for separation when the circumstances required the strictest union; and to rebuild the shaken faith of Christians on the fluctuating basis of enthusiasm; and to heal the wounds which Christian obedience had received from corruption of mind, profligacy of manners, and viciousness of life, not by the evangelical doctrine and grace of repentance, as the Gospel teaches, but by new and unheard of conversions, the inventions of men of heated imaginations, or ambitious views. They have bewildered themselves in the mysteries and depths of Calvinism, in distrust or contempt of the simplicity of the Gospel. Hence has there been engendered a new schism, *halting between the church and dissention from it, which whilst it professes to follow the purity of our church, or even to refine upon it, is continually undermining the establishment, and acts also occasionally at the head of the most discordant sects in opposition to it. By nothing more than this has the peace and credit of our church been disturbed, whilst the most respectable ministers, if they enlist not them-*

seces under this sect, are vilified by the uncharitable reflections and arrogant pretensions of these *new puritans*. Nothing more than this has contributed in aid of other civil causes to shake the just subordination of ranks amongst us; whilst it exalts the meanest and most ignorant of men into a spiritual superiority, it teaches them to despise others, and draws around them a train of followers as ignorant as themselves. Add to this, that the notions of sudden conversion, absolute election, and the utter inefficiency of our own exertions and righteousness\*, (whatever they may be of themselves, as I hold them to be most *unscriptural*;) are certainly not the means of producing Christian innocence and simplicity of life; but contain within them the seeds of pride, separation, dissension, and mutual animosity; and for that reason, if for no other, are justly to be suspected; nor can any one shew that we are enjoined in the Gospel to teach men so." (Pages 12 and 13.) "They partly continue within the church, partly gather to themselves congregations, and separate from it; being united amongst themselves meanwhile, in the one case or the other, by a confederacy, which draws together the most dissimilar persons and characters." (Page 16.) "In fact, it is the very essence of schism, and shews plainly that vanity and ambition in the leaders, the love of *novelty* † and opposition in the followers, and not any conscientious difference of opinion, is that which is at the bottom of these dissensions;—but different and variable as their doctrines are, they all agree in the pernicious practice of gathering to themselves congregations drawn aside from their legal teachers. I would lay it therefore to the consciences of men, whether there are here sufficient grounds for disturbing and breaking the union of the church of Christ; and whether it be not a great breach of charity on the one hand to condemn others who are labouring with less ostentation in the same vineyard, (I mean in the cause of promoting piety and virtue,) and arrogance on the other, to assume to themselves the exclusive title of *Gospel ministers*, and to endeavour to maintain it by gathering together followers from the province of another, flattering them with delusive hopes of *special privileges* independent of *innocency* of life, and with a speedy and summary mode of salvation, in lieu of the gradual progress of *true evangelical repentance*. There seem to have been at-

\* We cannot but remark that the charge here unites "sudden conversion" and the doctrine of the "inefficiency of our own righteousness," as if inseparably belonging to each other; the first is evidently no part of our church doctrine, nor ever insisted upon as even probable by the ministers in question; whereas the "inefficiency of our own righteousness" is an universal and orthodox doctrine expressed in the 11th article of our church.

† We have ourselves lately heard the doctrine of original sin called "*new-fangled*." Le Pere Quesnel remarks, "Toute doctrine qui paroit nouvelle, n'a pas pour cela la vice des nouveauté's profanes. Malheur aux pasteurs qui sont cause que les plus pures maximes de L'Evangile passent pour nouveauté, parcequ'ils ont corrompu le gout des Chrétiens en les accoutumant au relachement, ou en les laissant dans l'ignorance."



tempts lately to introduce preachers of this stamp as lecturers in the London churches, which I hope will be obviated, lest there should obtain, contrary to the salutary injunctions of the fifty-third canon, distraction and opposition in the very same church. (P. 17 and 18.)

“ It appears that the number of old dissenters, such as Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists, have long since been either stationary or on the decline; now with these men there was honest ground of dissent, though in our judgment erroneous and unreasonable: it was at least well known and defined with sufficient accuracy, and its limits were easy to be marked out; and in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity they did not differ from us. Even with *Arians* and *Socinians*, though the difference was extreme, yet it was not difficult to assign the grounds and limits of it. But of these modern dissentions it is not easy to make out any assignable limits. (Page 15, et seq.)

Not to multiply quotations, we submit to the fair judgement of every impartial reader, whether these passages do not imply a positive intention to include those ministers of the church of England, whom we have before described, in the sweeping censure bestowed upon the less respectable part of the dissenters. It appears to us, indeed, that the former are evidently the persons principally designated as worthy of reproach; and we venture to ask, whether the natural effect of this censure must not be to damp the zeal of the young clergy, who look up to their diocesan for approbation and preferment.

So much is the aversion to inculcating the peculiar doctrines of Christianity supposed to be prevalent in our church, that a barrister, whose “Hints” upon this subject have already gone through four editions, roundly asserts, that the clergy have at length been brought to think those the most orthodox who refer the whole of faith to practical goodness. He takes the liberty of qualifying the doctrinal mysteries of our religion, such as the Trinity, the corruption of the human heart, and redemption by the blood of Christ, as *exploded controversies*, and congratulates the public that the clergy have ceased to think them worthy of attention. These gross absurdities have been so well received, and so generally read by the public, that it is surely become highly dangerous that any thing, in the remotest degree tending to countenance a prejudice against doctrinal instruction, should proceed from high authority in the church. Should there not be any intention to encourage such a prejudice, we trust that the mistake conveyed by the words will speedily be rectified.

In the mean time, arguing upon the statement as it stands, we must give it as our firm opinion, that there is a decided ground of distinction between the two classes of men in ques-

tion. Among those whom we wish to defend are to be found many of the brightest ornaments of the Christian Church, who, in an age when Christianity has been nearly reduced to a mere system of ethics, have laboured with the greatest earnestness and the most persevering zeal for her support, by boldly preaching her true and genuine doctrines contained in the thirty-nine articles and in the Liturgy. So far are we from believing them to be inimical to our church establishment, that we are persuaded that nothing can tend so much to its support as the revival of the doctrines which they are endeavouring to disseminate; doctrines which bear upon them the stamp of truth as derived from scripture, and carry with them the promise of the divine blessing. *Justification by faith alone*, the principal of these doctrines, was considered of such importance by the early reformers, that Luther himself emphatically asserted that the degree in which it was enforced or neglected, was "*Articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesie*," the criterion of a standing or falling church. We repeat that it was *Luther* who said this; and we apprehend that the main strength of the Dissenters lies in the colour which is afforded them to represent this and the attendant doctrines, which are *unquestionably scriptural*, as no part of the tenets of the established church\*. Whereas, *in fact*, they are *as unquestionably* the tenets of the Church of England as they are of the holy Scriptures. And it is evident that those ministers are the most effectual antagonists of the dissenters, who prove the truth of this fact by their preaching, and who shew by their doctrine and example its efficacy in producing a virtuous and religious course of life. We would refer to the last paragraph of the preceding quotation for the *practical effects* which *the renewed preaching* of these doctrines has had. "The old dissenting sects (in this diocese) are either stationary or on the decrease." And if, as the charge states, *these* last did not differ from us in the fundamentals of Christianity, they certainly do in many of its most essential doctrines: whereas those ministers with respect to whom a preference seems to be given, not only to these sects, but (can it be believed?) to *Arians* and *Socinians*, so far from differing in fundamentals, strictly adhere to *every article* of our church, and only differ from the majority in the relative importance which they attach to each.

We are fully convinced also, that the further increase of the

\* Let the reader refer to Bishop Horsley's writings, particularly his Sermons lately published, to learn what is the true doctrine of our church on these subjects.

methodistical sects will be considerably checked (and in the only feasible and desirable manner) by every addition to the number of truly evangelical preachers in the church of England. For besides the purity of their doctrines, these preachers, almost exclusively, have found means to rouse in their audience those feelings of the heart to which the Methodists so effectually and successfully appeal; while they are at the same time restrained, by the articles and discipline of the church, and by the moderation of their own views, from converting those feelings to any objectionable purposes. A man in earnest about religion *must* have his feelings roused. Feeling should certainly be kept within bounds by judgment, but to make a religious impression powerful enough to produce an habitual change of life, strong feeling *must* enter into the means. We would not predicate much of the efficiency of that man's religion, who professes to be exclusively guided in it by the mere dictates of reason.

One of the purest of our moral writers states, that "We can scarcely look into any part of the sacred volume, without meeting abundant proofs that it is the religion of *the affections* which God particularly requires. Love, zeal, gratitude, joy, hope, trust, are each of them specified, and are not allowed to us as weaknesses, but enjoined on us as our bounden duty, and commended to us, as our acceptable worship."\*— "As the lively exercise of the passions towards their legitimate object is always spoken of with praise: so a cold, hard, unfeeling heart is represented as highly criminal. Lukewarmness is stated to be the object of God's disgust and aversion:—zeal and love of his favour and delight."

How valuable then, how inestimable must be that spirit in the Church, which lays hold both of the feelings and understandings of mankind; which at once supplies a powerful instrument of conversion, and at the same time submits to the imposition of a regulator strong enough to preserve it constantly from all extravagant operation! How superior in every legitimate effect to the low rant in which the Methodists, we fear, too often indulge!

Besides, can any thing be more impolitic in the governors of the church, even in a worldly point of view, than to drive contemptuously out of the vineyard those whom they admit to be particularly industrious and effective labourers, because they handle their tools in a manner somewhat more antiquated than the favourite workmen; and this, in defiance of the proof constantly before their eyes, that the plants nourished by them often bear the finest and most plentiful fruit?

In short, what is the great desideratum in ministers of the church, but to lead exemplary lives themselves, to reform the

hearts of their flocks so as to induce them to do the same, and to secure this reformation upon the firmest and most substantial foundation? It is our decided conviction, that these works are most effectually performed by practice and precepts founded upon *the whole* of the tenets of the church of England as by law established. But it is those ministers of the church that are thus successful who must be supposed to be favoured in their ministry by the blessing of divine Providence, and who consequently are capable of becoming the great support of that church, from whose articles and liturgy they draw all the instruments of their labour. But, say their opponents, they pervert those articles and that liturgy to a meaning different from that generally received in the church. Do they so? say their defenders; but how can the good effects which follow their labours be produced by a *perversion* of divine truth? That (it is answered on the other side) is no concern of ours; we are sorry that error seems more successful than truth, but it is not the less error, and may lead to dangerous consequences. If asked to define those consequences, the only plausible answer that we have heard is something like the following:—They are said to hold that particular persons to whom the grace of God is granted feel (*internally*) sensible experiences of that grace, and an inward assurance that they are in a state of salvation. They are also said to hold, that the sins of such persons assume a different complexion in the eye of their Maker from those committed by the reprobate, and that consequently they may persevere in the commission of palpable and enormous sins, and yet delude themselves with the notion that they are nevertheless in a state of salvation. Now this appears to us to be a gross perversion of a truth, which seems very simple to those who hold it, but, for reasons we shall state, is extremely difficult to be understood by the sort of persons who are in the habit of making the objection.

We are sorry that we cannot make this statement without deviating a little more into the style of a *sermon* than we are *strictly* justified in doing, either as laymen or as literary critics. If any of our readers are startled at the sight of the word “sermon,” we beg leave in the first place to assure them, that ours is very short, and that the thing itself is by no means so formidable in all cases as they may perhaps have pre-conceived, from a confined attention to particular instances. On the contrary, when composed upon just principles, it may not only be read or heard, but *actually obeyed*, without any dereliction of good taste, vivacity, cheerfulness, or love of social intercourse. Nay, its precepts will improve and add peculiar zest to all these inno-

cent enjoyments. If, however, notwithstanding this assurance, there are still some who retain their dread of the formidable thing, all we can do, in the second place, is, to request that they will have the goodness to pass over without notice the six succeeding paragraphs; and we trust that after this fair warning they will now excuse the insertion which we have thought it our duty to give them in this place.

Having already premised (see note, page 427) that "sudden conversion" makes no part of the doctrines of those ministers of the church whom we wish to defend, we would begin by asking their opponents, whether they themselves do not admit, that a man who has persevered in a moral and religious course of life for many years may safely feel, and does in fact experience, a strong though humble conviction, that he is in the road to salvation? And we would further ask, whether one of his greatest encouragements to perseverance in virtue may not arise from inward feelings, which he may justifiably ascribe to the influence of the holy spirit upon his heart? We do not see that any man, who admits that "the holy spirit will be granted to them that ask it," to guard them from sin, and extricate them from temptation, can deny these propositions. Again, will they not also admit, that if a man, whose habits, sentiments, and feelings have long been exercised in virtuous pursuits, who has long held vice and impurity in abhorrence, and whose pleasures have been all drawn from the pure sources of virtue and charity, should, through the weakness of human nature, be overtaken by an occasional fault, or drawn aside by a sudden temptation;—will they not admit, that such a man, so far from taking pleasure in his sin, will no sooner have committed it, than he will look upon it and himself with the greatest horror? Will they not believe that, from the ordinary feelings and habits of his life, he will be without a moment's peace till he have bitterly repented and humbled himself before God, and returned to his ordinary virtuous habits? And we do not perceive that it is any part of the church of England doctrine that a repentant sinner shall not be admitted to pardon.

Here then is all that the *truly evangelical* preachers assert. They say, that a man, who by the reformation of his heart has persevered in a long course of looking with abhorrence on sin, and pleasure on virtue, *cannot* from the nature of things continue in the practice of that which he hates, and in the neglect of that which he loves. If he be surprised into an occasional sin, and survives, he will as certainly return to the right path in which he delights, as the unreformed man will continue in the path of sin in which *he* finds *his* delight.

There is therefore a difference between the sin of a reformed man and a reprobate! It is this: the latter is habitual, in which the sinner finds delight, and in which he will indulge for his own gratification, so far as he thinks he can with safety. The other is rare and occasional, in which the sinner, so far from finding delight, finds nothing but anguish and vexation, and remorse, and contrariety to all the accustomed feelings of his heart, and the habits of his life, and which he will of consequence instantly escape from.

In reference to the whole of this argument, we cannot but observe, as a warning to those who so strongly object to this tenet of the church, and who so grossly pervert its meaning, as to strain it to the admission of habitual sin being compatible with a saving faith, that such assertions should afford to themselves ground for suspicion, that their own minds are in want of reformation. We should be much inclined to fear that this is the case: because, instead of contemplating sin exclusively with a view to the misery it creates, and the offence it gives to their Maker, they seem to contemplate it principally with a view to the *pleasure* that it affords; and they are unable to comprehend that state of mind so well described by St. Paul, when he asserts, (as a matter of fact, so far beyond the reach of controversy as scarcely to need an argument in its support), that those who are "dead to sin *cannot* live any longer therein." In truth we very much fear that this fundamental cause of misunderstanding, this difference between the views and wishes of the reformed and the unreformed, is the origin of all the obloquy which has been cast upon the tenet in question.

If it be said that the tenet, though true, is liable to abuse and misconception, we answer, what good thing is not? But we believe that it has never been strained by any but the lowest enthusiasts into an assertion that a man who dies in a state of sin unrepented of can be saved. And we assert, that the respectable part of the preachers of the church of England do not expose it to abuse, but receive it as a truth of Christianity extremely useful in its proper place, and a source of great comfort to many sincere and earnest Christians, whose state of mind as to religion stands in need of encouragement and consolation.

In order therefore to effect the restoration of vital christianity, without which all the most eloquent preaching will be fruitless, we are of opinion, with all possible deference, that doctrines must once more be openly and boldly preached. We do not mean "the mysteries and depths of Calvinism," nor "delusive hopes of special privileges independent of innocency of life," and holding out "a speedy and summary mode of sal-

vation in lieu of the gradual progress of true evangelical repentance," which we think are (without thorough examination) assumed in the charge as the ground of what is called "gospel preaching;"—but the fundamental doctrines, of the corruption of human nature, the necessity of regeneration by the influence of the Holy Spirit, and salvation through faith in the Son of God, evidenced by its inseparable consequence, the fruits of a holy life.

These are the doctrines which were preached by the fathers of the church before it was corrupted by Romish abominations, by our first reformers, and sealed by the blood of the "noble army of martyrs." They are doctrines which in every age have produced the brightest practical effects upon their followers. But let doctrines be constantly united with practical applications; let theory and practice go hand in hand as in the Bible, our proper standard;—let the root and branch be inseparable. But let the root bear the branch. We are inclined to fear that the common run of preachers in the present day have lost sight of the necessity of this union, and expect the *branch* to flourish without the *root*.

In concluding our review of this part the charge we are inclined humbly to conceive, that the accusations it contains have arisen from certain prejudices very common in the world against that description of church ministers who are more zealous than their brethren in establishing *the ground-work* of christianity; and without fully examining the circumstances of the case, a conviction has been formed, that, in order to promote the welfare of our church establishment, and the cause of morality, it is necessary to discountenance them. The prejudices to which we allude do not exist without some plausible colour, it must be owned. The doctrine of the corruption of human nature is revolting to that *pride of man*, which, however, by the very act of opposing the doctrine, strongly *proves its truth*.—And at first sight, to minds not much accustomed to religious contemplations the high exaltation of faith, with the corresponding depreciation of the *merit* of our own works, appears strange, as if tending to discourage our own exertions to lead good lives. A wide field here opens upon us, which we must not enter. Suffice it to say, that these doctrines *must be true*, as they pervade every part of the Bible. And as to their effects, look at the lives of their professors! It will be found that those (when sincere) who most exalt faith as the only ground of salvation, are not only strict in their own practice, and abound in good works, but are also very successful in introducing moral practice among their parishioners. Indeed, as to the practical

effects of their ministry on the conduct of the poor, we are convinced, from a very extensive acquaintance with the manners and lives of that class of society, acquired in habits of intercourse quite distinct from the church, that none are more conspicuous for good moral conduct than those who are placed under the guidance and example of the ministers of the church, to whom we have alluded. The causes of this may be satisfactorily shewn, and we shall hope for an early opportunity of detailing them.

Some writer observes, with a considerable deal of point, "True believers do good works without trusting in them, worldly men *trust* in good works *without doing them*." There is so much truth in the latter part of this observation as well as the former, that we fear that some of those who *talk* the most about morality evince the least of it in their *conduct*. Indeed we do not at all apprehend the danger of which a popular preacher\* in a London chapel kindly expressed his fear, to his admiring and *admired* congregation—that of their *being too good*. This was certainly an agreeable doctrine at least, and the congregation were probably sent away highly satisfied both with themselves and their teacher, and we doubt not that many profited by the warning.

Several other observations occurred on perusing the work before us; but we abstain from them, lest we should be thought forward to indulge in a captious spirit of criticism: we have, however, a short remark to make upon what in one sense appears the most odious of the accusations contained in the charge, that of "flattering men with delusive hopes of special privileges, independent of innocency of life." If by this phrase it was meant to assert that the preachers inculcate the compatibility of a vicious life with a saving faith, the assertion is evidently quite unfounded in fact. It is perfectly notorious, that no denomination of Christian ministers in the church, or who by a forced construction are said to "halt between the church

\* We beg leave to recommend to the consideration of all patrons of livings, &c. &c. the following complaint made by the great reformer Wickliffe in the fourteenth century. "And yet some lords, to colouren their symony, *wole not take for themselves but kerchiefs for the lady, or a palfray, or a tun of wine*. And when some lords woulde present a good man, then *some ladies ben means to have a dancer presented, or a tripper on tapits, or hunter, or a hawk, or a wild player of suramer gambols*. And thus it seemeth that both prelates and lords maken some cursed Antichrist, and a quick fiend to be master of Christ's people, for to leaden them to Hell to Sathanas their master. Such traitery is in false curates, that given mede or hire to come into such worldly offices, and couchen in lord's courts for to get mo fatte benefices, and purposen not spedly to do their ghostly office."



and dissent from it," did ever to hold out any such doctrine to their flocks. We have before explained, that they only assert the *impossibility* of a vicious life when a saving faith is once *really impressed* upon the heart. The calumny is indeed to be found in the libellous pages of the "Barrister," and has been more than amply refuted. But we are persuaded that no such meaning as we have just contemplated could have existed in his lordship's mind. Neither is it possible to believe that there could be any intention to impute blame to, or to stigmatise as "*new Puritans*," those who hold out the "special privileges" of the Gospel to persons who have nothing like a *previous innocency* of life to qualify them for the blessing. Because our Saviour himself hath informed us, that "he came not to call the *righteous* but *sinners* to repentance." And our excellent Liturgy opens with asserting that, "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us; but if we confess our sins, God is *faithful* and *just* to forgive us our sins, and to *cleanse us from all unrighteousness*." We should be glad to know whether the best man that ever lived would be content on the last day to rest his hopes of salvation on the *innocency* of his life; a term which we are sure upon consideration will be admitted to be totally inapplicable to the state of man in this world.

