











THE

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LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.

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“—FIAT JUSTITIA.—”

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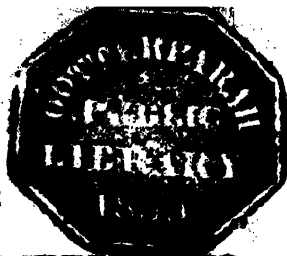
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OCTOBER, 1812.

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ART. I.—*Memoirs of the public Life of John Horne Tooke, Esq. containing a particular Account of his Connections with the most eminent Characters of the Reign of George III. his Trials for Sedition, High Treason, &c. with his most celebrated Speeches in the House of Commons, on the Hustings, Letters, &c.* By W. Hamilton Reid. 8vo. pp. 192. London: Shewwood, Neely, and Jones. 1812.

IN this age in which every man living considers himself as qualified for a biographer, one has only to die to become a hero. The obsequies of no man are now complete without his biographer as well as his undertaker, and to consecrate to fame the virtues of the deceased, is as much in the order of things, as to commit his body to the dust.

In times so liberal of encomium on the dead, it would have been strange, indeed, if Mr. Horne Tooke had left nobody behind him to take care of his memory, and to acquaint those that remain with the full extent of their loss. The gentleman who has piously executed this task, and whose work is now in our hands, was not, we must confess, at all known to us in his literary character, until we met with this specimen of his talents and taste: and probably we shall remain in ignorance of the full extent of his merits, unless we shall happen to live long enough to read his claims to our gratitude in the pages of his own biographer. As reviewers, however, we have some present obligations to the author. He has written a very little book; and has therein afforded so decisive a proof of his qua-

fications for judging of the merit of Mr. Horne Tooke, both as a politician and a philosopher, that we are spared the trouble of making one critical observation on his work. It will be quite enough to produce a single passage from the book, at once to fix the intellectual character of the writer in the estimation of every reader of the smallest intelligence. The following passage exhibits a fair average specimen of the genius, the spirit, the reasoning, and the dialect of some of our reforming patriots.

“ But notwithstanding all the plausibility of these gentlemen, and the pretended loyalty of those who stigmatize every complaint with the name of *croaking*, stubborn and unyielding facts, which mark the present period as without any precedent in the annals of our history, with real dearth and absolute scarcity, have frequently for a time afflicted this and other kingdoms, to the ruin and distress of thousands. But the *perpetuation* of famine was reserved for Mr. Pitt and the friends and advocates of eternal war. If the cause of the high price of provisions is asked—the answer is ready in one word, and that is—*war*. A war unprecedented in its causes as well as its effects. As to its causes, they are unhappily concealed in consequence of the length of its duration. The minds of men are mostly made up from the most recent, and not from distant occasions.

“ The length of any contest renders its origin so comparatively dark and complicated, that few have time or patience to make the necessary enquiries. The indolent many, therefore, adopt the opinions of the active and interested few. It is the same with the common ideas of the rise and results of the present war; of which too many argue as if a proposition not perfectly demonstrable in the whole, might not be allowed to be so in part. And thus if a house is evidently falling, we must not say so till it is evidently a heap of ruins.

“ One truth is clear, that unless the price of provisions quickly fall, that of labour rise, or trade recover its original vigour, many thousands more of aged persons and children must fall upon the parishes. The number of paupers already amount to a fifth part of the population. It was lately hinted to government in an examination relative to a town in the north, where many hundred manufacturers are out of employ, that it would be a *favour* to provide them with implements of husbandry, and send them to New South Wales! The every day appearance of many once busy towns, is now become that of Sunday, for its stillness and absence of business. In countries where many little farms have been enveloped in great ones, the surrounding cottages have mostly disappeared; the young men are in the armies, and the old ones in the workhouses. But this is not all; the symptoms of decay have reached the capital, the *heart of the country*. It is no exaggeration to say, that half of the counting houses in London are shut up, or nearly deserted: these and warehouses are now every where

to be let, advertisements and notices will shew every reader and passenger.

“