What then could be the intention of the phrase above quoted? We confess ourselves utterly at a loss to account for it upon any other supposition, than that it hastily slipped in "*currente calamo*," as a make-weight in the argument, and was overlooked upon revision from a certain species of inattention, to which all writers are occasionally subject.

We now come to the most pleasing part of the charge before us, and are happy to go along with its philanthropic author entirely in his truly apostolic wish that more churches were built. It is indeed lamentable, that but for the prevalence of dissenting chapels and meeting-houses, a very small portion of the population in many parts of England could ever have an opportunity of attending public worship. This is an evil which cannot be *immediately*, or perhaps *ever* entirely remedied, though we trust that a spirit is reviving among us, which, under Providence, will gradually diminish it. We hope not only that churches will rear their heads in many places, by means of some excellent individuals who are exerting themselves for that useful purpose, but that means will be *speedily* taken by the legislature to place the church of England a little more upon a level with the dissenters, as to their general power of imparting spiritual instruction to the people. But let it never be forgotten, that the evil

complained of has arisen almost entirely from the gross neglect of the legislature, in not providing increased accommodation and religious instruction, within the walls of the establishment, in proportion to the rapid increase in the population of the country.

It is perfectly true, as we have somewhere read, that "Many thousand acres, which a century or two ago did not contain an inhabitant with a soul to be attended to, nor a blade of corn to contribute towards remunerating a pastor's care, are now covered with smiling cottages and waving crops; presenting employment to the already overcharged incumbent, which he cannot attend to, and affording an addition of tithes which should clearly be bestowed upon one, whose time will allow of his discharging the appointed duties in return."

Again, "in the mining and manufacturing districts, many tracts covered with heath and ling a century ago now blaze with the fire of the forge, and resound with the hammer and the anvil; and it would be still more gratifying to the philanthropic mind, (were the moral and religious interests of the inhabitants properly provided for,) to reflect that these tracts are likewise filled with industrious artificers and labourers, who, while they supply the world with comforts and conveniences, afford sustenance and happiness to themselves, and population and power to their country. But, alas! many of these places possess no more clergymen, no more churches than they did under their ancient state of waste and desolation; and the consequences may be often seen in the meeting houses, and heard from the carts and waggon in the fields adjacent." It is consistent with our own knowledge, that in some of these places crowds of the lower orders, suddenly collected together into one hot-bed, have sunk at first into the most deplorable depths of vice and depravity; from which they have been rescued by individuals of the very lowest and least respectable of the dissenting sects, who by earnest spiritual labours have rendered their disciples moral, sober, decent, and industrious. We know not how a well regulated mind can look upon these exertions but with thankfulness and pleasure, however tinged with regret that the reformation was not founded upon what *we believe* to be the more solid and secure tenets of the established church. Nor can we divine how a friend to the established church can avoid regretting, that the conversion of these sinners *was actually placed out of the reach of the clergy of the establishment* by the laws of the realm. For no additional churches being erected in the districts, nor any means existing of building them, of course no regular ministers could be appointed.

Impelled by these considerations, we confess that we carry

our hopes and expectations much farther than the venerable prelate announces in his charge. We confidently trust that the legislature will not refuse to set apart annually a considerable sum towards the erection of churches, where patrons will divide large livings, or inhabitants of towns will tax themselves for the support of a minister. And where the public in general pay for the erection of churches, it would certainly be both just and proper, "that one-half, or a larger proportion of the area, and also of the galleries, should for ever remain in free and open sittings," for the benefit of the poor. For it would be by no means fair that the mass of the population should pay for providing church room for the opulent only, who can well afford to erect chapels, containing pews for themselves. With respect to the larger and more populous villages in the country, we would recommend a plan that has been already partially acted upon by one of our prelates, who is no less venerable for his great age, than for the conciliating and truly apostolic spirit which he displays upon all occasions. It is to be found in the 32d Report of the Society for bettering the condition of the poor, p. 78. Describing a school for teachers on Dr. Bell's plan, established by the Bishop of Durham, it proceeds thus:—"The first of the foundation-boys, Procter, is just appointed usher of the new school at Gateshead. The school-house is very recently erected, being one of many formed or forming under the auspices of the bishop. It contains at present three hundred scholars, &c. &c. This school-house has been consecrated by the bishop as a chapel, in which divine service is performed, and a sermon preached on Sundays, to very crowded congregations, by a clergyman whom the rector engages for that duty at a salary of 30*l.* a year." We have by us some very interesting matter, the insertion of which our present limits oblige us to defer, but which convinces us that some important and practicable improvements may be built upon this precedent. And we should much prefer them to the crude notions which we have seen lately broached for putting up the religious instruction of a parish to auction, to those who will bid highest in rant and enthusiasm, and for involving the bishops in constant litigation with these unendowed teachers. No; the discipline of the church must be preserved, and every exertion made consistently with that discipline to increase its zeal. It is upon the union of zeal and discipline honestly and conscientiously exercised that it must depend, under Providence, for its preservation and existence.

It gives us the sincerest pleasure to find that these subjects have been taken in hand by a noble lord, whose strict integrity,

conciliating manners, and ardent zeal in the promotion of every object which he thinks useful to his country, afford solid grounds for hoping that much permanent good will be done. In our next number we shall enter at large into the nature of his plan. In the mean time we cordially wish him more success in his philanthropic views, and more firmness and consistency in his professed coadjutors, than he has yet experienced; and we will venture to affirm, that they will go farther to produce zeal and union in the promotion of true religion, and consequently be of more real benefit to the established church, than volumes of declamation concerning "gospel ministers," and their assumed wanderings among "the depths and mysteries of Calvinism."

We have now stated all that we think necessary upon that part of the question which relates to the public; and we shall only add, that we must confess it would have given us pleasure to have observed in the learned prelate's primary charge a little more warmth of commendation upon his admirable and ever to be regretted predecessor in the diocese of London;—a man whose memory must ever be deservedly dear to his country, from the zeal, activity, and judgment which he constantly and successfully exerted in the promotion of true religion. Witness (among many others instances) the present state of the parish churches of St. George's and St. James's, Westminster. We regret this deficiency the more, as we believe such compliments are usual; and we understand from good authority, that a more elegant eulogium was scarcely ever pronounced than that delivered upon the author of the production before us, in the primary charge of the amiable and accomplished prelate who succeeded him, and still continues to preside in the diocese of Oxford.

ART. XXI. *Tentamen de Metris ab Æschylo in choricis cantibus adhibitis.* Cantabrigiæ: Typis ac sumptibus Academicis. 8vo.—1809.

IT is with considerable satisfaction that we have it in our power to commence our labours in the department of ancient literature, with the notice of a work so important as that which now calls for our attention. The great attainments of Dr. Burney\*, both in classical learning in general, and in metrical sci-

\* The name of Dr. Burney does not appear in the title, but is subscribed to the dedication addressed to the Bishop of Ely.

ence in particular, have long been known to the public. The skill and learning with which, in a respectable periodical work, he is known to have examined various publications of Greek poetry, and the eminent success which, in some of those articles of criticism, he displayed in restoring to order some of the choral odes of Æschylus, excited a general desire that he would communicate to the world the fruits of that labour, which he was understood to have bestowed on the dramatic writers of antiquity. This desire, so far as relates to Æschylus, has at length been fulfilled, to the gratification of all, whose pursuits have led them to take an interest in studies of this nature.

The subject of the Greek metres has, for a considerable time, and in an increasing degree, justly occupied the attention of scholars. In addition to the desire, which is natural to the mind, of understanding perfectly and in all its branches any subject with which it is conversant, it has been found that an accurate knowledge of the metres is highly requisite to every person who undertakes to criticise the works of the ancient poets; and that without considerable attainment in that species of learning, no sagacity, and no skill in other departments of criticism, will be able to guide him successfully to his object, or preserve him from frequent and mortifying failure. The advice of Bentley to Hemsterhusius cannot be too deeply and effectually impressed upon the mind of every candidate for critical reputation. "Hæc qui sine rei metricæ doctrina ausit attingere, perinde est ac si in labyrinthum se conjecerit, sine fili præsidio exitum tentaturus. Certe qui syllabarum omnium quantitatem, et omnigenorum versuum mensuram in numerato habet, ei πόριμα erunt multa et facilia, quæ aliis, hac scientia destitutis, prorsus sunt ἀπορα. Quare obsecro te, vir eximie, et magnopere hortor, ut et hanc eruditionis partem ceteris, quas cumulate adeo possides, velis adjungere, grande, mihi crede, operæ pretium ei magnificam quandam voluptatem inde laturus." No better proofs of the importance of this knowledge to criticism, and no better examples of its successful application to that purpose, can be selected, than the two which Porson has subjoined as a corollary to his account of the Anapæstic metre, in the admirable supplement to the preface of the Hecuba; in one of which, with a felicity almost peculiar to himself, by the united aid of critical sagacity and metrical skill, he has extricated an indubitable reading from the ruins of a grossly corrupted text under which it was buried.

The importance of this knowledge in its proper province, will scarcely be contested by those who are competent to judge

of its application. It is attended, however, with considerable difficulties. The laws of the metres, with the exception of those of the most common description and frequent use, were so entirely unknown, to the transcribers in the dark ages of Greek literature, that they have in many instances thrown the choral odes into the utmost confusion; and the task of dividing them, according to their proper metrical arrangement, has devolved upon modern editors, assisted sometimes, but sometimes also misled, by the doubtful light afforded by the ancient scholiasts or grammarians. The subject is also, by its very nature, involved in perplexities and uncertainties of no inconsiderable magnitude. The poetical melody of the ancients depending chiefly on the observation of quantity, had probably some close connection with their musical modes, the knowledge of which is now necessarily very obscure. The rules left by the ancient metrical writers are not in all instances free from ambiguity or inconsistency, and do not always admit an easy or certain application. The species of metre are so various, and the same words are capable of being divided in so many different ways, that much is left to the discretion and taste of an editor. Sometimes a tolerable metrical arrangement appears to be obtained, in which we are disposed to acquiesce; when a more fortunate observer, having detected the predominance of a particular foot, or the regular recurrence of certain systems, introduces a new constitution, superseding former schemes, and deriving incontrovertible evidence from the harmony and consistency of its parts.

The rules which Porson lays down in his preface to the *Hecuba*, for the division of the dramatic chorus, are simple and brief. "Primo curavi, ut quodque carmen ad nota et lyricis poetis usitata, si facile fieri posset, versuum genera redigeretur; deinde, ut eadem aut similis versuum species quam sepiissime recurreret." On which Herman remarks, with more sophistry perhaps than justice, that they who depend on these rules only will receive little benefit; for how can the first, he asks, be applied, while it is for the most part unknown what species of metres were customary to the lyric poets; or, with respect to the second, how is it to be determined, whether in a given passage the same form of metre recurs, till other rules shall have taught where the beginnings and ends of verses are to be fixed? Some useful rules, applicable to this object, are given in his treatise on the metres of Pindar.

With all their imperfections, the works of the ancient grammarians must be diligently read and frequently consulted by the metrical student. The principal of these among the Greeks

are part of the treatise of Aristides Quintilianus, and the *Encheiridion* of Hephaestio, with the commentary of his scholiast. The former is printed in the collection of musical writers, by Meibomius; the latter has passed through various editions, and has lately been republished at Oxford, in a commodious form and with very useful additions, by Mr. Gaisford, who has also reprinted that part of Aristides which relates to the metres. The principal Latin authors are Terentianus Maurus, who has written a poem in elegant Latin on this abstruse branch of grammatical learning; Diomedes, Marius Victorinus, Plotius, Atilius Fortunatianus, and some other writers, whose works are to be found in the collection of grammarians, by Putschius.

There are also metrical scholia of different and generally doubtful ages extant on some of the ancient writers, in which the verses are divided according to the degree of skill or taste which the commentator may happen to have possessed, but often with little success: and an editor will always be justified in departing from their authority, whenever he can obtain a more convenient or harmonious division of verse. Even their prosody is sometimes erroneous. The scholiast's explanation of the metres of Pindar's second olympic ode is examined by Herman\*, *Comment. de Metris Pindari*, P. I. § 6. and may afford a good specimen of their methods of arrangement.

The following is the form of Dr. Burney's work. Where the choral ode is antistrophic, the strophe is printed on one page, and the antistrophe on the opposite; with the former, under each line, is given the metrical notation; with the latter, the name and description of the verse. The monostrophics are exhibited in the same way, with the metrical notation and description under each line. A few explanatory and critical notes are given at the foot of the page; and at the end of each play is an index, furnishing a conspectus of the different metres, and of the proportions and combinations in which they occur.

The object of the author was also not only to furnish a new division of the lyric parts of Æschylus, but to promulgate some new laws respecting the principles of their arrangement. "Ly-

\* A late writer on metres allows that Herman has very properly objected to the names given by the scholiast to some of the verses, but doubts whether his readers will prefer the entire arrangement of Herman to that which is commonly adopted. In animadverting on the division given by that author, he remarks, "why Herman should call *Ἡρὸν Πενταμῆμερον* an iambic penthemimer, I cannot comprehend." The writer has not observed that, according to the usage of Pindar, the word *Πενταμῆμερον* is not a trochee, but an iambus. The scholiast is right in his mode of scanning the verse (*Ol. II. 4.*) so far as regards the quantity of the syllables; but the metrical notation given in Heyne's edition is inaccurate.

ricos quidem modos, qui apud illum tragicorum principem reperiuntur, novis metiendi legibus et posse dividi, et debere, judicavi; idque cur ita statuerim, in ipso operis limine, dilucide, ut spero, breviterque exposui." The laws of this system are amply explained in the introduction, and their application illustrated by a great variety of examples.

The examination of the work before us will naturally divide itself into two parts, which it is of some importance to keep distinct from each other; the practical arrangement of the choral odes, and the metrical theory upon which it is founded.

The division of the metres recommended by Dr. Burney is, in general, we have no hesitation in saying, far superior to that which is adopted in the common editions. In some instances, odes, which have usually been so printed as apparently to consist of various anomalous verses of unusual forms, possessing little connection with each other, are here so arranged, as to constitute similar systems of known and usual verses. We will give, as an instance, one of the first which occurs.

An ode in the *Promethæus* (v. 397—424, edit. Stanl.), in the old editions is represented as a system of monostrophics, in which the verses are intermingled in the utmost confusion, with scarcely a vestige of metre, as may be perceived by inspecting the edition of Canter. Stanley first observed part of the system to be antistrophic, and it is so arranged in his edition. His division has been followed, with some improvements, by succeeding editors. The first part of the ode we shall transcribe, for the purpose of comparison. It thus stands in the notes to Mr. Butler's republication of Stanley:

Στένω σε τᾶς οὐλομένας  
 τυχάς. Προμηθεῦ  
 δακρυσίστακτον δ' ἀπ' ὀσσω  
 ῥαδινῶν μέος παρεϊάν  
 νοτίαις ἐτεγγε παγαίς  
 ἀμέγαλτα γὰρ τὰδε Ζεὺς  
 ἰδίοις νόμοις κρατύνων,  
 ὑπερήφανον θεοῖσιν  
 τοῖς πάρος ἐνδείκνυσιν αἰχμάν.

It is observable, that there is a considerable correspondence between several of the lines as here arranged; but they are thrown into a species of Anacreontic verse, not very well adapted to the tragic chorus. Dr. Burney has shewn that the first strophe, and its correspondent antistrophe, with the exception of the last verse in each, consist of a very well-known species of metre, the glyconeum polyschematistum, the verses



proceeding very fluently according to the following type,  
 ū-υ- | -υυ-.

Στένω σε τὰς οὐλομένας  
 τύχας, Πρωτηθεῦ δακρυσί-  
 στακτον δ' ἀπ' ὄσσων ραδινῶν  
 ῥέος παρειᾶν νοτίοις  
 ἔτεγγε παγαίς ἀμέγαρ-  
 τα γὰρ τὰδε Ζεὺς ἰδίῳις  
 νόμοις κρατύνων ὑπερή-  
 φανον θεοῖς τοῖσι πάρος  
 δείκνυσιν αἰχμᾶν.

The antistrophe of course follows the same model.

The glyconic with polyschematistum is a species of metre much used by the tragic writers, and may be restored in various passages. We were going to observe, that it forms the predominant verse in part of a chorus of the *Electra* of Sophocles (1058—1081, edit. Brunck), when we perceived that the passage was arranged by Dr. Burney in his introduction. We shall transcribe his constitution of the strophe.

Τὶ τοὺς ἀνωθεν ὄρονιμω-  
 τάτους οἰωνοὺς ἐσώρω-  
 μενοι τρεφᾶς κηδομένους,  
 ἀδ' ὧν τε βλαστᾶσιν, ἀδ' ὧν τ'  
 ὄσσωσιν εὐ-  
 ρησι, τὰδ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἴσας τελοῦμεν;  
 ἀλλ' οὐ τὰν Διὸς ἀστραπᾶν  
 καὶ τᾶν ουρανίαν Θέμιν  
 σαφ' ἄρ' οὐκ ἀπόνητοι.  
 ὦ τὸν α βρῆοιτι φά-  
 μα, κατὰ μοι βλασὸν οἰκ-  
 τρᾶν ὅσα τοῖς ἐνεῖδ' Ἄτρεϊ-  
 δαις, ἀχόρευτα φέρουσ' ὀνειδέη.

It is obvious that by a different construction of these verses, they might easily be made to conclude with two glyconics, a monometer base, and a logaoedic, in a manner similar to the former part of the strophe; but the division would probably be less elegant.

Another, and indeed very similar instance of improved arrangement, is presented by the first chorus of the *Prometheus* (v. 128.), the first strophe of which is thus represented in Stanley's edition.

Μηδὲν φοβηθῆς, φιλία γὰρ ἴδε τάχῃς  
 πτερυγῶν θοαῖς ἀμίλλαις  
 προσέβα τόνδε πάγον, πατριῶας  
 μογῆς παρεμποῦσα φρενας.

κραιπνοφόροι δὲ μ' ἔπειμ' ἄνθραϊ  
 κτύπου γὰρ ἄχῳ γάλυβος διῆξεν ἄνθραϊ,  
 ἐκ δ' ἔπληξέ μου τᾶν ἡμερῶν αἰδῶ.  
 σύθην δ' ἀπέδιλος ὄχῳ πτερῶν\*.

This division is retained by the late editor of Stanley. Of the proper arrangement of this ode no doubt can be entertained, when the regularity of its structure is observed.

Μηδὲν φοβηθῆς, φίλια  
 γὰρ ἤδη τάξεις πτερυγῶν  
 θοαῖς ἀμύλλαις προσέβα  
 τόνδε πάγον πατρώας  
 μόγις παρείπουσα ζένας\*  
 κραιπνοφόροι δὲ μ' ἔπειμ' ἄνθραϊ\*  
 κτύπου γὰρ ἄχῳ γάλυβος  
 διῆξεν ἄνθραϊ μυχόν ἐκ δ'  
 ἔπληξέ μου τᾶν ἡμερῶν  
 πιν αἰδῶ σύ  
 ἦν δ' ἀπέδιλος ὄχῳ πτερῶν,

Of these verses, 1—3, are glyconic polyschematistic; 4, choriambic dim. cat.; 5, glyconic; 6, logaoedic; 7—9, glyconic; 10, antispastic monometer; 11, logaoedic.

The species of glyconic verse which forms the predominant metre of these strophes, occurs in the dramatic writers under a considerable variety of forms; but Æschylus seems to adhere more closely than the other tragic poets to its strictest model. It is observed by Dr. Burney, that he has not in any instance employed a double anacrusis; or, in other words, substituted an anapaest for an iambus in the first seat of the antispast. We have noticed, however, according to the division of the "Tentamen," an instance of a glyconic beginning with a dactyl;

τάνδ' ἀνελεύθερον δολίῳ.

Agam. xlvii. 2.

and another, in which an anapaest occupies the second place of the antispast.

ὑπ' ἀνδρῶς Ἀχαιοῦ θεόθεν—

Sept. cont. Theb. xviii. Str. 5.

The antistrophic line is of the same structure.

τί; τὸν φθήμενον γὰρ προλέγω.

In two of his remaining plays, Æschylus has employed the metrum ionicum a minore; and introduced systems of this

\* The metrical arrangement, but not the exact reading of Stanley is here given.

verse which deserve particular attention. They occur in the "Supplices" and the "Persæ." The former of them (Supp. 1013—1057.), is admirably arranged by Dr. Burney, and first appeared in an article of the Monthly Review (Jan. 1798.) This fine choral ode contains first four systems, each comprising five verses: three of which are ionic dimeters, the fourth a monometer, and the fifth a dimeter anaclomenon. These are followed by three other systems, each consisting of eleven verses; of which ten are regular ionic dimeters, and the eleventh, like the concluding lines of the former systems, dimeter anaclomenon. The system at the beginning of the Persæ (65—113.), is less remarkably regular. In a note, Dr. Burney arranges a chorus of the Supplices of Euripides (42—75.), which, in most editions, is entitled anapestic; and which Heath attempted to arrange as such. It is here clearly shewn to consist of two strophes and antistrophes of ionic verses, of various forms. For the division, which is very elegant, we must refer to the note on the Persæ, p. 10—13.

In addition to those which we have added, many other examples might easily be cited, of skill and success in the division of the lyric parts of Æschylus. In many instances, without doubt, the arrangement is rather subject to the whims of taste, than capable of determination by any certain rules of art. In such cases, there must be room for some difference of opinion. But where the predominance of any particular foot determines the nature of a system, the true form has never, we believe, eluded the vigilance of the editor. Bearing this general testimony to the excellence of his arrangements, and reserving for a subsequent part of this article some remarks on a few passages, which seem to admit a different constitution, we deem it unnecessary to quote any more examples of the metrical division, and shall proceed to give some account of the peculiarities of the theory on which it is founded.

The species of metre which usually occur in the divisions of the chorusses adopted in the "Tentamen" are but few. The laws of these are explained in the introduction.

The first and chief is the antispastic, being considered as the basis of the lyric parts of the Greek dramatic poetry; and great latitude is used in the application of this flexible species of metre.

The antispast, according to the theory of the present work, admits, in all places of the verse, the substitution of an iambic metre, a dispondæus, a trochaic metre, any of the epitrites, and most of the varieties which can result from these, by the resolution of the long syllables. A table of its various forms,

according to these principles, is given, and they amount to the formidable catalogue of sixty-one; a number apparently sufficient to comprise most of the possible varieties in the succession of short and long syllables. It is to be observed, however, that in several instances the forms coincide, so far as regards the order of the times; varying only in the position of the arsis and thesis. Several of the possible forms are also not to be found in the writings of Æschylus, so that the real number of varieties occurring in the use of poetry is considerably diminished. It is evident that, according to this doctrine, many other species of verse are capable of being reduced to the antispastic. Its particular advantages, and general influence on metrical practice, we shall shortly consider.

The antispastic verse occurs in the chorus of Æschylus, as arranged in the "Tentamen," in many forms, from that of monometer, to tetrameter acatalectic. A species of antispastic metre, in the form of trimeter brachycatalectic, seems to be found frequently in Æschylus, under the restricted scheme of a first epitrite, followed by three pure iambi. The employment of this verse by the poet has been well noticed by Mr. Butler, who has distinguished it by the title of the Æschylean antispastic. We believe that it does not occur in precisely this form in the "Tentamen," though it is found pretty frequently with the variation of wanting one syllable. The complete verse is, however, admitted in the introduction, where Dr. Burney proposes to read the beginning of the strophe (Sept. c. Theb. 750.), agreeably to the old method of division, in the following manner:

Κρατῆδεις ἐκ φίλων ἀβουλίαις,  
 ἐγείνατο μὲν μῦθον αὐτῶ,  
 πατροκτόνον Οἰδίποδαν.

consisting of an Æschylean antispastic (to adopt the name proposed by Mr. Butler), and two prosodiac verses. The same form of metre may be restored in various other passages. Adopting a reading, varying in a trifling degree from that of Dr. Burney, it occurs, followed, as in the preceding instance, by a prosodiac, in the Prometheus, v. 425\*.

\* This species of verse is also to be restored in three successive lines of the "Supplices," 367, &c. as likewise in the antistrophe.

κρητύεις βωκῶν, ἰοτίαν χθονός,  
 μισοφύρουσι νύματιν σίδαν,  
 μισοκλήπτρουσι δ' ἐν θροναῖς χροῖον—

• Μόνον δὴ πρόσθεν ἄλλον ἐν πόνοις  
• δαμέντ' ἀκαμαατοδέτοις.

In a few instances, as in the *Agamemnon*, v. 191. a double iambus answers to the epitrite.

παλιγγόδοις ἐν Αὔλιδος τόποις.

The strophic verse is,

βιαίως σελμα σεμνὸν ἡμένων

It may be observed, in connection with the theory on which the "*Tentamen*" proceeds, that the former of these lines is an instance of a verse, in a form completely iambic, which is nevertheless necessarily to be considered as antispastic.

The dochmiacs are a species of antispastics, which deserve particular attention, both as they are often used, singly and in systems, by the tragic poets, and as being on all hands confessed to be properly antispastic, they afford one of the best methods of determining the limits and varieties of that foot, a subject which has occasioned some controversy. Dochmiacs are found in great frequency in *Æschylus*, as in the other tragic poets. The choriambic dim. catal. (a very common form of verse), is considered by Dr. Burney as properly falling under this species, being dochmiac hypercatalectic.

Combinations of cretic feet (-υ-) are employed by *Æschylus*. This foot is also considered in the metrical doctrine of the "*Tentamen*," as bearing an affinity to the antispast, being supposed to derive its origin from the three final syllables of a pure dochmiac. It, therefore, properly associates with antispastic systems.

The trochaic metre frequently appears in the systems of *Æschylus* in various forms, from the monometer to the dimeter hypercatalectic.

Dactylic metre is also often employed, and is admitted by Dr. Burney in verses to the extent of seven metres. The logaedic is referred to this species.

Choriambic verses often occur in conjunction with other forms, but there is no entire system of this metre.

The use made by *Æschylus* of the ionic metre has been already mentioned.

There are very few instances, according to the theory of this work, in which the iambic and anapæstic metres are employed. The verses which are usually considered as belonging to these species are here reduced to the antispastic system. A trochaic division of verse is preferred to an iambic, when both are possible. A single choral system (*Prometheus*, 546—562.), ap-

pearing to consist of these metres only, they are in this instance suffered to retain their usual names.

The bacchiac metre occurs in this division only once:

Τὶς ἀρχῶ, τὶς ὀδμὰ, προσέπτα μὶ ἀφεγγής;

Prom. 115.

In two or three other places some traces of this measure appear.

No place is given in the "*Tentamen*" to verses of the description called by metrical writers *asynarteti*, with the exception of the double dochmiacs. "*Hic forsan*," says Dr. Burney, "*studiosa juventutis labores diminuentur; at si quis duo vel plura metra alienæ indolis connectenda putat, ita ut unum et novum quoddam genus constituant, scriptorum metricorum de hac re leges et placita conferat.*"

It was necessary to give this slight sketch of Dr. Burney's introduction, as an adherence to the species of number which are here enumerated is rigorously maintained in the "*Tentamen*," and gives rise to some of its peculiarities. In various places, a division more agreeable to the ear might perhaps be made, without taking the laws of the system, as well as the individual verse, into consideration.

The points of this system which will chiefly excite attention are the extent given to the antispastic metre, and the rejection of compound verses, or *asynarteti*.

The general theory of Dr. Burney respecting the lyric measures as being either purely antispastic, or as bearing a close affinity to the antispastic system, is briefly stated at the commencement of his introduction. We shall give it in his own words:

"Πολλὰς μεταβολὰς μεταβαλοῦσα ἡ τραγωδία ἐπαύσατο. ἐπεὶ ἔσχε τὴν ἑαυτῆς φύσιν. Aristotelis hæc sunt verba.—Hinc, quæ in fabulis metra iambica trimetra, trochaica tetrametra catalectica, et anapestica, ad suas ipsorum partes jam seposita essent, poetæ tragici antispastico metro in choricis Cantibus locum præcipuum, nec sine ratione, attribuerunt. Ex pede enim antispasto, qui constat ex iambo et trochæo, utriusque metri deliciis Atheniensium aures speraverunt sese posse implere. Ex illa enim pene infinita varietate, quæ a longarum syllabarum solutionibus ortum ducit, multorum metrorum elegantias eligere et comprehendere voluerunt."

This ingenious theory, thus briefly stated, is not accompanied, it is to be observed, by any proof of historical evidence. If there exist any passage in the writings of the ancient grammarians, asserting that the antispast was adopted by the tragic

poets as the basis of their choral odes, it has not reached our knowledge; and its production, if such an authority can be found, would be of great service to the doctrine here advanced. In the mean time we cannot but observe, that it is not well supported by what we know of the history of the Grecian stage; as it seems to imply the appropriation of the iambic, trochaic, and anapaestic metres, to the use of the dramatic dialogue, previously to the adoption of any particular species of metre for the choral parts. The chorus, it is well known, was the origin from which the drama sprung; and as it existed before the dialogue, probably received its character before the complete developement of the regular dramatic poem; and being always of a lyric nature, may be reasonably supposed, from the earliest periods, to have delighted in that variety and liberty of numbers, which belongs to the more enthusiastic species of poetry. "Tragedy," says Aristotle, "being in its origin extemporary, was derived from those who led the dithyramb." Measures of the utmost freedom seem to suit such an origin. Some dithyrambic lines of Archilochus are, indeed, regularly trochaic. The fragments of the dithyrambs of Pindar appear to be in measures similar to those of the tragic poets; and the freedom of their numbers is described in a well-known passage of Horace:

Seu per audaces nova dithyrambos  
Verba devolvit, numerisque fertur  
Lege solutis.

The poems are however before us, and were the antispastic a less anomalous species of metre, it would be easy to determine its claims to the preponderance assigned to it by Dr. Burney among the choral measures. This however is rendered difficult by the extraordinary latitude of that metre, which by its substitutions and resolutions is capable of swallowing up almost every other species. All then that can be said as to the fact, is, that either the antispastic metre, or metres capable of being reduced to the antispastic (allowing all its latitude to that system) form the basis of the choral odes.

Admitting in all its extent the freedom of this metre, it might seem that prose itself is capable of being modelled with little violence into lyric systems. Its use in practice has however been much more restricted. The forms of the antispast employed in the "Tentamen" do not exceed twenty-two, a number equalled and justified by the forms of the dochmiac, an undoubted antispastic measure. Though Dr. Burney, on the authority of the ancient grammarians, maintains the substitution of

the ditrochæus for the antispast, he has not in practice availed himself of this privilege, but suffers verses of the trochaic form to retain their usual denomination, with the exception, so far as we have observed, of a single trochaic dochmiac.

• Οὐκ ἐπὶ φιλία.

Sept. c. Theb. 879.

The antispastic doctrine, as applied by Dr. Burney, though at first sight seeming to possess a laxity scarcely consistent with any restraint of numbers, is liable, we are convinced, to little solid objection. It has little influence on the practical division of the verses. It is not of much importance whether a given line be denominated iambic or antispastic, provided its measure be ascertained; and in some instances lines completely iambic in their form, as has been before observed, are indubitably to be considered as antispastic, from the comparison of their correspondent strophic, or antistrophic verse.

Some positive advantages likewise result from the application of this doctrine. It will no longer be necessary for us to be very solicitous about the exact regularity of those apparently iambic trimeters, which sometimes occur in a chorus, and oppose the laws which have been laid down with great skill and sagacity respecting the structure of those lines. We are furnished also with an easy method of reducing to rule verses otherwise anomalous, which, in the common system, occur with perplexing frequency in the tragic poets. "When a verse is so irregular," says Dr. Seale, "as to contain in it some glaring violation of the preceding institutes, the last resource of the student is to call it *πολυσηματίστος*\* or anomalous." This however is rather a mortifying necessity, and we have much greater satisfaction in being able to class it, though with some latitude, under one of the regular species.

It is to be observed that in antispastic verses it is not necessary for the syllables of the strophe and antistrophe accurately to correspond, but that in general it is sufficient if the metres answer. For want of attention to this practice, very correct passages have been considered as corrupt, and unnecessary and injurious alterations introduced. Thus in the *Hecuba* (464) the words *πτόρθους λατοῖ φίλα* are transposed by Heath, to give to the verse the iambic form which the correspondent words of the strophe happen to possess. His alteration, *πτόρθους φίλα λατοῖ*, is adopted by Brunck, the consequence of which is, that the only

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\* An epithet probably not intended by Hephæstius to be used with this latitude, and seeming to be confined to particular forms of verse.



syllable in the line that was under any necessity of being short, is rendered long. So Brunck in a verse of the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles,

μή με λάθη προσπεσών ποδέν,  
γ. 156.

to render it, as he supposed, more nearly correspondent to the line in the strophe,

σέ δ' ὦ τέκνον τόδ' ἐλήλυθε,

has without any authority substituted *πελάσας*, to the considerable detriment of the measure. The two lines, considered as antispastic, answer sufficiently well. A nearer conformity, but without any absolute necessity, has been gained by transposition;

μή προσπεσών με λάθη ποδέν.

The antispastic metre is universally allowed to be that which is encumbered with the greatest difficulties. Some metrical theorists have therefore been willing to restrict it within as narrow limits as possible, and have strongly controverted some parts of the doctrine of the ancient grammarians respecting it. As Dr. Burney has noticed this controversy, and added the authority of his determination to the opinion of the Greek grammarians, it will be proper to give some brief account of it.

The writer who has principally agitated this question is Godfrey Herman, in his well known treatise "*De Metris*," Lipsia, 1796. Into all the particulars of Hephæstio's doctrine of antispastics it will not be necessary to enter, nor into the less important objections of Herman. His principal arguments are urged against that part of the doctrine of the grammarian which represents the first division of the antispast as admitting the substitution of any dissyllable foot. Τὸ ἀντισπαστικὸν τὴν μὲν πρώτην συζυγίαν ἔχει τρεπομένην, κατὰ τὸν πρότερον πόδα, εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα τοῦ δισυλλαβίου σχήματα. The liberty of substituting feet so opposite as these, is argued by Herman to be inconsistent with any just notion of numbers. "*De iambo et spondaeo credimus: horum enim pedum alter necessario ictum in ultima habet, alter habere potest; quos si trochæus sequitur, antispastus est optimus. At quo pacto pyrrhichius vel trochæus cum trochæo conjunctus antispasticum numerum præbeat, nulla ratione intelligi potest.*" p. 213.

The species of verse quoted by Hephæstio, by which his doctrine of the indifference of the first part of the antispast is supported, are, the pherecratean, the glyconic, phalæcian, asclepiædean, sapphic of sixteen syllables, and a species of verse which he denominates antispastic pentameter acatal., consisting of pure

antispasts, with the exception of the first foot, which is the third pæon, and the last, a double iambus.

These Herman denies to be antispastic, as they exhibit in the intermediate feet none of those varieties which are permitted to that kind of verse. For the irregularity of the first syllables which sometimes form an iambus, sometimes a spondee, a trochee, and even a pyrrhich, he accounts by the supposition of a base, which he defines to be a mode of beginning numbers destitute of fixed measure, and not cohering with the orders\* of the verse. The phœtratic he therefore considers as dactylic, with a base, the glyconic and pindacian as logaoedic, and the other controverted species as choriambic. This theory of the base he borrows from music. "Eos sonos Græcō vocabuio in musica recte ἀναβολή dixeris, rō in versibus βασιῶν vocabimus." The analogy seems not to be complete. The ἀναβολή, or prelude of the musician, could only have place at the beginning of a melody,

Αὐτὰρ ὁ φορμικῶν ἀναβάλλετο καλὸν αἰθεῖν.

Odys. viii. 266.

while the supposed base must recur with every verse of the poetical system, consisting of similar numbers, in which it is found, and sometimes (as in the priapean) even in the middle of a verse. It seems therefore more secure, with our ignorance of the principles of ancient music and poetical melody, to acquiesce in the authority of the grammarians, than to take refuge in an hypothesis ingenious indeed, but unauthorized, and deficient in analogy. The chief arguments in favour of Herman's system, with respect to the denomination of some of the questionable verses, are, the authority of some of the Latin grammarians, who scan the glyconic and aclepiædean verses as choriambic, and the practice of Horace, who, in the latter, adapts his cæsura to the choriambic measure.

Dr. Burney, with Hephaestio, classes the verses which have been enumerated under the antispastic genus, though he confesses that when a trochee answers to a spondee, by what musical art the second short syllable was sustained remains totally unknown. But should the hypothesis of a base be admitted, he observes that the remaining portions of the glyconic and phœ-

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\* The system of Herman is to scan verses by certain natural orders, without regard to the grammatical denominations of feet, except where they coincide with the orders.

cratean verses will easily resolve themselves into the antispastic measure. As a proof however that a trochee is sometimes substituted for a spondee in cases where the supposition of a base is inapplicable, he cites the common sapphic verse, which in the practice of Sappho herself admits a trochee or a spondee indifferently at the end of the first metre,

Ποικιλότρονον' ἀσάνατ' Αφροδίτα.

This liberty is however easily accounted for on the theory of Herman. The sapphic verse, according to his system, is formed of two orders, one a double trochaic, the other logaedic, consisting of a dactyl and two trochees, admitting with the caesura used by Sappho, a long or a short syllable indifferently at the end of the first order. The verse is therefore asynartete, as it is indeed denominated by Dr. Burney.

We have before observed that Dr. Burney makes no other use of the trochaic form of the antispast, than to class the glyconic and pherecratean verses, which often begin with this foot, under the antispastic.

Another peculiarity of Dr. Burney's practice in the division of the choral odes, is his rejection of asynarteti, with the exception of double dochmiacs. To what species of verses he extends this epithet is not apparent, as he has given no definition of it. That of Hephæstio is rather vague. Γίνεται δὲ καὶ ἀσυνάρτητα, ὅπου καὶ δύο κῶλα καὶ δυναμεία ἀλλήλοις συναρτησθῆναι, μηδὲ δίσωον ἔχειν, ἀντὶ ἐνὸς μόνου παραλαμβάνεται στίχου. This definition Herman (p. 41.) accurately examines, and applies the term asynartetus to such verses only as in the syllables which end the orders, leave the same indifferance of time as at the end of the verse. "Unde clarum est versus *asynartetos* a *compositis* versibus eo differre, quod numeri unitate que in *compositis* est, destituti sunt; ob eamque rem, si quis definitionem requirat, non tam ordinum, quam versuum conjunctiones dicendos esse." Hephæstio admits this distinction with respect to a species of archilochian verse, of which he observes, γίνεται ἡ τελευταῖος τῆς τετραποδίας, διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τέλους ἀδιάφορον, καὶ κρητικὸς, οὗν ἔστιν οὗτος,

καὶ βήσσας ὄρεων δυσκαίπαλους οἶος ἦν ἐφ' ἡβης.

A distinction may therefore be usefully made between compound verses and asynarteti. In the restricted sense of the latter word Herman says, (p. 419) "nulli mihi in melicis carminibus asynarteti noti sunt, præter illos, qui e duobus dochmiacis, aliisque antispasticis constant." That he did not mean to extend this observa-

tion to compound verses in general, is evident from his subsequent practice in the division of the choral odes.

Dr. Burney, if we may judge from his practice, extends the appellation of *asyartetoi* to all compound verses, admitting none of this description except *dochniacs* \*. We cannot but think that he thus deprives us of some modifications of verse, which are both agreeable and convenient. We shall mention a few or two instances.

There is a species of verse which Hephastio calls *iambetegus*, and classes among the *asyartetoi*, of which he gives the following examples;

πρώτον μὲν εὐθυσίλον Θέμιον ὀσκαλίον.  
καίων κωδέτων ται; ὑπὸ χερσίν ἀνάξ.

Sometimes a trochaic metre is in a similar manner joined to a dactylic comma. Verses of this structure occur frequently in the remaining odes of Pindar, (from whom the lines quoted by Hephastio were probably taken) and examples of both kinds are afforded, according to the common division, by the commencement of the fourth Pythian ode.

Σάμερον μὲν γρή σε παρ' ἀιδὸν φίλω  
στάμεν, εὐπίπτον βασιλῆ; Κισιά-  
νας, ὅτρα κωμάζοντι σὺν Ἀσκασίλῃ  
Μοῖσα Λατοῖδαισιν ὀφειλόμενον—

We do not see why compound verses of this and similar structure may not be admitted into the writings of the dramatic poets where they occur. They were introduced by Porson in his division of the epode of a chorus of the *Heccuba* (937, 938, 942.). Referring in his preface to this division, he says, "Ejus generis versus plures in primo *Ajacis Sophocleici choro* reperuntur." They might have been introduced in other parts of the same chorus. The beginning would then stand thus,

Σὺ μὲν, ὦ πατρί; Ἰλιάδ;  
τῶν ἀποδῆτων πόλι; οὐκέτι λέξει,  
τόθιν Ἑλλάνιον νέδος ἀμφὶ σε κρύπτει,  
δορὶ δὴ δορὶ πέρσων.

The conclusion of the second strophe might be thus arranged,

\* The common logaedic Dr. B. with Herman seems to consider as constituting only a single order, and therefore not compound.

ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλάνων, πότε δὴ πότε τῶν  
Ἰλιάδα σκοπιᾶν  
πέραντες ἤξει' οἴκους;

These divisions are adopted by Herman. Verses of similar structure might be introduced in the *Medea*;

Ἐρεχθεῖδαι τὸ παλαιὸν ὄλβιοι,  
καὶ θεῶν παῖδες μακάριον, ἱεράς  
χώρας ἀπορρήτου τ' ἀποφεβρόμενοι  
κλεινοτάτων σοφίαν,  
αἰεὶ διὰ λαμπροτάτου  
βαίνοντες ἀβρώς αἰθέρος, ἔνθα ποδ' ἀγνῶς  
ἔνεα *Ἡερίδας*  
μοῦσας λέγουσι  
Ξανθῶν Ἀρμενίαν φυτεύσαι.

To us it appears that the following chorus of the *Prometheus* will proceed rather more harmoniously than in Dr. Burney's arrangement, by combining in some instances the trochaic and dactylic clauses, and reading thus;

Ἢ σοφὸς, ἢ σοφὸς ἦν, ἢς  
πρώτος ἐν γούμφῳ τρέψ' ἐδάστασε καὶ  
γνώσασα θεμίδου ἰσχυσεν,  
ὡς τὸ κηκεῖται καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀρισ-  
τεῖαι μακρῶν,  
καὶ μήτε τῶν πλοῦτιν διαδοσπεμένων,  
μήτε τῶν γένην μεγαλοκρομένων,  
ἔνθα χερνήταν ἐραστεύσαι.

These lines are divided by Mr. Butler in a manner for the most part similar. The fourth and fifth verses of this system would probably by the followers of Herman's school be combined, and indeed a verse compounded in a manner nearly analogous is given by Heplastio, p. 59.

ἢς καὶ τυπὲς ἀγνώ πελέκει τέκετο Ξανθῶν Ἀδάναν.

Observations similar to the preceding might be applied to the chorus of the *Prometheus*, v. 526. Whether the different orders in this and other instances are to be combined or kept separate is however a question of inferior importance, if the orders themselves are properly distinguished, as they are in the arrangement of the "*Tentamen*."

Single cretics, which Dr. Burney frequently suffers to stand as separate verses, may, we think, without inconvenience, associate with preceding iambs or dactyls. The line,

*τίς ἂν καθαρμούς πόροι, τίς ἂν σφε λούσειεν; ὦ—*

with some others which resemble it, might then be divided into two verses of similar form,

*τίς ἂν καθαρμούς πόροι,  
τίς ἂν σφε λούσειεν; ὦ—*

So in the Choephoroe, 359, the two short verses

*λάχῃς πιπλάν-  
των χερσῶν,*

might be compounded into one of structure similar to the preceding. Such a verse would in fact be nothing more than a cretic with an anacrusis.

A cretic combined with preceding daetyls would produce a verse of no unpleasing effect. The two following lines, if connected, would form a verse allied to the logaoedic,

*ὦ πάτερ αἰνόπα-  
τες τί σοι.*

Choeph. 313.

The effect of a very rigid adherence to the principle of rejecting *asynarteti* has been, in some instances, to reduce the verse to a number of short lines, of extent scarcely sufficient to fill the ear with any agreeable melody.

In some very few instances, it is probable that better divisions might be adopted. The system given as an epode (Sept. c. Theb. 848.) seems to be antistrophic.

#### STROPHE.

*Ταδ' αὐτόδηλα, προὔπτες ἀγγέλου λόγος;  
διπλαῖ μέμνηται, διουμάνορα καὶ αὐτοσῶνα,  
διμοῖρα, τέλεια τάδε πάθη. Τί φῶ; τί δ' ἄλ-  
λο γ' ἢ πονοὶ πονῶν, δομῶν ἐφέστιοι;  
Ἀλλὰ γῶων, ὦ φίλοι, κατ' οὖρον.*

#### ANTISTROPHE.

*ἔσισσετ' αἰεὶ κρατὶ πίμπιμον χερσῶν  
πίτυλον, ὅς αἰὲν δι' Ἀχέρωντ' ἀμείβεται  
τῶν ἄστονον, μελάγκρονον θεωρίδα,  
τῶν ἀστιβῆ' πόλλωνι, τῶν ἀνάλιον,  
πανδοκῶν εἰς ἀφραν τε χέρσον.*

The last verse of the antistrophe seems not to be a logaoedic, but to be compounded of an antispastic metre, and a dochmiac.

An excellent division, differing from that of Dr. Burney, of a system in the *Agamemnon*, 218—258, is given in a late number of a periodical publication (*Edin. Rev.* No. 33.)

A corrupt metre in the *Chæphoroe* may be made to answer to the strophic verse by reading for *παντόλμους* *παντοτόλμους*, a word elsewhere used by Æschylus.

*καὶ παντοτόλμους ἔρωτας ἀ-*

*Dochmiacum et antispasticum monopiætrum.*

The following notice is prefixed to the “*Septem contra Thebas.*” “*Plures forsam in hac quam in cæteris fabulis transpositiones et mutationes, illasque audaciores paullo, inveniet eruditus lector: qui meliora metra multis in locis procul dubio suppedabit.*”

This observation chiefly applies to the first chorus, 78—181, which presents considerable traces of an antistrophic structure, but which perhaps it is scarcely worth while to reduce to that form at the expence of much alteration. The conclusion of this system was perceived by Herman to be antistrophic, requiring only the addition of a syllable, easily supplied. Some preceding lines will also correspond pretty accurately, with little change.

There are some other topics on which we intended to enlarge, especially some interesting matter contained in the prefaces, and various important critical observations interspersed among the notes, which the length to which this article has extended compels us reluctantly to omit.

Dr. Burney has in this work displayed indefatigable labour, with a skill and accuracy worthy of the first metrical scholar of his age, and has furnished us with a clue which promises to be the most successful that has yet been offered, to guide us through the intricacies of the choral system. We may be permitted to express our hope that the same labour and skill which we have here witnessed may be directed to the restitution of the other tragic poets, that by the united aid of metrical science and critical sagacity we may at length see the invaluable remains of the Attic stage restored to a state somewhat resembling their original purity. A very estimable feature of the present work, the mention of which we cannot in concluding totally omit, is its candour to other writers, a title to praise which has not always been the ornament of English scholars.

ART. XXII.—*Sketch of the Political History of India, from the Introduction of Mr. Pitt's Bill, A. D. 1784, to the present Date* By John Malcolm, Lieut.-Colonel in the Hon. East India Company's Madras Army, Resident at Mysore, and late Envoy to the Court of Persia. London, 1811. Miller.

“THE trade of Great Britain with India has been a source of continual and enormous loss to the mother country. The revenue has never been sufficient to defray the expense of the civil and military establishments. A balance of revenue, to be remitted through the medium of trade, is a mere delusion; and as no wealth ever has been received from India as a dependency of Great Britain, it is certain none can be expected in future. India is therefore to be considered as a source of perpetual loss to the mother country, and the serious object of the British government ought to be to get rid of it altogether with the least practical inconvenience.” Such are the doctrines supported by the most formidable display of figures, (for what cannot figures be made to support?) which for some time past we have been accustomed to see and to hear maintained in various publications, in private conversation, and in parliamentary debate.

The plans of *great politicians*, like the true lines of beauty, are said to have a natural tendency to a gracefully circuitous course, and in our perplexity to comprehend and follow the chain of reasoning which is supposed to have established these propositions,—we have sometimes been disposed to refer the whole argument to a course of refined patriotism, working in channels purposely veiled from vulgar observation, for the attainment of an important public object. It is sufficiently notorious that the Emperor Napoleon is in the habit of reading or hearing a report on all English publications which are supposed to contain matter for his moral edification or political advantage: and it is obvious that if it were possible to inoculate his Imperial Majesty with the opinion, that among the gross errors of the *ancien regime* none was so prejudicial to the glory of the monarchy and the interests of the great nation, as the incessant blunder of combating England at the farther extremity of the globe, for a possession which is not only worthless to its possessor, but by its undisturbed enjoyment will become, without effort on his part, the most effectual instrument for making war on our finances;—the important service would be rendered of enabling the government of India to disband one half of its army of 150,000 men, and of saving to the crown and to the treasury, the immense expenditure of science, subsidy, and



salary, which is destined to convert Persia\* into a barrier to arrest the designs of Buonaparte against our Indian possessions.

But when in following the various forms which this interesting question has assumed, we discovered a serious proposal for converting this worthless and mischievous possession into an Imperial Dominion for one of our own royal family, the veil was removed; and we had the mortification to find that the propositions which we had been led to investigate, as the objects of serious study,

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\* We believe the following to be a correct summary of our transactions with respect to Persia. Threatened to be overwhelmed by Russia, her sovereign deputed a formal embassy to India, to implore aid, or at least good offices. England being then at peace with Russia, the governor-general (Sir George Barlow) not only refuses aid, but even the assurance that he will recommend the subject to the favourable consideration of His Majesty's ministers. The Embassy distinctly avows that *absolute disengagement* from England must necessarily throw Persia into the arms of France, and the governor-general persists in *absolute disengagement*. Several previous French missions of minor rank to the Court of Persia, were followed by the splendid embassy of Gardanne. Persia did throw herself into the arms of France. Military surveys of the Persian dominions, French intrigue, and French organization, at length disturbed the commercial slumbers of Leadenhall Street, and the parliamentary dreams of Whitehall. An envoy from India and a Royal Mission from England, were simultaneously dispatched for the kingdom of our august ally. The governor-general denounces the Royal Envoy and recalls him, but like Glendower's spirits, he would not come when he was called. The august monarch, corrupt and insatiable, had drained the purse and exhausted the patience of Gardanne; bad news from Austria and Spain had arrived.—His Persian Majesty fairly put himself up to auction to the three, was knocked down, after various biddings, to the Royal Envoy, and the only sort of treaty which poor England for many years has been doomed to make out of India, viz. a *subsidiary treaty*, was concluded, payable in Leadenhall Street or Calcutta, and considerable payments on account were actually made by way of deposit. This, however, was far from satisfying the eastern monarch's rapacity. Impatient for new bribes, he affected to be puzzled at the contending pretensions of the two British envoys, and deputed a respectable messenger, charged with a letter to the British monarch soliciting explanations. We courteously believe the tale, that the French mission had been turned out of Persia before the departure of the messenger: although it is now notorious that although Gardanne had departed, the *man of business* of the mission had remained within the Persian dominions, and in close correspondence with the Persian ministers; and (although Gardanne, April 1811, is now in Spain,) that French agents are probably at this instant in regular correspondence with the court of Teheran. The envoy, however, arrives in England, is treated as an ambassador extraordinary, maintained at the public expense, feasted by the ministers, crammed by the directors and the lord mayor, and being a handsome man, and as we think (for we knew him well) a very agreeable and insinuating diplomatist, as perfect in his art as if he had studied under Lord Chesterfield, he was soon caressed by all the beauty and fashion of England. He set a notable example to the diplomatic characters of our own country, by ingratiating himself precisely with those persons with whom it was to the interest of his mission that he should be well received. It is not, therefore, surprising, that he completely succeeded, and finally departed with the order in his pocket for carrying the *subsidiary treaty* into execution.

Notwithstanding all these arrangements, and the *real* ambassador extraordi-

were nothing more or less than a most ingenious hoax. Now as we have reason to believe that a considerable number of our readers may have been led into a persuasion of the truth of these propositions without discovering the *hoax*, it is a necessary preliminary to any discussion of Indian affairs, to let them into the *joke*; and to hint for their consideration, that the future imperial sovereignty of the Duke of ———, is, or at least may be, rendered really good for something: That a possession which maintains a civil establishment of enormous expense, and an army of 150,000 men,\* and which no perversion of figures can shew to be incapable of maintaining them, (stating the commercial transactions as a distinct concern,) is an object fit to be well managed rather than abandoned: That the said possessions have contributed, and are capable of being made to contribute in an indefinite degree, to the means of our naval superiority, and are at this time producing not only frigates, but ships of the line, (unless this also should be only a good joke) of superior durability to any built in the royal docks: That certain millions in the form of customs, find their way into the English treasury from the produce of the direct trade: And that out of the mass of eighty millions of national disbursement, before which the Rent-Roll of England, unsupported by colonial capital, must sink into dust,—certain other millions to a larger amount than the customs are paid through the commissioners of property tax, excise, &c. &c. from capital derived from these worthless dominions.

nary, whom we dispatched to Persia in company with their returning envoy, we have no doubt that in a few months his Persian majesty will be quite ready for new bribes from the successor of Gardanne. Before we *take leave* of the Persian court, we shall relate an occurrence which took place on the 25th of June, 1810.

Nasir Qolla Khan, late minister to the king's son, in his government of Shiraz returned to court, having resigned his office. On making his obeisance to the king, his majesty accosted him thus: "Where is the money of which you have plundered me in your late employ?—produce your 80,000 to manus" (pounds sterling.) "I have no money," said the old man, "and your majesty knows I have not. I departed poor and honest from the court of Shiraz, because intriguing men prevented me from executing my public duties with efficiency." "Put out his eyes," exclaimed the monster. The wretches in attendance rushed forward, throw him on the ground, and prepared to execute the infernal mandate. "Stop," said the king, "spare his eyes, and give him the *bastinado*." Upwards of a thousand blows were inflicted on the soles of the feet, and the old man more than 74 years of age, frequently fainted without acknowledging the possession of treasure. A few more strokes would have finished his existence, but that was not the object, he was sent away to meditation and the torture of his wounds, to be brought forward in due time to a second trial. This, though unusual to a man of his age, respectability, and rank, is in itself a common occurrence. Such are the manners, and such the morals of the court of our august ally.

\* Malcolm, p. 480.

We will venture also to assert, that in no part of the King's British dominions, are the benefits derived from the capital acquired in India so obvious even to a common observer, as in the very country from which this depreciation of its importance proceeds. A man with his eyes open can scarcely take a step in Scotland without perceiving lands improved, houses built, public works carried on, by gentlemen who but for India might at this moment have been poor but honourable captains in our army and navy. If Scotland has advanced more in fifty years in every species of improvement, than any nation ever before did in two centuries, to India is much of that improvement to be ascribed.

If our readers have had the goodness to follow us thus far, they will be prepared to concede, that in examining the present state of India we have at least proposed to ourselves a subject not altogether unworthy of their attention.

The publication before us exhibits a train of useful facts enabling us to examine the defects and advantages of the actual system of government introduced by Mr. Pitt's bill of 1784, but perhaps from prudential motives, abstains from all consideration of the late commotions in the army, to which it adverts in a cursory way, as a matter of little comparative importance. Now as we are disposed to consider these commotions not so much with a view to the individuals concerned in them, as with reference to the fixed causes which have generated similar events in all times past, and may be liable to produce them in all times to come, it is necessary that we should endeavour to lay before our readers a clear statement of our sentiments on this important subject, before we proceed to discuss the more general considerations which we propose to submit upon the policy and government of our Indian possessions.

The history of the other presidencies, and particularly that of Bombay, which was seized and held for about two years, by the military, in opposition to the civil power, and the mutiny among the European officers in Bengal, under the presidency of Robert Lord Clive, would lead into a field too wide for our limits; we shall accordingly endeavour as much as possible to confine our inquiries to a rapid historical view of the facts which bear on the question, within the scene of the late commotions, namely the presidency of Madras.\*

\* We derive our information on this subject from the numerous pamphlets which have been published on both sides of the question; and the voluminous papers printed for the House of Commons. And we have endeavoured to correct our judgment by conversation with men unconnected with these transactions, who were on the spot at this unfortunate period.

The first germ of the military establishment of the India Company was a warehouse guard, more in the nature of watchmen than of soldiers, for the protection of their property against common theft. In proportion as the increase of this property attracted the attention of the native chiefs, it became necessary to guard it by military resistance against military rapine. If John Bull in the streets of London is attacked in his person, or property, John is not satisfied with parrying the blow, or saving the property;—he generally returns the blow, binds over the aggressor to keep the peace, or seeks for damages in compensation for past injury, and for due security against future aggression. John Bull in India, according to the inevitable course of moral reaction, pursued the same course, and in the ordinary succession of events, which are strange only because they are not examined, was gradually transformed from a pedlar into a prince, or rather into a character compounded of those discordant materials. And this summary, if just, offers a complete moral justification of our Indian acquisitions. Successive acts of self-defence against French intrigue and the outrages of native usurpers, have led to successive acquisitions of territory and influence to Great Britain; and although these usurpers in one and the same treatise, have been *with admirable consistency*, first asserted to be “victorious assassins, consummate traitors, and experienced robbers, more skilled in breaking than in making treaties, and more formidable for their daggers than their swords;” and afterwards qualified as “native princes,”\* standing on the same established principle of right as the old Dynasties of Europe;—we apprehend that in whatever predicament they really stood, we had a perfect moral right, having conquered them in a war aggressive on their part, to bind them down in any manner consistent with our own security. And if the history of our early policy be closely examined, its chief fault will be found to consist in treating the whole of these persons too much like princes, and

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\* These *native princes* or *nabobs* were in truth nothing more than the military governors of provinces under the Mogul; so completely unconnected with the finances, that their jaghires (or salaries) were drawn from other districts. So little permanent was their authority considered, that one of them on leaving Delhi after his appointment, with a piece of witticism that might have cost him his head, departed from the city with his face to his horse's tail, looking, as he said, for his successor. But when, by the combination of Nizam al Mulk and Nadir Shah, the authority of the Mogul was overturned, the deputies by degrees set up for themselves and supported continual struggles with each other for authority by no small number of murders, &c. &c. The reader should consult Mr. Orme's Hist. on these subjects. Nizam al Mulk, by the way, being a little fatigued one day with the number of these *native princes* that came to pay their court, ordered that if any more came to plague him, they should be scourged.

too little like usurpers; or in other words, in a manner too little consistent with our own security.\*

If this is our moral justification, we are sure that no man with a particle of feeling either of morals or humanity, can do other than rejoice at the consequences. Instead of a series of assassinations, wars, massacres, putting out of eyes, and maiming of persons, of which the politics of *these native princes* were compounded,—look at the peace, prosperity, and comparative happiness of Bengal, Bahar, and the Carnatic! No man who has toiled, as we have, through the immense mass of undigested materials from which alone a *real knowledge* of Indian affairs can be derived, will hesitate to acquiesce in the justice of these conclusions.

The first watchmen, however, and the first soldiers, were necessarily subordinate to the lowest clerk. The slow growth of the military establishment did not remove, even in the same slow proportion, the primitive subjection of earlier days. The necessity of farther augmentation led to brilliant military services, and the admixture of a few officers, who had formerly served in his Majesty's army, infused a more dignified conception of the nature of the profession, and a greater impatience at the state of humiliation which the civil or governing power very naturally sought to perpetuate. An esprit de corps was thus generated, which unfortunately set the two branches of the service in systematic opposition to each other. From the days of the ensign-commandant, to those of the lieutenant-general, and commander in chief, the military chief and all his subordinates, in the ordinary course of human feeling, evinced but a cold respect for superiors, who were unfit to direct the military operations; and these superiors, according to the same ordinary course of human frailty, delighted in repressing these feelings, and in governing severely in the exact proportion of the consciousness of their incapacity to govern well.

Still, however, the subordinate officers necessarily felt in what quarters the real authority was lodged; and sought for civil favour as more important and valuable than that of the military chief. The foundations of discipline were sapped in the very act of their construction, by teaching officers to look for reward and advantage to an authority distinct from that which imposed restraint, and inflicted punishment. And the army became an arena for cabal, which we shall have occasion to trace in acts of overt revolutionary violence. In the incessant controversies which ensued, the civil authority constantly supported its cause by a reference to

\* See the very short abstract of pretensions of this nature given in Wilkes's *South of India*, p. 261.

the fixed principles of the British constitution, which place the military in subordination to the civil authority; the serious charge of seeking to invert those principles, was held up in terrorem on every important discussion, and in ordinary cases was sufficient to repress every movement but that of reference to England, for the purpose of defining the respective powers of the contending parties. The decisions from England were such as might be expected from a profound ignorance of the subject among the majority of those who were to decide; and constitute a series of judgments agreeing in no one thing except the steady contradiction of the last to that which had immediately preceded it. Meanwhile neither party appears to have taken a clear view either of the constitutional principle so often quoted, nor of its true application to the points at issue. The British constitution was asserted, and with truth, to have established as a fundamental principle, that the military, (in its nature an instrument,) is subordinate to the civil power. But it escaped observation that the broad division of these powers, which created the reference, has no existence in the theory or the practice of the British constitution.

That happy scheme of government by placing the King at the head of the military as well as the civil authority, establishes a bond of union, which combines and harmonizes the operations of the whole machine.

The profession of a soldier is ennobled, because his King is at the head of it. A general in receiving orders through a secretary of state, does not contemplate the man of pen and ink who sends them, but feels that they are the orders of his King. The officer who is pelted with mud, while the civil power meditates on the propriety of dispersing a mob, venerates the authority which he awaits. It is *the Sovereign* who is to speak through the medium of his civil magistrate, and this consideration sanctifies and exalts the humiliation which he suffers. Neither this bond of union nor any adequate substitute exists in the theory or the practice of the government of India.

It is of little avail to affirm that the law has invested that government with the whole civil and military authority; while the same law renders the assumption nugatory, contradictory, and absurd, by committing the whole judicial power over the army indubitably and exclusively to the commander in chief. The disunion of the two branches of the service is notorious and complete; there is nothing practical that tends to their union, and every thing practical to perpetuate and widen their separation.

We invite an ingenious cotemporary, who discusses the subject without recollecting the facts which we have stated, to compare

this explanation with his own acute analysis of "potential discontent," and to consider whether it does not trace the origin of a predisposition to cabal, with as much probability, as by referring it to a residence in camps, which are generally considered to be rather schools of obedience than furnishing "an atmosphere adapted to relax all just ideas of subordination."

We have chosen thus early to sketch this broad distinction between the principles of the British constitution and the Indian government, because it will be useful; and we request our readers to bear it in mind, in contemplating the facts which we now proceed to state.

It is not our purpose, if our limits would permit it, to exhibit these facts in any great detail, it will be sufficient briefly to notice a few of the most prominent, and we intend to select them impartially.

In the early triumphs of Lawrence, the public has been presented with little of the counteraction which he surmounted. "Give me leave to tell you, gentlemen, that the idea is absurd and impracticable;" said the venerable warrior when goaded past forbearance by the receipt of an unmilitary order. General Joseph Smith, in 1767, when left to his own judgment, achieved over the combined forces of Mysore and the Decan one of the most brilliant victories to be found in the annals of Britain. But the civil government of those days, like the city politicians of the present, criticised the operations, and kindly provided the general with four field deputies to direct them in future.\* The operations of course went on exceedingly ill, and this was of course attributed to General Smith's incapacity;—he was recalled to make room for an officer who had contrived to recommend himself to the civil deputies;—this officer was beaten, the army was on the point of destruction, and General Smith, in spite of cabal, was sent back to save it. In 1776 certain members of the council of government desired to depose the governor: they caballed with Colonel Stuart, the senior officer of the army, seized Lord Pigot, by military force, and revolutionized the government.

We cross for a moment to Bombay, to notice the second edition of the civil deputies, with the consequent disgrace and surrender of their army. We now return to Madras, where in 1784 the civil governor, Lord Macartney, was apprehensive of being superseded by the authority of Mr. Hastings, and determined to resist; he found, however, that General Stuart, the officer com-

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\* Why will not our ministers learn wisdom and send a deputation, with Mr. Wellesley at its head, to aid Lord Wellington?

manding the army, would enforce the order if addressed to him: he therefore seized the general,\* and embarked him for Europe. Sir John Burgoyne, the next in command, instantly flew to camp. The heading of his first order announced his intention. Parole, Stuart; Countersign, Obedience. On farther reflection he seceded from public duty.

We now proceed to trace the causes of the late unfortunate disturbances at Madras.

In 1802 the long experience of practical defects in the provision and conveyance of camp equipage, suggested a plan for committing this care to officers commanding native corps, with an allowance in the nature of contract, avowedly, on the average of peace and war, rather *more than sufficient* to cover the expense, but less, as was supposed, than the charge which had hitherto been incurred. The practical operation of the plan was highly applauded by General Wellesley, now Lord Wellington, and by all officers who had witnessed its effects. In 1807 the commander in chief of the day, Sir John Cradock, and his quarter-master-general, Lieutenant Colonel John Munro, thought they discovered the plan to be defective, and proposed another to be substituted in its room.

It is foreign to our purpose, and inconsistent with our limits, to examine the relative merits of the two plans; after a protracted examination at Madras, and by the supreme government, the latter was ordered to be carried into effect in 1808, without any previous consultation with General Macdowall, then commander in chief.

It may be requisite here to notice, that the constitution of the Indian government leaves it to the option of the directors to give or to withhold from the commander in chief a seat in council. In the preceding government voluminous discussions had arisen between the governor and commander in chief. On some occasions the court had enjoined the discussion of public measures, and on others had disapproved: and the grounds of these variations in judgment were not always obvious to those before the curtain. On the late appointment these discussions were deemed to be troublesome, and the court could think of no better method for preventing their recurrence than excluding the commander in chief from a seat in council.

It is due to the situation in which Sir George Barlow was

\* This is the same person who was the instrument in effecting the revolution of 1776, and the contrast was well described in the broken English of the nabob's second son. "General Stuart catch one Lord—one Lord catch General Stuart."



placed on assuming the government of Madras about the commencement of the year 1808, to notice that a sentiment of deep dissatisfaction had been excited among the officers of the army by what was thought by some persons to be a partial, irregular, and unauthorized\* distribution of military patronage under the preceding government; that the supposed exigences of public finance had drawn from the authorities in England, injunctions of œconomy, urgent, severe, and repeated, which the governments of India were compelled to enforce; and that the various discontents were aggravated by the pressure of reform, which under all circumstances must be an unpopular undertaking:—one of the objects proposed in dissolving the tent contract was œconomy.

General Macdowall excluded from the council, and not consulted on the proposed change in the plan of camp equipage, professed to disapprove it; and his adjutant-general, Colonel Capper, previously to its promulgation, requested an audience of Sir George Barlow, the governor, for the purpose of endeavouring to dissuade him from its adoption, and of recommending a revision of the existing plan. Sir George, apparently for the purpose of shifting from himself the odium of a measure which he understood to be unpopular, put into the hands of Colonel Capper the minute of Sir John Cradock on the subject, and the report of the quarter-master-general, on which that minute was founded. This is the mode by which these documents became known to the officers of the army; and as the latter has been made the ground of much subsequent discussion, we shall devote a few lines to its consideration.

The offensive part of this document was stated to convey the opinion of the quarter-master-general, “that experience had shewn the actual system to be defective, in placing the interests of officers in opposition to their duty;” their interest being to keep their corps in a state unfit for field service, because on actual service the established allowance would be insufficient to cover the expense; and the argument of the objectors was that as “experience had shewn” these things, the inference naturally arose that there actually were officers, who had basely preferred their interests to their duty. Whether this inference was or was not justified by the context, and whether a public officer is bound to state his opinions freely, and ought to be held unassailable on account of these opinions, are not the questions which we at present propose to examine. The report of the quarter-master-general is admitted on all hands to have been strictly a confidential paper. The inference

\* We believe that the appointments of King's officers to the Company's staff were in opposition to the positive orders of the Court of Directors.

above drawn from this report, or a still more qualified inference, was either founded or unfounded. If unfounded it did not constitute the ground of a new measure. If founded, instead of leaving the reproach to stigmatize those who had not deserved it, we think that the obligations of public duty demanded, that the commander in chief should bring to trial and punishment those who had deserved it. We have understood that there was one officer, and only one who ought to have been made an example. But whether founded or unfounded, the act of placing this document on the public records would seem to have been a breach of that confidence, in which it was demanded and received by the commander in chief. And we really must qualify the act of the governor who found it so placed, and exposed it to examination, for the purpose of evading a portion of the responsibility of his own measures, as a proceeding extremely unfair and unjust to its author, who is subsequently represented by Sir George as an officer of the most exalted merit.

Of the conduct of Colonel Capper, who is supposed to have actively promoted its publicity, we must be allowed to express an equal degree of censure. Although unaccompanied by restriction, the office which he held might well be supposed to imply the discreet use of a confidential document; but the imprudence of the adjutant-general does not justify the previous indiscretion of the governor in committing such a paper to a person notoriously adverse to the plan in agitation; an indiscretion the less excusable as the measure was at that moment the order of the supreme government, and did not require that Sir George Barlow should either assume or evade any portion of the responsibility.

Even the court of directors are indignant at the breach of confidence\* by which this paper became public, and fulminate their disapprobation at its unknown author, but it does not appear that the threat has been followed up. The officers who had complained of this report as a calumny, jointly demanded that its author should be brought to military trial, and one of them proposed the alternative that he himself should be tried. The commander in chief hesitated on the existence of legal ground for trial, and took opinions on the subject. The present judge-advocate-general determined in the negative, the late judge-advocate-general in the affirmative. General Macdowall, with a procastination not very candid towards his successor, determined to put the quarter-master-general in arrest, on the eve of his own embarkation for Europe; and to leave to his successor the charge of

\* No. 5, of East India papers, laid before the House of Commons.

this trial of doubtful legality. The quarter-master-general appealed to the superior authority of the government against the arrest as unlawful. The commander in chief denounced as unlawful the appeal itself, as well as the interference of the government, inasmuch as the law had vested in him exclusively all judicial power over the army. He admitted that he was bound to obey the orders of the government, but in the present case, if they should persist, he could only obey under protest of illegality. The order was given, and the quarter-master-general was released; and a practical example was afforded of the mischiefs and absurdities inseparable from the disunion which we have noticed: a positive law was violated, under authority of a law which gives power by implication. But it is argued, that where supreme power is lodged, necessity will always justify its enlarged application; and that necessity is stated to have existed. The commander in chief is affirmed to have abused his powers, and the army is affirmed to have been in a state of ferment which precluded a fair trial of the person accused.

We shall not discuss these assertions; nor should we be disposed to question the ground assumed by the advocates of the government, for proving that, if blamable, he was responsible to his superiors, and not to the officers of the army; and that his conduct was accordingly an unfit subject for trial before a court-martial;—if this argument did not unfortunately prove too much for its authors: for when the officers commanding native corps did complain of Col. Munro's conduct to the court of directors, the government refused to forward their memorial; and the deliberate intention of suppressing it was as deliberately approved by Lord Minto.\* The directors, however, who echo the assertions of Sir George Barlow, that appeals to superior authority are always open, and repeat his admonition to wait their result, do state with a gentle and indirect censure,† that this memorial ought not to have been suppressed.

When General Macdowal was in the act of stepping on board ship, he issued an order of reprimand to Colonel Munro for having appealed to the *Civil Power*, as he chuses to term the government, which order, as well as that in which he took leave of the army, must be admitted by all impartial men to have been highly imprudent, unjustifiable, and inflammatory.

In the routine of business this order did not reach the governor, until the commander in chief had sailed for England, and was

\* East India Papers, No. 5.

† East India Papers, No. 2. A.

nearly out of sight. A general order by government was immediately issued on the 31st January, 1809, dismissing General M. from his office of commander in chief, and suspending from the service Major Boles the deputy adjutant-general, whose signature happened most irregularly to authenticate the copy of the order delivered to the governor; because "the general order in question having been circulated under the signature of the deputy adjutant-general of the army, it must have been known to that officer, that in giving currency to a paper of this offensive description, he was acting in direct violation of his duty to the government, as no authority can justify the execution of an illegal act." Col. Capper, the adjutant-general, on seeing this order, waited on the governor to acknowledge that he alone, and not his deputy, was responsible for every thing done in his office, and in consequence he also was suspended, but without removing the suspension of Major Boles.

We should have deemed it unnecessary to discuss the merits of a question on which we thought the whole English world, including even the court of directors, was agreed, if the guilt of Major Boles, after his acquittal by every competent authority, were not recently affirmed by a most skilful advocate of the Indian government, who very wisely considers the condemnation of that officer to be essential to the justification of Sir George Barlow. We shall accordingly devote a few lines to an explanation of those facts in the case of Major Boles which appear to be the least understood. -1. The Civil Governor of Madras has, subsequently to the seizure of Lord Pigot, also held the independent military commission of governor of Fort St. George.—2. In this latter capacity, and in no other, a copy is sent to him of every order issued by the commander in chief of the forces, for the purpose of being published with his sanction to the troops composing the garrison of Fort St. George, who, according to this new and notable branch of the anomaly so often noticed, are, and are not, under the orders of the commander in chief of the forces.—3. It is the established routine of office, that this copy should be sent by the adjutant-general, if at the presidency, and not by the deputy. A transmission by the latter would be a breach of etiquette amounting to disrespect, not only to the governor, but to his own immediate superior, during whose presence the deputy is as passive an instrument as the pen which he holds. It is also the established routine that this copy should be signed not only by the adjutant-general, but be accompanied by a respectful note of transmission *in his own handwriting*.—4. The copies which the adjutant-general orders to be dispatched without delay, are necessarily in manuscript; the remainder are printed in the course of that or

the ensuing day, and forwarded, when ready, as well to those stations omitted in the first instance, as to those which have received the previous copy, for the purpose of forming a convenient and uniform record in the offices of the staff at out-stations.—5. Major Boles obeyed the directions he received regarding this order, and which are far from unusual, viz. to transmit it in manuscript to the principal stations on the day he received it, and afterwards in print to the subordinate posts. It was inconsistent with the established routine of the office, that he should take any step whatever regarding the copy for Fort St. George.—6. It happened that Major Boles the deputy, and Captain Macdowall the assistant deputy, signed *all* the printed copies, the head clerk having omitted to reserve one, as usual, to be signed by the adjutant-general, for transmission to the governor. When Col. Capper came to the office he discovered and expressed some displeasure at the omission; the head clerk offered to prepare a manuscript copy, but Col. Capper rejected this proposal, and having written the usual note of transmission to the governor, with his own hand dispatched it, accompanied by *one of the copies which had been signed by Major Boles for transmission to the out-stations.*—7. Major Boles did not send, and was in no respect accessory to sending this copy to the governor; and he did not sign it for transmission to the governor.—8. Major Boles is charged in the general order by which he is punished with having “circulated under his signature, and given currency to,” the obnoxious order: this description of the crime, when combined with the facts above stated, applies in its obvious interpretation to the copies which were circulated to the out-stations; but it is in evidence before the House of Commons, that of the copies so circulated, an equal, or nearly an equal, number, were signed by Major Boles who was punished, and Captain Macdowall who was not punished; it must therefore either be admitted that the governor held one person to be innocent and another to be guilty for the commission of one and the same act, (an inference for which his advocates will not be so imprudent as to contend,) or that the act of “circulating under his signature, and giving currency,” was intended peculiarly to apply to the copy certified by his signature, which, in the irregular course already described, came into the hands of the governor. But it has been shewn that Major Boles neither sent this paper to the governor, nor signed it for transmission to him; and consequently that so far as intention constitutes the essence of crime, he had absolutely no concern in the act for which he was punished; a fact which Sir George Barlow might easily have ascertained by the sacrifice of five minutes devoted to previous inquiries, or by reflecting that the note of

transmission was in the handwriting of Col. Capper. We have procured specimens of these two hands; it is next to impossible that a person who had once seen them, should mistake the one for the other, and we are at a loss to account for this unfortunate oversight.

We have adverted strongly to the *intention* of Major Boles, because we are assured that he was a member of no faction, that he participated in no one sentiment of General Macdowall, and that he considered himself (and as we understand with reason) ill-treated by that general on being superseded\* by Col. Capper, a gallant officer and an honorable man, but possessing claims and qualifications for the office of adjutant-general, every way inferior to those of Major Boles. It may hence be inferred, without any imputation injurious to the latter officer, that these circumstances might somewhat detract from his cordiality with his immediate principal, render him more jealously passive in his conduct, and more cautious of any act that might be construed into a deviation from the strict routine of military obedience. We have heard it objected to Major Boles, that he ought to have shewn the order to Sir George Barlow before it got into circulation. If he had not been restricted by the course of strict neutrality and passive obedience which his situation imposed; and if the suggested measure be considered with reference, not to his strict duty as a military officer, but as the bold and judicious interposition of a citizen and a man, we readily admit that the attempt would have been laudable, even at the obvious risk of its being treated both by his immediate principal, and by Sir George Barlow, as the impertinent interference of an irresponsible underling. But we are of opinion that this interference, if proper, ought to have been adopted at an earlier date, namely, three days before, when General Macdowall published to the army, in the form of a farewell order equally obnoxious and inflammatory, his

\* It is very remarkable that this occurred on the dismissal, by order of the Court of Directors, of the adjutant-general and his deputy, (Major Boles being then assistant adjutant-general) for not having given good advice to the commander in chief. Sir George Barlow had certainly a good precedent for the inversion of military relations. But the coincidence does not stop here. The Directors have reluctantly admitted that they acted under an erroneous impression of the facts (such as they were) for which these gentlemen were punished; and one of them, Col. Agnew, has been sent back (but without any compensation for the injuries he has sustained) to resume his office. Sir George Barlow, apparently feeling the coincidence, has refused to obey the order of the Court of Directors, because it was conditional, "provided he," their inferior, "should approve the order."

Surely there must be something radically imperfect in the constitution of a system of government which generates such proceedings.

accusation of the Court of Directors, (and through them of his Majesty's ministers, vested with indisputable control in this case,) for having withheld from him his supposed rights, and from the army the absurdly assigned privilege of possessing a representative in the board of government. In whatever manner the duties of Major Boles as a soldier or a subject might have prescribed interference with regard to this first order, which was published in Fort St. George, with the sanction of the governor; he could not reasonably have inferred, with regard to the subsequent order, that the governor, who had suffered with impunity the publication of an insult on the superior authorities of the state, should visit with greater severity an offence against his own inferior and delegated power. We have little to observe on the skill which would confound for the purpose of identifying Major Boles's own defence of his conduct on the principles of military subordination, with the arguments of a most insubordinate and mutinous memorial addressed, but never transmitted, to Lord Minto, (the production of one of those hot-headed and incapable youths to whom the late melancholy insurrection may chiefly be ascribed;) because a passage in each of these most opposite productions happens to advert to the received practice regarding the authority of the commander in chief in nearly similar terms; and because the foolish and guilty production which has been described, and which Major Boles certainly had not seen, is stated to have been written, in point of time nearly a month before his able and respectful defence of his own conduct. To refute this left-handed ingenuity, it is abundantly sufficient to have noticed it. The supplementary crime ascribed as an after-thought to Major Boles, namely, that conscious of innocence he declined to plead guilty, supposes so total a want of every feeling which ought to animate an officer and a gentleman, that his later and more judicious accusers have thought proper to slide gently and skilfully past it.

The first principle of military subordination, which was shaken by the doctrines of the order punishing Major Boles for not deliberating on the propriety of obedience, necessarily excited the greatest ferment among the officers of the army; of whom it is stated that his Majesty's officers were generally the most forward in shewing their personal indignation, by refusing with contempt all invitations to the table of the governor.

Memorials on various topics of real or alledged grievance had previously been in circulation; and among them one, which had been sanctioned by the officers of some of his Majesty's corps which had served in Bengal, praying to be placed on equal allowances with the corps on that establishment. We state with grief and reluctance, that the general conversation, tone, and

manner of the late commander in chief, General Maccowall, had not been such as to discourage these improper combinations. He seems to have been very naturally irritated at his exclusion from the council; and very absurdly to have sought for compensation of this loss of consequence, by becoming the head and the organ of a discontented military party. But when a private remonstrance from Sir George Barlow had forced this particular memorial on his attention, he succeeded in causing his Majesty's officers to withdraw their signatures; and it was presented with those of the Company's officers, who had previously acceded to it. Strenuously deprecating as we do the consequences of combinations of any kind among men with arms in their hands, we cannot pass over without holding up to public admiration the profound remarks of the Court of Directors on the prayer of this petition. It is notorious, as we understand, that all the necessaries of life are on a moderate average 50 per cent. cheaper at Bengal than at Madras, while the allowances are considerably greater. The prayer of the petition was for an equality of allowance. The Directors observe, "that the persons nominated to appointments are aware of the inequalities;"—that "the style of living has accommodated itself to the scale of income." That equality of one thing implies an equality of all things, and as the Madras officers have had quicker promotion, in consequence of more numerous casualties, we suppose the officers of Bengal have of course a fair claim to be knocked on the head in the same proportion. Moreover "these allowances are not calculated with reference to what other men receive, but in reference to the means of the governing powers;"—(we did not before know that the resources of every part of India were not equally applicable to the service of every other part;) and "the Government has an undoubted right, legal and moral, to decide consistently with the principles of justice. The Company have always resisted the idea of a general equalization of allowances of the different Presidencies" (such an expectation is distinctly held out in the regulations of 1796) "as not founded on right or reason, or the nature of things." Now of all this reasoning, we think it quite sufficient to observe first, that boys of 16 are not exactly aware of the inequalities in the service when they are appointed; and although, undoubtedly a man must necessarily "accommodate the style of his living to the scale of his income," that maxim of prudence does not appear to us to be a very conclusive argument to prove the justice or the policy of placing two departments of the same army, holding precisely the same rank, governed by the same rules of service, and exposed to the same hazards, on a widely different footing with respect to emolument. Nor can we discover any thing either in *right*, or *reason*, or the *nature of*



things, which forbids that their condition should be in every respect equalized.

The draft of another highly improper memorial which we have already noticed, was also in *circulation*; it was addressed to Lord Minto, and prayed, among other things, for the removal of Sir George Barlow; but as a memorial signed, *presented*, or *transmitted*, it never had existence. This, however, is the document which is first noticed in the G. O. of the 1st of May, and which, together with all other reprehensible proceedings, are referred by Sir George to a date posterior to the departure of General Macdowall, or in other words, to the date of his own very obnoxious punishment of Major Boles.\* The second is a letter addressed to Major Boles, offering the aid of his brother officers to compensate his pecuniary privations, and a promise to assist all others who might be similarly circumstanced; a pledge which indicated a species of combination highly reprehensible. The acceptance of this aid from an immilitary combination is the only trait in the conduct of Major B. which we think can be said at all to detract from the high tone of honourable and independent feeling which he had otherwise uniformly sustained. But as men we do not pronounce the condemnation of another because he is not exempt from the frailties of humanity: because destitute of fortune, and deprived of the means of subsistence, he accepted aid in a questionable shape rather than see a beloved family perish for want of food.† By the order of the 1st of May, 1809, five officers of rank were suspended the service, and four were removed from the staff.—The long and declamatory exposition of facts, which this order assumed to be ascertained, regarding the persons who prepared and circulated the obnoxious papers, is now generally understood to be absolutely unfounded in its most essential parts: and we will here notice, by way of episode, that the Court of Directors, before the arrival of these officers in England, and before any one of them had been heard in his defence either in England or in India, proceeded to determine that they should be finally dismissed from their service: and in conformity to a bye law to that effect, appointed a day for proceeding to the act of dismissal! The solemn protests of a few upright and enlightened men, arrested this resolution of the majority; and its authors are now endeavouring

\* Col. Capper was permitted to go to England, Major Boles was refused, the former, with his commander in chief, was lost on the voyage.

† Although these misfortunes have we understand involved Major Boles in much embarrassment, we conscientiously believe him at this moment to be as well disposed as any man in any country to support the cause of regular authority against insurrectionary violence of any description: and certainly after all he has been made to suffer, this is no slight praise.

to explain away an act, which appears to us as contrary to British justice, as it is to every candid and impartial feeling that should animate the breast of a Government. Major Boles who was absolutely unconnected with any of the discontents in India, and guilty not even of imprudence nor of any fault civil or military, after two years expended in balloting twelve against twelve, has at length obtained a qualified decision in his favor. The case of the other suspended officers might seem to involve a pretext for more of doubt, but the fire was expended on the innocent, and they also are restored; and surely it must be a heavy fault that is not more than sufficiently punished by the torture of two years of suspense, and the ruin of all their prospects in life. Before we quit the subject of suspension we must express our doubts concerning the legal existence of such a power at present. We do not, however, contend against the propriety of conferring it; on the contrary, if it do not legally exist, we think that it ought to be conferred.— But the right of suspending and sending across the Atlantic, which is in itself a severe punishment, ought to be restrained in its operation by the certainty of an immediate and open trial on the arrival of the party in England.

We return to Sir G. B.'s order of the 1st of May, 1809. This new effort of power increased and extended the prevailing discontent; but the flame became violent and almost universal on the arrival and publication of a dispatch from Lord Minto, the governor-general, dated the 29th May. In 95 \* long-drawn paragraphs his lordship exhausts the oratory of the senate, the ~~ingenuity of diplomacy~~ and the skill of special pleading, in commenting on the draft of a memorial which some person or persons had maliciously intended to transmit to him, the said governor general. He revises and extols the course of measures which unhappily had subverted all order, discipline, and harmony; and after recognizing the general principle that a military officer is bound to obey the orders of his superior without regard to its quality, first, restricts this obligation to ordinary times; secondly, denies it in extraordinary times; thirdly, pronounces the officer himself to be the judge of what is ordinary and what extraordinary: and lastly, that the whole argument is very delicate and doubtful. The effects of this shewy but unsubstantial piece of argument were truly mournful. The sound thinkers perceived the foundations of discipline to be irretrievably subverted: those who think little, or but little to the purpose, (and they are always the mass,) found in these arguments a defence of all the violence which afterwards ensued,

and quoted and applied them in support of disobedience and sedition in a way that would be truly ludicrous, if the effects were not too lamentable for a jest. From step to step they had been led to the brink of rebellion, and that crisis was not averted by the plan for separating the officers from the men, on the refusal of the former to subscribe a test, the expediency of which it is not our intention to discuss.

We stop again in justice to Sir George Barlow to observe, that however justly he may be considered as having inflamed the existing discontents by the unfortunate error in his conception and treatment of the case of Major Boles, yet viewing the crisis at which our narrative has now arrived, the question was narrowed to the view of insurrection alone; and no sound statesman possessing the means of coercion will hesitate to employ it against insurrection.— From that moment to the final extinction of the mutiny, we are disposed to confer unqualified approbation on the decisive and energetic measures of Sir G. B.; he seems to have risen with the occasion, and to have resolved to the best of his abilities to make the “*amende honorable*” for the share he might possibly have had in producing the mischief.

Open hostility ensued at one station (Serlingapatam), and a general hostile movement was impending, when a proclamation by Lord Minto, indicating conciliation and inquiry, afforded to the well-meaning a pretext for recalling the misguided mass to duty and submission; an event which had been accelerated by the noble and magnanimous efforts of General Close to stem the torrent of disaffection at Hyderabad. We have now reached the period of Lord Minto's arrival at Madras, and his judgment on a set of unfortunate men who had met his declarations of conciliation and lenity with unqualified and unconditional submission. In a G. O. dated the 25th September, spun out according to the staple of his lordship's manufacture, into the length of a second-rate pamphlet, he assigns his reasons for selecting for punishment 21 officers. If the army instead of absolute and unconditional submission had been found in a state of flagrant and active opposition to Government, and had been subdued by actual force, it might have been a fair subject for calculation what number would have satisfied his lordship's sense of justice. After a lengthened parade of mercy in contracting this “*melancholy list*,” he proceeds to declare an amnesty to all the rest, “*not granted in the narrow spirit of mere pardon—but of total and sincere oblivion—a full restoration of confidence and esteem.*” So far as we have had the opportunity of examining the public orders, and private correspondence of later date, this ample pledge has been consistently redeemed; no trace of the malignant passions has polluted the public measures

of the Government; the moral humiliation and broken spirit of these unhappy men have been wounded by no marks of wanton triumph; and it was but by an accident that nearly twelve months after this *total and sincere oblivion*, when time had begun to soften mutual asperities, and Sir Samuel Achmuty had assumed the command of the army in an order full of good sense and moderation, — Sir George Barlow tore open the half-closed wounds, and published in General Orders the angry and severe remarks of the Court of Directors on the conduct of the officers, written under the recent impression of their former misbehaviour. This fact exceeds a volume in describing the character of this extraordinary governor.

Much as we have exceeded our proposed bounds, it is essential, that we should notice the trials of some of those whom Lord Minto publicly declares *before trial*, to be *intended for punishment*; because the incidents have a direct relation to those fundamental principles of the present system, which most imperiously require to be examined. On the very uncommon if not unlawful tone of interference with one court-martial before its sentence was confirmed, it is not our intention to enlarge, nor to detail the proofs of extraordinary ignorance of facts under which the operations of government were directed, farther than to notice that the sentence upon Lieutenant-Colonel Doveton, one of the officers *intended for punishment*, declares him to be *not guilty* of any of the crimes of which he was charged and *most honourably* acquits him of the whole. The career had been commenced by punishment without trial; when the feelings excited by these punishments had led to the actual commission of crimes, it was then ostentatiously announced that trial by court-martial should be restored:—but when *honourable acquittal* was pronounced, the government reverts to its first principle of condemnation independent of trial, and after publishing the honourable acquittal of Colonel Doveton by the sentence of a court-martial, announces his suspension from the service by the sentence of the governor-general.

We are not the ordinary advocates of Sir George Barlow or of Lord Minto, for we consider them as perfectly identified, but we will attempt to rescue them from some portion of the universal obloquy which has been excited in England by this proceeding. It belongs, in fact, as much to the system as to the men, and we are aware of hazarding our credit with merely British readers, by affirming that it is neither unprecedented nor uncommon. We have no room for numerous examples, and shall therefore adduce recent ones;—Governor Lord Hobart, now Lord Buckinghamshire, suspended Colonel Oliver contrary to the sentence of a

court-martial in 1795. Governor Lord William Bentinck suspended Captain Johnson contrary to the sentence of a court-martial in 1805.

We repeat that this anomaly belongs as much to the system as to the men; and as the best proof of this opinion, we have selected our examples from the administration of two noblemen for whose public character and private virtues we entertain the highest respect. The existence of such proceedings under the government of such men, furnishes the best proof that it is the system itself which requires revision at the approaching renewal of the charter.

We have now given a brief sketch of the unfortunate disturbances in the Madras army. We have brought under contemplation. 1. A body of officers, who, considering their fair views and objects in life, might justly have felt some discontent at any diminution or inequality in their pecuniary emoluments. 2. A commander-in-chief, irritated by an unaccustomed, and as we think an injudicious slight, instead of standing on the high alternative of tendering his resignation, or insisting upon the same privileges with his predecessors, descending to the low and unjustifiable measure of courting popularity with a discontented army, by fostering their complaints, and inflaming their real or supposed injuries. 3. We have seen a governor injudicious enough unwittingly to second this mischievous project, by acts approaching to outrage upon the feelings of the officers:—and lastly, we have described the steps by which these officers, (we verily believe against their original intentions,) were goaded, in hopes that each step would be the last necessary for attaining their object, into a wicked and unnatural mutiny. Here we drop the curtain, and earnestly desire, that the past may be for ever buried in oblivion with the exception of the conduct of those, who, like General Clive, (with no share of the blame, but with a presence of mind, fortitude, and magnanimity, not commonly to be found,\*) nobly risked their lives in stemming the torrent. We now proceed to the consideration of Mr. Pitt's bill.

The leading principle of government inculcated in this bill, is the plan which Colonel Malcolm not unaptly describes by the terms "neutral or defensive policy;" and in the contemplation of an

\* We believe it is not generally known, that this gallant officer, in his attempt to quell the mutiny at Secanderabad, (of which he gives so modest an account in his letter to General Gowdie) actually went the length of offering his naked breast to the swords of the mutinous soldiery, in hopes of restoring them to duty by the feelings which such an action from a man so highly respected by them was calculated to excite.

approaching revision of the law, we shall take the liberty of examining the principle on which this parliamentary doctrine is founded.

There is no question on which ordinary statesmen, and even those who are somewhat elevated above the rank of newspaper politicians, have wasted so much rhetoric as in confounding the relations of private morals and political duty. We shall endeavour to unravel this confusion and to render the distinction intelligible. The political agent man is unquestionably responsible to his Maker as a moral agent; but the grounds of that responsibility are totally distinct from those of the moral individual. The *paramount duty of a statesman* is comprized in the charge of the Roman senate to its chief magistrate in the hour of peril "ne quid republica detrimenti capiat," *To preserve the state.* He is responsible to his Maker for *regulating* his charge according to the immutable principles of justice, but to *preserve* his charge is his *first* duty to his Maker and to his country. He must not be guilty of political suicide. The venerable author,\* who has sanctified the doctrine of morals and politics by an invariable reference to the will of God, proposes an extreme case in which this political suicide may be averted even by the sacrifice of public faith: but we are disposed to suspect that the extreme case can scarcely occur except as the consequence of a previous departure from good faith, wisdom, or justice. The perfect statesman will avert such collision of duties: but still the *safety of the state is his first object and paramount duty*, and there cannot be two paramount and conflicting duties. The distinction will be rendered more plain by considering moral man as agent for himself, political man as the representative of others; moral man as an individual, political man as a state personified. In morals the individual contemplates an hereafter. Felicity is his end, and virtue his means. In controversy with his neighbour, he considers what is virtuous, and worthy of himself, without reference to the possible conduct of his neighbour, not only because it is his duty so to do, but because independently of an hereafter, temporal justice is above both, and will redress eventual injury. The concerns of a state, considered as a state, are exclusively temporal, its end is safety, its means strength. The body politic, in controversy with its neighbour, stands on different grounds, there is no temporal power to administer justice and redress wrongs; it therefore necessarily seeks for prosperity as the means of safety. In morals the individual, when oppressed, has in his deepest humiliation some dependance

as a last resource on the compassion of his enemy. The body politic has no resource in compassion; the parties are reciprocally destitute of heart, and cannot grapple with the affections. In morals the individual acts with reference to virtue, because justice is attainable; in politics with reference to power, because for want of an earthly arbiter justice is unattainable. A state that desires to be preserved must therefore seek to be powerful, there are no other secondary means of preservation; but because offensive, (in the qualified sense which we intend of not waiting for attack,) it is not necessarily unjust; on the contrary, *regulated* as we have already explained, it does not assail except when its safety is threatened; it does not depress others beyond the necessity of its own preservation.

Worldly power is necessarily relative; it is therefore a fluctuating principle; its immediate object is prevalence as its only means of being stable; power, therefore, is in its tendency an offensive principle. It is clear that power cannot be stationary while all around is in motion without losing its relative level, and submitting to the prevalence of others instead of asserting its own. States are but so many personifications of power. A state, therefore, which in order to be tranquil and secure, resolves to keep, and not to acquire, while all surrounding states are intent upon acquisition, is about as rational as the man who shuts his eyes in order that he may see; to be safe it excludes the only means of safety; it *passively* promotes foreign aggrandizement and thus solicits attack by renouncing the means of attack. The Roman empire never began materially to diminish until the neutral policy of Augustus determined that it should never increase.

The advocates of a system which solicits attack, have an earlier authority than Mr. Pitt's bill; and a prominent example may be found of its effects in India, immediately preceding that legislative enactment. The growth of the house of Hyder was steady, rapid, and notorious for twenty years previous to the war of 1780; its progress had been regularly and accurately described, its successive conquests and aggrandizements distinctly reported, and the danger broadly foretold; the orders from England were almost in the words of Mr. Pitt's bill, deprecating all interference with the ambitious schemes of the native powers. As Hyder's resources increased, those of the Company were proportionably diminished; his relative strength became their relative weakness. The storm burst; they had renounced the right to repel twenty years of substantial aggression and impending danger, because yet beyond the geographical frontier. They would not acquire, and now they could not keep. The British empire in the south had been reduced to the last gasp of existence. It had

emerged from the brink of the grave, with the shroud yet encircling its head, and its wounds still rankling from the result of past errors. At such a period, in the face of facts notorious and intelligible to all who chose to understand, British India was positively directed to solicit new attacks by similar means. Popularity was necessary to the minister of the day; the multitude was misled by the same ignorant sophistry, with respect to the politics of India, as that, which now are sometimes used, though it was then prompted by more interested motives,\* and a law was to be framed on the assumption of that very confusion of ideas which we have deemed it necessary to separate.

We proceed to examine the consequences of the law. Lord Cornwallis, who was appointed governor-general in 1786, saw, at an early period, the danger to be apprehended from the power and restless ambition of Tippoo Sultaun, and the necessity of preparing alliances for the contest, which he perceived to be not only inevitable, but absolutely necessary to the future safety of the British possessions. The Nizam was the first prince to whom he addressed himself. An offensive treaty with this prince, dated in 1768, provided for the conquest and possession of Hyder's dominions by the Company, and its execution had been prohibited by orders from England. In the course of his lordship's negotiations with the Nizam it was necessary to explain an article of the treaty of 1768, which provided for aiding him with a certain military force. The meaning of this article was now explained; and it was made a condition, that the force in question should not be employed against any powers in alliance with the Company, every one of whom was enumerated, with the single exception of Tippoo Sultaun. Now Tippoo Sultaun had a treaty of peace and amity with the Company, and this exclusion, by the revival of an offensive treaty, was a virtual declaration of hostility. But this was not all; the instrument to which we advert, was not a regular treaty, (which Lord Cornwallis informs the Nizam, he was prevented from entering into by the laws of his country, and the injunctions of the King and Company of England;) it was a *letter* (dated 1st July, 1789) which his lordship declared to be equally binding on the British nation as a regular treaty. Here then is the nobleman, whose moderation and neutral policy are the theme of general admiration, in the first important act of his government,

\* The company's civil servants knew, that so long as a set of native usurpers, or as they were then also termed *native princes*, were permitted to contend in India with each other for power, means (well known at that time in the East) were open to the Company's servants of procuring rapid fortunes, by ably supporting the pretensions of each usurper.



not only feeling the necessity of violating the law, but aggravating the violation by a flimsy and clandestine evasion. When the aggression of Tippoo on Travancore, in the same year, induced Lord Cornwallis to act with a spirit and decision which will always do honor to his memory, he determined to negotiate for the aid of the Mahrattas. They were naturally alarmed at the prospect of being themselves attacked in the event of our success against the common enemy; they perceived our power to stand on a respectable level, and imagined that its increase would endanger their own. The act of parliament prohibiting conquest and aggrandizement was produced as the answer to this objection. The argument actually prevailed; and it is notorious that the Mahrattas considered the point as established, not only that they were safe against aggression from us, but free to carry on their own schemes of aggrandizement, without interruption or remonstrance. And such was the positive result. Lord Cornwallis permitted Madajee Scindia to possess himself of the empire of Delhi, to conquer Hindostan, and to establish on the Company's frontier, a power much more formidable than that of Tippoo. But Madajee Scindia understood the neutral policy; he did not pass the frontier, *because he was not ready*; and the danger was suffered to accumulate, because while the frontier was inviolate, his lordship was at liberty to lose his level in the scale of powers, and to contemplate with apathy the organization of the means of his own destruction. The Mahrattas did not stop here: on the departure of Lord Cornwallis in 1793, a pretext was made by the state of Poona, directed and supported by the whole power of Scindia, for attacking the Nizam; and here the policy of British India was not only neutralized but emasculated. The contending states were parties to the triple alliance by which the power of Tippoo had recently been arrested and reduced: and Tippoo was now in open and notorious communication with the Mahrattas for the eventual extinction of the power of the Nizam.

Under this critical aspect of affairs, the efforts of the governor-general, Sir John Shore, were directed to a verbal criticism of the terms of the triple alliance, for the purpose of deciding on the obligation to assist the state which was thus threatened with extinction. The question was, not whether British India was to be safe, but whether a doubtful bit of paper authorized it to be safe. He was afraid of giving offence to the Mahrattas, whose jealousy he conceived would be excited by any engagement which should improve our alliance with the Nizam, and thus consolidate our strength. The apprehension of the jealousy of rivals is a mighty engine of the neutral policy; as if the discovery of fear did not, by an universal law of nature, instead of averting,

inevitably produce the apprehended evil. But the governor-general had another and more rational fear, the fear of the law. He knew "that\* the disputes which were made the pretext of this rupture were easy of adjustment;" he knew that "if † the Mahrattas should proceed to extremities against the Nizam, it could only be with a view to annihilate the independence of his authority," and that ‡ he must sink under the attack. Our § political consequence might, he conceived, lose something of its importance in the estimate of the native powers, by leaving the Nizam to his fate;" but the letter of the treaties already existing, did not, as he thought, authorize our support, and the act of the legislature expressly prohibited an interference which might involve us in hostility. "He appears, however, (says Col. M.) to have strongly felt (as Lord Cornwallis had done before) the injury and danger to which our interests might be eventually exposed, from the operation of the restrictions of the act of 1793.

A war was commenced (in 1794); an action was fought which prostrated the Nizam at the feet of the Mahrattas; his extinction as a power was absolutely in their hands. But they paused at trusting neutral policy to such an extent: they disbelieved the extreme folly of our shivering in a defensive posture, until the mine should be ready to explode under our feet; and an arrangement was concluded, by which, without dethroning the Nizam, they thought that they had ensured the gradual and unobserved annexation of his dominions to the Mahratta states.

The Nizam considered himself, and with reason, deluded and betrayed by the English alliance; he had no resource against the Mahrattas and Tippoo Sultaun, but throwing himself into the arms of France. The English auxiliary force, which had abandoned him in the hour of peril, was dismissed from his dominions; a regular army, officered by Frenchmen, was formed on the basis of some corps which had been previously organized, and a regular grant of territory was allotted for its support. The contiguity of this territory to that of the Company, and the establishment of a French force at its door, did, however, alarm the neutral policy; and a plain intimation was given even by Sir John Shore of the necessity of advancing a British force to the frontier. But it evaporated in words; and the lesson did not seem to have been taught, that all this danger might have been averted by an adherence to the principles of good faith and self-preservation.

Nearly in this state Lord Mornington found the relations of

\* Malcolm, p. 151.

† ——— p. 159.

† p. 152.

§ p. 159.

British India, on his arrival in that country in 1798. The death of the Peishwa and of Madajee Scindia, had in the intermediate period produced internal commotions in the Mahratta states, which had averted the intended annexation of the dominion of the Nizam; and that prince was thus allowed the opportunity of augmenting and improving his regular French force. Dowlut Row Scindia, the successor of Madajec, had seized the old minister at Poona, usurped the whole power of that government, and was busied in organizing a dominion which now extended from the mountains of Cumason to the banks of the Toombuddra. The regular military force in his service and that of the Nizam was not merely officered by Frenchmen, and paid by the state which they served, but extensive territories were surrendered for their payment, of which the French commandants possessed the exclusive rule, civil and military; and for all the purposes of regular government were much more effectually the sovereigns, than the princes who conferred them were of the remainder of their territory. It was of little comparative moment, as it regarded the British power, in what manner the French chiefs might be enabled to avert the future collision of the powers which they served. The fact was broad, notorious, and incontestible, that Mysore, the Decan, the whole of the Mahratta states, including Hindostan: in a word, every thing that touched the British possessions from Cape Comorin to the pillars of Alexander, *was effectually and decidedly French.* The means were prepared, the combinations obvious and easy, and nothing was required but the presence of an European French force by land or by sea, and an able head to direct the operations, for the destruction of the whole fabric of our Indian power in two campaigns. We invite such of our countrymen as possess the requisite information, to pause at this proposition, to examine whether it be disputable; and to reflect that the whole was the result of a policy, solemnly prescribed by an act of the British legislature.

A governor-general unshackled by such restrictions would have entered upon the whole question at once; not for the purpose of attacking at once a combination which must inevitably have overwhelmed him; but for determining the order in which the different branches of danger should be most conveniently assailed in succession. There is reason to believe, that the terror of the law prevented Lord Mornington (now Lord Wellesley,) from so considering the question; but, however this may be, the order which necessity imposed, was that which wisdom would have sanctioned. The French force at Hyderabad was replaced by an English one, and Tippoo was destroyed. Thus far public approbation followed his measures; but when, in the inevitable course of events, the

greater and infinitely more formidable danger was to be removed, when by a series of brilliant achievements the work was actually done, and nothing remained to be performed, but that the workman who had combined the materials, should give the last polish of the master's hand;—then the demon of neutral policy reared once more its frightful, and affrighted head; its horrid, senseless, and portentous screams were re-echoed from Downing Street to Leadenhall Street, and from Leadenhall Street to Downing Street, and called from the retreat of age and honour the venerable nobleman who deserved a better fate, than to be thus compelled to outlive his former self, and to be exhibited in a situation in which his best friends could contemplate death as the event most favourable to his glory.

We would willingly bury in oblivion the state of mental imbecility in which this wreck of every thing great and noble was induced to declare on a question of that description, which one of our greatest statesmen pronounced to be almost the only justifiable ground of war, that it was *BUT a mere point of honour*,\* and that he would concede it, to conciliate a chief (Scindia) who had violated the law of nations, plundered the British representative at his court, and at this very time detained him as a prisoner in his camp. The dissolution of the alliances which we had formed, and the abandonment of our allies to the fury of their enemies, were measures meditated, but not effected, when death interposed to expunge the last scene of the drama, and to leave to the principal actor but the remembrance of his early fame.

Sir George Barlow succeeded by a provisional appointment to be governor-general of British India. Lord Lake was still in the field; and under the proper authority, adjusted the points at issue with Scindia by a new treaty, in every way honourable, moderate, and advantageous. He had, with the perfect concurrence of Scindia, stipulated for the river Chumbul, as the boundary of the Company's possessions and dependencies: 1st, as a definite line to prevent litigation; 2d, as including a principal pass into Hindostan, contained in the small territories of the Raja of Boondce, whose uniform friendly conduct during the late hostilities rendered it a point of national honour, to protect him against the vengeance of the enemies whom he had thereby created. Other conclusive reasons for this line of demarcation, which our limits do not permit us to detail, were also assigned by his lordship; and he gave it as his opinion, that no secure or honourable peace could be concluded with Holcar (with whom we were still

ness, prosperity, and subordination among them. Let our readers then declare, whose love of *morality* is most sincere, those who, under its cloak would adopt the former plan for very questionable purposes, or those who, without a possibility of private views, would accelerate the latter.

We have affirmed that the work was done,\* and required but the nicer remaining touches of the master's hand, when neutral policy breathed poison and dissolved the fabric. We will now add, that another war is necessary to repair the mischief. This at first view is an alarming proposition; but we desire our country to look manfully at the question. The work is easy and certain, if manfully undertaken; and we proceed to shew that another war is both just and indispensable, for placing British India in that state of internal safety in which it may be fit to contemplate invasion from abroad.

If it be objected, as we know it will, that the present state of the finances is unfavourable to such an undertaking, we answer, that there is no pressure on the finances, excepting what Leadenhall Street (and the strange execution of its orders abroad) has created, and may remove. A considerable proportion of the debt created by the necessary removal, (which we have described,) of the danger created by neutral policy, was payable at certain periods and with certain restrictions, either in England or in India, at the option of the public creditor; and bore an interest of 8 per cent.

The court of directors was alarmed at the possibility of too large a portion of this debt being demanded at one time in England, and adopted measures to prevent it, which have exactly produced the evil they were intended to avert. New loans were opened at the same rate of interest, in which the paper of the former loans was received at par, while cash was only received at a premium, the object being to receive paper in preference to cash. The remittance also of interest to England was rendered more favourable, as an inducement to the holders of paper in the old loans to subscribe to the new, under the essential change of another condition, namely, that the principal should be payable in India only. This inducement did operate to a large extent, and a limited amount of cash for paying off in succession such as did not like the transfer, accelerated the success of the measure. But no sooner was this loan closed, than another was opened, and the concealed intent of the whole measure was unveiled, namely, the reduction of the interest to six per cent.

Now it is of the essence of a fair compact, that the parties

\* By Lord Wellesley's wars.

should reciprocally have a fair and full understanding of the terms; one of the parties to this bargain did understand that he was giving up the beneficial right of receiving his principal in England, in consideration of receiving the same interest at a more favourable rate of remittance. It is quite certain (and no man in England or in India will be so profligate as to deny it,) that if the true intent had been made known of immediately manœuvring the reduction of interest to 6 per cent., there was no individual, no not one, of the holders of the old paper, who would have subscribed it to the new loan. Every man would either have received payment in cash, or have demanded the other alternative of bills on England for the principal. The government, therefore, obtained possession of the property of individuals, by the concealment of the most essential condition of the compact. The bonds of absences lodged in the treasury, according to the terms of the loans, under the responsibility of government, not to be alienated without a special power of attorney, were alienated under the general power left with their agents, under the pretext, that "the bonds were not alienated," but the consideration paid, and the agent was free to subscribe it to another loan. This may be law, but it is very bad common sense, and still worse common faith; it is however by no means strange that the agents, who had a double commission on the transactions, should be marvellously obsequious to the views of the government. The result of the whole has been the complete destruction of public confidence and credit; and every man who was so fortunate as to keep his old bonds, has now demanded a remittance for the principal; we understand that the whole registered debt of Bombay will be so demanded. The Company has come down to Parliament, and must again come down for relief, to meet this very pressure, which may with the utmost facility be relieved by reverting to the compact which has been violated. It is true, that in the state of things which they have thus forced, it will be necessary to evade or postpone the payments in England; but this object is easily accomplished by offering to the creditors a fair alternative which the court of directors know to be easy of adjustment. It is necessary to add that 8 per cent. is rather below the average rate of interest in India, in ordinary times, 12 per cent. being the maximum recoverable at law. At the period alluded to, the trade from one part of India to another had been completely suspended by the activity of the privateers from the Mauritius, and a vast amount of commercial capital had, for want of better employment, been vested in Company's paper. The excess of circulation lowered the rate of interest, and facilitated the operations which have been described. The capture of the Mauritius will place this trade on the footing

of a peace trade, and unlock the whole of the commercial capital thus bound up; the rate of interest will of course resume its average level; those whose paper may have been subscribed to the 9 per cent. loan, will have lost just one fourth of their capital, if not relieved by a sense of justice and fair dealing. But if the government, for the relief of the pressure which they have thus created, or for the relief of any other pressure, should without such relief open a new loan; such is the general distrust, that probably not a rupee would be subscribed without conditions ten-fold more inconvenient than that which they have sought to evade. Until the occurrence of this transaction the honourable conduct of the government towards the public creditor had been such, that the resources of individuals were always at the command of the state. At the period of financial embarrassment which occurred on the sudden change of system, when Lord Cornwallis passed through Murshedabad in 1805, the native bankers of the city came out to ask whether forty lacs of rupees would be acceptable, and the offer was declined. Lord Wellesley possessed their confidence in an equal degree; and at the period when that nobleman was superseded, it is stated that he had calculated on extinguishing the whole Indian debt in five years; and we believe not only that this important object was within the scope of his comprehensive mind, but that the calculation rested on solid foundations.

We return to the war, which we have stated to be indispensable.

If Sir George Barlow had permitted the treaties with Scindia and Holcar to stand in the precise words in which they were concluded, and had moreover abstained from the violation of public faith in the case of the Raja of Jeypoor; the British government, from the commanding position already explained, would have been enabled, in spite of neutral policy, to interfere in Malwa whenever its interference should become necessary to its safety. In fact, the power to interfere would have produced, and that alone can ever produce, a state of things conducive to our safety, and thus have prevented the necessity of interference; the brave and excellent Rajpoots would have thrown themselves into our arms; all within would have been safe; and looking outwards we should have had associates worthy of intercourse with British honour, and fit to emulate British courage. Let us (for we must) contemplate the reverse of the picture: the Rajpoots were alienated, and all within is the reverse of safe. The contests of our neighbours have not yet produced their natural result of accommodation to unite against us;—but they have produced a worse result.

Holcar falling successively into a state of brutal drunkenness

and insanity, was finally reduced to imbecility—mental and bodily, by a paralytic stroke. Meer Khan, his first military officer, usurped the government, extended his power, established a fixed hold over Nagore and Biccaneer,<sup>9</sup> in the heart of the Rajpoot states, and threatens their political extinction; he has rendered paramount his authority over Malwa and Candesh, including the wreck of the power of Scindia, who may become an instrument or a victim, as convenience shall determine. Meer Khan, himself an Afghan, has gathered round him the whole of the Afghan interest in the seats of their early conquests, has become the rallying point for the herds of that tribe whom the English courts of judicature have driven from our dominions, and of the hardy adventurers of the same race, who are incessantly issuing from the mountains of the north in search of military employment. In one word, he has become the Hyder, the Tipoo, the Scindia, the Holcar. The danger, that has been created by our own errors, must be removed before its removal be impracticable. There is not one hour to be lost—the work must be done.\* We must begin by retrieving that which was in our hands, and wantonly thrown away by neutral policy. The Rajpoot tribes are crushed but not extinguished; their resentment has yielded to reflection; they ascribe the treachery which delivered Jeypoor to its enemies to the mistaken policy of one man, and not to the deliberate intention of a generous people. *We know* that such a sentiment is prevalent among them, and that they are anxious to obtain and to justify our protection. To restore their confidence, and to unite them indissolubly to the British empire, it is only necessary to say in the spirit of truth and manhood, that the past has been considered and condemned, and that in future they shall not be abandoned and deceived. These diplomatic arrangements must be managed with delicacy, and above all, these high-minded men must not be permitted to move, till we have re-occupied all the positions abandoned by neutral policy, and are ready at every point. To enter into farther detail would be not only useless, but mischievous; all the coarse work will be finished in one campaign, and the remainder will only be to confer happiness and peace on nations to whom these blessings are only known by report.

We here pause for a moment, and beg our readers to reflect on the causes and consequences of that system of misgovernment, by which the comprehensive plans of a statesman for the permanent security of India were blasted in the moment of completion;—

\* The reader may take the single fact of a field train of 120 guns with his principal army, "*Expede Hecaleum.*"



and the probable establishment of the financial system upon a solid foundation entirely prevented. So that the Company, with the security of empire, and a flourishing revenue within their grasp, may now be said, by their own specific and undivided act, to have established the former by sowing the seeds of future inevitable war, and to have secured the latter by means which compel them to come down as paupers to parliament for relief from their distress.

• Before we proceed to examine the important question of the attack upon our Indian empire from the north, we will devote a very few lines to our central possessions in the Decan; in order that we may turn our faces in the opposite direction with the confidence that every thing is safe in our rear. The military force which we are obliged by treaty and compelled by considerations of security to keep on the side of Poona, is safe by the possession of Ahmednagar connected with the support of Bombay. Not so that which the same considerations oblige us to keep on the side of Hyderabad, and which it has been found expedient to station at Jaulna, nearly 500 miles from our nearest depot of military stores. A safe depot in this situation is indispensable, and must be obtained; we do not choose to name the place, nor to publish any thing that may interfere with the success of this necessary measure. The information we possess is neither exclusive nor inaccessible; but the thing must be done.

One word more before we march northwards; we have said that hords of Afghans have been driven from our dominions by the English courts of judicature; but it is not our intention to treat these courts with levity, nor to affirm that many of these men would not have been driven away by any other authority which should attempt to curb their licentiousness. The subject of our internal system is too vast to be attempted in an episode. Colonel Malcolm speaks in commendation of what is usually termed the permanent system of landed property, and of the judicial establishments. A late author,\* in an investigation the most ample and satisfactory that has yet appeared, considers the permanent system to have subverted the rights of the ancient proprietors, and to have established the usurpation of new men; and deems the whole machinery of the judicial system to have been founded in similar error. It is not our intention to avail ourselves of the doctrine of our sage Nestor,† that “the necessary time for making ourselves thoroughly masters of such subjects is so great that the works will

\* Wilks's South of India, chap. v.

† No. 1, of the British Review, p. 5.

never pay for reviewing." The time may be considerable, but on the whole we are of opinion that the work alluded to will pay for reviewing, and we shall accordingly pay our respects to it in due time.

At length we have arrived at the northern frontier of our empire; but before we march a step beyond it, we repeat, that the consolidation and security of all in our rear, is of tenfold importance to any possible contingency that can arise in our front.

We consider the river Sutlege to constitute the north-westerly frontier of our present possessions and dependencies in their widest acceptation. Our next neighbours are the Sikhs, a sect of modern origin and whimsical opinions. Its founder observing, that the prevailing religions of Mohammed and of Brahma were curious in regarding what entered into the inward man; the former abhorring pork, the latter beef, and both prohibiting spirituous liquors, made it the test of the new religion that its followers should eat both beef and pork, and drink brandy *ad libitum*. The doctrines are a wild compound of Mohammedan Soofyism and Hindoo metaphysics, and seemed for a time to have generated democratical notions. Recently, however, Runjeet Sing, a soldier of enterprize, has become their acknowledged sovereign; his territory extends over the whole of the fertile provinces of Penjaub, and probably by this time comprises Moultan, which he meditated to wrest from the contending branches of the house of Abdalli. Runjeet Sing, as a soldier of fortune, is necessarily jealous of the English, who have the greatest power to controul his ambition; but it is doubtful whether he would not be still more jealous of a conqueror who should assail him from the north. He is too sagacious to be deluded by the stale pretext of a great power bringing independence to a small one; and at present the measures to be observed towards him ought to be considered as depending on his own future conduct, and on other contingences too remote to be made the ground of immediate action.

Beyond the Indus is Cabul, the ancient empire of Ghizni, and the modern seat of the house of Abdalli; a kingdom almost exclusively Mahomedan. Its present boundaries extend north-west beyond the Hindoo Kho, on the Indian Parapamesus, embracing a large portion of Khorasan, usually considered as a Persian province, but now divided between Cabul and Persia, by a line which has fluctuated between Herât and Mushed; the dependencies of Cabul to the south extend to the ocean, including Hyderabad, which is situated near the mouth of the Indus. Two rivals of the House of Abdalli, Malmoud Shah, and Shujâ ul Mulk have for many years contended for the throne with alternate success; the latter supporting his pretensions by the local interests of his

own territory, and the former chiefly by the influence and aid of the Persian monarch, and the local resources of the part of Khorassan which he possessed. Mr. Elphinstone was sent on a mission to Shujâ ul Mulk, then supposed to be established; but after his arrival found that a sudden revolution of fortune had rendered the cause of that chief so hopeless, that the mission proved abortive. More recently Shujâ ul Mulk has been driven by his rival across the Indus into the Penjaub, and for the present Mahmoud possesses nearly the whole monarchy. Before any thing can be determined regarding the policy proper to be observed to such a state, it is necessary that it should assume some fixed shape. — for its vicissitudes cannot be considered at an end. The connexion of Mahmoud Shah with Persia will require management with regard to the latter power; but this connexion has no permanent bond; the Afghans and Persians being essentially hostile to each other.

The modern kingdom of Persia extends from the limits already sketched, north to the Caspian Sea, south-west by the river Araxes in Armenia, and thence by Mount Ararat and Kurdistan to the Persian Gulf in the south.

The vicinity of the river Araxes forms the present line of demarcation between the eastern and western world: the Russian army on one side and the Persian on the other. Here then we pause to consider the question of the invasion of India by a French or Russian force. The various routes that have been traced for the march of a French army in a given number of months and days, calculated in the office of the Chief of the Staff, and to be performed with the same regularity as an Englishman would travel post from Penzance to Inverness, are idle speculations scarcely worthy of remark. There are no inns and kind hostesses on the road. The French have no such miserable generals as not to look what they leave in their rear: not one step can be made for any useful purpose without obtaining the fixed possession of the countries through which they pass. Uncivilized states are infinitely more difficult of transfer and solid occupation than regular governments. In the former there is nothing to seize that necessarily gives the occupation of the rest; in the latter there is a connected machine of which it is only necessary to possess the key, and the machine continues in its usual course of motion whether wound up by the hand of John or of Thomas. Prussia, conquered in half a campaign, was completely French in half a campaign: the conquest of an Asiatic government, as every one knows who has considered the subject, is the dissolution of that government. There is a chaos to be new moulded, just as if the component parts had never been joined. This proposition, without doubt, is qualified by

circumstances, and particularly by the consideration, whether the government displaced were themselves conquerors or the natural government of the country. But, as a general proposition it is indisputable. The conquest, occupation, and organization of such countries, so as to furnish safety and resources to the rear, is an achievement of many years and much progressive arrangement.— There are two principal routes by which an European power can meditate the conquest of India over land; one to the north-eastward of the Black Sea, across the Don, and through Georgia and Armenia, to the westward of the Caspian until we reach the river Araxes already noticed. This route is Russian. The other is Turkish—by Constantinople and thence skirting part of the south western vicinity of the Black Sea into Mesopotamia: this is the route by which the Roman legions marched to the frontier of their empire near to the modern Bagdad. Turning to the left before we reach that frontier, this route enters Persia far to the southward of the former: for Persia in every imaginable case must be traversed. The resources of population, fertility, and food, are decidedly in favour of the latter line of operation: the former perhaps offers the means of more early accomplishment. The conquest of Russia seems to be much more for the early purposes of Bonaparte in his plans on India, than the conquest of the Ottoman empire; and it is so in the exact proportion that the former (however low in civilization) has a more regular organization of government than Turkey. The fabulous power of Russia has cheated Europe, and threatens to destroy itself if not saved by events which it has in no respect contributed to produce. After a few sanguinary battles, the new Duke, or Viceroy, or King of Moscow, would with little of new organization sit down in his bureau de la guerre, and his mandates would be obeyed from the Crimea to Kamsckatcha. There is no spirit of patriotism, nor public virtue in the mass of this scattered population to disturb the new order of things: and in a year or two after the conquest he would be ready to look towards the line of the Araxes. In the conquest of Turkey, the pigeon-holes of the scavans must furnish a new constitution, new gradations of public functionaries, new organizations; in short the whole revolutionary vocabulary, with its consequent variations of action must be put in requisition for the settlement of every successive province: and each in succession would require time and abundant patience to be matured for any useful purpose of security or resource. The Russian peasant is an excellent material for a soldier, but as a component part of the ordinary population he is unmilitary, and a slave. Throughout the whole Turkish population, from the emperor to the ploughman, with the single exception of the

Greeks, every individual is a soldier, educated in military habits and ideas. There is not a spark of public virtue, but there is something of patriotism, and an abundance of religious bigotry, which would perform the functions of patriotism. The whole mass of the population would be hostile. In Egypt, after its occupation by the French, for some time no Frenchman could go beyond the protection of his picquets without the certainty of being murdered. They are excellent servants but horrible masters. As the late Meer dalum sagaciously observed, an Englishman is a better instrument for moulding Asiatics into a permanent form.—The Frenchman will be preferred at a distance, the Englishman on better acquaintance; he is the more moral animal, and consequently the more considerate and just. We are confident that the same state of things which was experienced in Egypt would long exist in any Turkish province, occupied by the French. This route, therefore, is the most tedious, but the cheapest, because most abundant in resource. The Russian is the most expeditious, but the most expensive, because less fertile of resource. Either of them involves a distant danger; but it is not the less real for being distant. The Russians have at this time in the whole extent of Georgia and Armenia not more than 10,000 men; and with this force continue to foil the whole power of the Persian empire, aided by the regular force recently organized and disciplined by the French, and most unwisely extended and extending under the direction of a British embassy. An army of 30,000 French or Russians from the line of the Araxes would make the easy conquest of Persia in one campaign; the organization of the country being a subsequent consideration. These raw levies will only facilitate the operation, by turning the attention of the Persians from the national defence of irregular cavalry acting on the enemy's supplies to an infantry denominated regular, but which cannot become so till the government be reformed; nor can it for a lengthened period be made fit to contend with more regular veterans. Every native government in India which has adopted this military policy has fallen directly in consequence of its adoption. The lavish subsidy of two lacs a month which we have improvidently agreed to pay, even if disbursed through the hands of British pay-masters, will certainly improve that portion of the force, but will only render it a future instrument better matured for the purposes of Bonaparte, unless we can bring forward a force to support it, capable of contending for the empire of India on the plains of Persia. Let us examine the practicability of such a project. Our naval superiority commands an easy connection with the shores of the Persian Gulf.—Ascending to the interior by any route that may be assumed from

the burning plain which skirts the coast, Alps over Alps are to be surmounted, and a country to be passed which for the practical purposes of military communication is, exclusively of distance, in a great degree closed by nature against either access or support in that direction. We request the reader, with a pair of compasses in his hand, extended to any given measure, to step over the map from our frontier on the Sutledge to the line of the Araxes; he will find it not less than 2800 miles on the lowest computation: the force then which might be brought forward for the defence of Persia would be totally insulated from all means of support, and in such a situation as none but a second-rate general of pen and ink would consent to be placed in even upon paper. To risk a corps in such a position would be about as reasonable as if Bonaparte, meditating the conquest of America, were to place his advanced guard on Rhode Island and his main army at Brest, without a ship to keep up the communication. If Persia were even rendered a British possession, the stake would be greater, but the hazard equally desperate.

For the purpose of correct intelligence to regulate our means where we are really invulnerable (if safe from within) an envoy ought to be maintained, at the sacrifice of a large expense at the court of Persia; but it ought to be his duty, (as it is generally the interest of every envoy) to speak the truth; not meanly to flatter the vanity of the Persians with the false assurance that they are rendering themselves invincible by false measures; but to read to them, in the history of their ancestors, that their best hope of defence consists in the same description of troops and the same system of warfare by which the Parthians successively foiled or destroyed the flower of the Roman legions under Crassus, Antony, Maximus, Valerian, Julian, and Jovian.

We have now examined to the extent that we had proposed, the frame of our Indian governments, and the policy by which they are directed in those aspects in which they most urgently bear upon the great object of internal safety; and we have discussed the question of external attack; not in the thousand various shapes (not one of which may ever be realized) that would suggest themselves to mere speculative minds, but in its sober relation to the measures which call for early decision. It remains that we should consider a more important object than either, namely, the frame of the home government, that which is to infuse strength or weakness, folly or consistency into every branch of our relations in India.

A body of Proprietors of India Stock of uncertain number elects a Court of Directors consisting of 24 individuals by law, and 30, in fact, six having the respite of a year in turn. A Board of Commissioners consisting of six members appointed by the King,

controls the Directors in every thing but trade. The Proprietors as an elective body are in no material degree either more or less competent to a wise choice than that which elects the representatives of the nation to serve in Parliament; but the Proprietors exercise also a deliberative and controlling power over the Directors. The Court of Directors, split into Committees, is a mass of subordinate and deliberative bodies: reunited it is a deliberative and executive body; a committee from its number exercises a separate executive authority in matters requiring secrecy. The Board of Commissioners controls it in every scase, trade alone excepted; and if doubts should arise regarding what is and what is not trade, an appeal lies to the King in Council. The fertile stores of the French revolution did not produce a constitution consisting of an executive controlled by the elective power below, and by another executive above—Abbé Sieyes would perhaps have suspected that such body was competent to evil and not to good.

The present Court of Directors consists of persons who have been captains of ships, of persons who have been owners of ships, of merchants not known to have been owners of ships, and of civil and military men who have served in India.

A director on his first appointment goes through his regular apprenticeship in the committees for hiring ships, and loading ships, and unloading ships; for preventing or encouraging private trade in India or at home; for the civil and military colleges, &c. &c. till at the expiration of 15 years, if he last so long, he reaches the rank of the committee of correspondence, and the dignity of considering on a grand scale the government of the Indian empire. We know that this body contains many men of high respectability, honorable principles, and good talents: but really he must be no ordinary man who will have passed through such a probation without some of the tar and oakum contracts and invoices sticking to his habiliments. A director must not be an avowed ship-owner\* or trader to India† on his own account, but we do not find that sons, fathers, nephews, or uncles, are so prohibited.

It will scarcely be credited by an unsuspecting public, that these governors of a mighty empire are free to traffic to any extent, not only with others, but with themselves, *i. e.* the directors individually with the directors collectively; the directors in their capacity of private merchants with themselves in their corporate capacity of the trustees of others;‡ with the flimsy reservation that

\* Bye Laws, chap. 13, sect. 3.

† Do. chap. 6, sect. 20.

‡ Do. chap. 6. sect. 2, 3, and 4.

every director shall declare the degree of interest he has in what he sells to the Company; and if a debate arise upon it, shall withdraw before the vote. The degree of attendance exacted from directors at the India-House, is abundantly sufficient to occupy the whole attention of a man of ordinary talents; and where the individual is engaged in extensive mercantile concerns on his own account, it will always be matter of calculation to what extent and with what success private interest and public duty may contend for the command of his time. This attendance is rewarded with the miserable salary of 300*l.* a year, and a proportion of the creditable patronage of India, and of the useful patronage of Leadenhall Street.

It is not a new observation that an executive government composed of many, has necessarily less of virtue than one composed of few. The amount of honor or dishonor is divided into so many portions, and it is so uncertain to whom these portions belong, that the ordinary incentives of pride and shame have generally but a feeble operation. This objection is relieved, to a certain extent, by the implied responsibility of a chairman and his deputy, who are understood practically to direct the principal measures: but if this influence were more perfect than it really is, its operation would be rendered nugatory by the periodical change, which removes them from the exercise of power about the time that they begin to be half instructed in its use. In a large proportion of the cases, inveterate habit has led to a view of objects, connected in the best minds with considerations of individuality, not very favorable to the attainment of that amount of public virtue which is indispensable to the conduct of political affairs. This individuality seems to pervade the discussion of public questions, neutralizes all the good, and exasperates all the evil of the whole scheme of government; and it is stated to be no less remarkable than notorious, that from the first Clive\* until the present day, it would be difficult to name six persons of real distinction for rank and public virtue, who have retired from the service with any other sentiments than those of sorrow and disgust. How much of this is to be ascribed to the unreasonable expectations of individuals; we need not stop to examine, because in whatever degree it be founded, we are persuaded that it is as much the fault of the system as of the men. The governments abroad com-

\* See his lordship's remarkable speech in the House of Commons on this subject, 30th March, 1772, and Mr. Burke's singular phrase of being *branded* with their approbation as a certain mark of future insult.



plain as much as they dare, that the Court of Directors is inefficient. The Board of Control occasionally speaks out on the subject. But neither of these bodies makes the proper allowance for the inherent vices of constitution which render it impossible that they should be efficient.

We acknowledge, without the least reserve, that it is infinitely easier to discover existing errors than to suggest an adequate remedy; but we will not close this article without the attempt.

To extinguish the political functions of the Company, and transfer them to the Crown, is one of the remedies proposed. We have no doubt that this plan would be strenuously supported by the minister of the day, if he should deem it to be practicable, and we have as little hesitation in concluding that it would be condemned by the opposition, and as we trust, by all the truly independent members of both Houses. The East-India Company, by a singular anomaly, has become really, although not avowedly, a sort of separate estate in the theory of our constitution, which cannot be thrown into the hands of the executive, without the certainty of destroying the existing balance: by such a transfer the patronage of India would not only operate on the national representation as so many rotten boroughs, sinecures, and places in reversion; but the frame of the Indian government would be corrupted and palsied by the reaction of the same principle. A nobleman appointed to be governor-general of India, or governor of one of the subordinate presidencies, has at present a finer scope for the indulgence of the best propensities of his nature, than in any other portion of the globe; he finds on feeling his way, that the parliamentary influence which in England jostled him on every side, clogged his steps, and impeded his progress, is scarcely perceptible in that country, and to so slight a degree as not necessarily to interfere with any public arrangement, great or small: in the range of his patronage he has no motive for making a bad choice, and every motive for making a good one: the success of his administration depends on the fitness of the instruments he employs, and every consideration of personal character and public virtue combines to direct him to the fittest. It is this very principle, and this alone, that has counteracted the operation of bad constitutions of government at home and abroad, and has succeeded in giving efficiency and vigor to the branches, in spite of the rottenness of the core. Lord Cornwallis, among the ordinary topics of table conversation, was in the habit of insisting that India would be lost from the moment that parliamentary influence should reach it. The integrity of the British constitution and of its Indian empire equally demand that the East-India Company, as a political engine, should be preserved in the competency of

preventing the evil and continuing the good which we have described.

Assuming this as an established point, we proceed to throw out a few suggestions, which we have heard from men of practical knowledge who have had peculiar opportunities of observing the effects of the system both at home and abroad, concerning the means by which its government, foreign and domestic, may be rendered more adequate to the performance of its functions. These suggestions, however, are intended not so much as the sketch of a complete system, as the channel by which the minds of thinking men may be led to reflect upon the desirable objects of attainment at the ensuing renewal of the charter.

Under this understanding we begin with the domestic system, and must necessarily consider it in a two-fold view, first in reference to its frame, and secondly to the quality of its materials. For all the purposes of an efficient frame it will be difficult to find a better general model than that which has been already assigned to its own foreign governments: a governor, aided by a council of three members at most, as the executive government, and three subordinate boards for commerce and revenue, for judicature—and for military detail: it may be requisite to explain that the latter of these boards performs in India the duties of regulating and checking the provision and expenditure of every thing which in England belongs to the ordnance and commissariat departments: the functions of the other boards are explained by their names: they all report to the board of government, and conduct their operations in obedience to its commands; the board of government is thus relieved from nearly the whole weight of detail; and left free to devote its time to the general consideration of affairs. We will hereafter consider its connection with his Majesty's executive government. The subordinate functions which we have described, are at present performed in England by the directors, split into committees, again to re-mite into a deliberative and executive government. It is as if the commissioners of Customs, Excise, and Trade, were *ex officio* privy counsellors and ministers. Commerce is an excellent servant, but a bad political master: the origin and transformations of the East-India Company have caused the inversion of its proper relations, and we would assign to it the place it ought to occupy, not of governing the sovereign authority, but of being governed and protected by it.

We proceed to the quality of the materials. There is nothing human with which we are acquainted that for practical purposes can be proposed as a safe test of moral and intellectual attainment: these qualities are of a spiritual nature, and are intangible by the coarse matter of which our

tests are composed. The best we can do is to refer to the conditions under which these volatile qualities are usually found, and trust to experience for the correction of our errors. For the board of government at home it would be a respectable test and quite indispensable, that its members should not have been directly or indirectly concerned in commerce of any description for some years preceding their election, and of course not during the period of their official functions; and should possess from 6000 to 10,000*l.* of India Stock. Such are the conditions which we think most likely to present the qualities we desire, namely, leisure, knowledge, probity, and independence, to which we have added the necessary stimulus of an interest in the success of the general concern. It would be fair, and probably contribute to efficiency, that the board of four so elected by the proprietors, should elect from their number two persons, one of whom should be selected by his Majesty, as the president of the board of Indian government; which board should vacate its functions at the expiration of three years, but be re-eligible without limitation. If it should be thought necessary to provide for an earlier revision of a choice notoriously unfortunate, it might be rendered competent to a large number of proprietors; say 200 votes to demand a re-election at the expiration of any year.

The subordinate board of revenue and judicature, chosen also in common with the superior, and with other subordinate boards by the proprietors, should be subjected to the same test regarding trade, and its members should have served a fixed period in the department of the revenue in India. Its functions although highly important, would not be very laborious, and many of those miscellaneous services performed in India, in what is commonly called the public department, might be allotted to this board.

A board of trade ought certainly be composed of persons understanding trade; but not exercising trade. There is no lack of persons of this description in the English community; and the test of not having been for some years directly or indirectly concerned in commerce, is more imperiously necessary in this board, than in any of the others, because the opportunities and temptations to abuse, render this guard more obviously necessary.

The present amount of shipping and commerce of the company, may seem to be too large a concern to be conducted by one board: we are not of that opinion; for we are satisfied that its amount would soon be materially contracted, if managed by a board not interested in its extension: it is the interest of every merchant to contract his concerns, when he finds that he is trading to a loss: the dividends would soon rest on a less fallacious basis than a losing trade.

The military board in India involves no expense of salary to its members, who are composed *ex officio* of persons holding certain public situations to which salaries are annexed: this purpose of economy could not be obtained to the same extent by similar means in England, but a moderate staff allowance in addition to the full pay already enjoyed would be sufficient.

The possession of 5000*l.* stock might be a proper qualification for all the subordinate boards, and the members of all the boards should be restricted from voting as proprietors on any question, whatever.

The members of all these boards *in proportion to their functions* must be not only liberally but amply paid; it is nugatory to expect the services of competent men without a competent remuneration; and the more exalted feelings are never in so high a tone, as when they are enabled to look down with contempt at every thing that is calculated to disturb them.

The proprietors, as at present, might be considered to hold the purse: and to call for information on every topic: but except in finance it would not be expedient to commit to them any direct powers of control. Publicity is in itself a great control, and the national parliament is always open to the discussion of great abuses.

The disposal of subordinate patronage, namely, the appointment of writers and cadets is the object of all others most interesting to individuals, and most indifferent to the state, provided the nomination of proper persons be secured. It is perfectly indifferent to the public by whom these appointments are made, so that they be not rendered an engine of corruption; and as the whole could not conveniently be given to the board of government, no better mode occurs to us at present than dividing it into three portions—one of these to be assigned to the board of government, one to be divided among the subordinate boards, and one among proprietors possessing four votes; this latter distribution to be determined annually by ballot.

The board of control appointed by his Majesty is a cumbrous piece of machinery for action or deliberation; the responsibility has been spread abroad over this board and the Court of Directors in such a manner that nobody knows where to look for it, and the efficiency has often been equally invisible.

Purified and exalted in its qualities as the Indian board of government would be, under the scheme which we suggest, a link of communication to preserve union and consistency with the operations of his Majesty's government, is the object to be sought.—The secretary of state for the colonies might have a distinct department for Indian affairs, under a separate sub-secretary; this department would necessarily examine the dispatches to and from

India, and approve those to be sent thither : it might conveniently have the power to advise and suggest on its own authority ; but not to control. This power should belong to his Majesty in Council alone. A distinct line of responsibility would thus be acquired ; an order or dispatch if not controlled or altered by direction of the Privy Council, would be the act of the Board of Indian government, if altered, the act of his Majesty's ministers.

It was necessary to examine the domestic government before we could return to consider the remedy for those defects in the foreign administration which we have traced through a clear but brief historical detail, to the disunion of the civil and military authorities. The obvious cure is their union ; and the only difficulty is to determine the mode. On this head there are two propositions which may nearly be considered as axioms—1st, that the qualities for civil rule are more frequently found in civil than in military life—2d, that the qualities for military rule are exclusively to be found in the military profession. In Rome every candidate for the higher offices of state necessarily sought for experience civil and military. Even Cicero found it expedient to go through the forms of being a soldier. The proconsuls united in their own persons the authorities which we desire to combine. The Directors and the Legislature have anxiously desired to invest their civil governors with every possible attribute of paramount military power, and we have already shewn the impracticability of reconciling these attributes with the positive and independent exercise of military judicature by a subordinate power. Lord Wellesley felt the defect, and sought to remedy some of its inconveniences by a commission of Captain-General : but names do not alter things, and his lordship, with the finest conceptions of the theory of a campaign, had too much sense to dream of assuming its direction. In fact, and it is an important fact, he gave the most ample testimony to the necessity of the union for which we contend, by always investing his generals in the field with complete and independent powers over all officers civil and military within the possible scope of their operations.

If then the union be indispensable, and if the united qualities cannot be found in the civil, and but rarely in the military profession, these rare qualities must be sought where they may *possibly* be found, and not where they *cannot exist*. In truth, although rare, they are far from being unattainable in the military profession. Generally speaking, we are decidedly of opinion, that a military governor, with a talent for civil affairs, is the character best suited for the government of all our foreign possessions. We have seen some such in Canada and elsewhere. And we are happy to think, that we have now in England a general officer, the record of whose services may be found in almost every page of our Indian docu-

ments for the last 14 or 15 years; and whose civil and military talents have been tried and found most eminent in some of the most important and critical situations in which the interests of Great Britain have been involved. No candid or impartial man who has read the modest record given by himself of his own transactions, and who has heard from others the intrepidity and ability, which, frequently at the risk of his life, he displayed in the suppression of the late mutiny, can hesitate to admit, not only that he is a person eminently fitted for a great command, but that his country owes him a debt which ought at least to be discharged by some honorable mark of distinction. The present law permits, and occasional practice has sanctioned the union of the offices of Governor and Commander-in-Chief in India: we contend that the law should exact it. A governor is relieved from all civil details by the subordinate boards, and aided in decisions of a general nature by the civil members of his council: he ought to relieve himself from the mere common-place details of the army by the aid of his second in command. The two branches of the service, instead of perpetual discord would find a bond of perpetual harmony; they would look, as all branches of the British constitution do look, to one and the same head.

A subject of great difficulty is still before us, of which our limits absolutely prohibit the full discussion at this time; we advert to the expediency of transferring the Indian army to his Majesty's service. So long as the existing disunion of the civil and military services shall be permitted to continue, this transfer, instead of relieving any of the existing evils, would unquestionably aggravate them all. The civil government with the same power would have to work with an instrument requiring greater powers. Under an united government, the expediency of such a transfer is relieved from that extent of objection, and it will remain to consider whether legislative checks can be devised and effected of sufficient force and permanency to prevent the intrusion and growth of evils of greater magnitude than those which are to be cured. Of the reforms proposed by Colonel Malcolm for the native service we have only room to say that we do not concur in the whole of his views.

So much space has been occupied in the review of the subject, that none remains for the review of the work; the ingenuous spirit in which it is offered to the public ought in every event to shield it from the severity of criticism as a literary performance. We are desirous that our readers should satisfy themselves of the extent to which we have drawn upon it for our facts: and we can recommend it to their attention as a work of unquestionable authenticity, and the production of an ardent and honourable mind.

### NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE are sorry that A. R. is displeas'd with the *tone of our sentiments*. If he refers to our two letters, we think he will find that we were perfectly at liberty to reject his article. If our opinion with respect to it underwent any change, it arose chiefly from his *very persuasive* letter, in answer to our first to him. He shew'd rather too much the spirit of an advocate on that occasion to give perfect satisfaction to our impartial feelings.

The Review of Mr. Giffard's Life of Pitt, is postponed—It was not completed in time for this number.

LIST  
OF  
NEW WORKS

PUBLISHED  
IN THE MONTHS OF MARCH, APRIL, AND MAY, 1811.

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AGRICULTURE.

A General View of the Agriculture in the Counties of Nairn and Moray. By the Rev. Wm. Leslie. 8vo. 14s. boards.

Treatise on Rural Affairs; illustrated with various Plates of Husbandry Implements. By Robert Brown, Farmer at Markle, County of Haddington. 2 Vols. 8vo. 11. 5s. boards.

The Farmer's Magazine: a periodical Work, exclusively devoted to Agriculture and Rural Affairs, No. XLV. for March. 8vo., 3s. sewed.

A History of British Implements and Machinery, applicable to Agriculture: with Observations on their Improvement. By W. Lester, Engineer. 4to. with Plates, price 11. 11s. 6d. boards. In which is included, the History of the Threshing Machine, from its first Introduction down to the present Time. Also, a new and most effectual Mode of draining surface Water from tenacious Soils.

An Essay on Sheep. By R. R. Livingston. With a Preface and explanatory Notes, by Wm. Cobbett. 8vo. 8s. boards.

ANTIQUITIES AND ARCHITECTURE.

The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain. By J. Britton, Esq. F. S. A. Part 24. Small Paper, 10s. 6d. Large Paper, 16s.

Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinet, Vol. 9, 12mo. price 15s.—8vo. price 11. 4s. boards.

The Architectural Dictionary. By Peter Nicholson. Part 1. 4to. 7s.

A Treatise on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of England, during the middle Ages. By the Rev. John Milner, D. D. F. S. A. Royal 8vo. 15s. boards.

Designs for Lodges and Entrances to Parks, &c. By T. D. W. Dearn. Royal 4to. 11. 11s. 6d. boards.

A Treatise on the Equilibrium of Arches. By Joseph Gwilt. 8vo. Price 6s. sewed.

Ancient Wiltshire. By Sir R. C. Hoare, Bart. Part 2. Folio. 41. 4s. Large Paper, 61. 6s. boards.

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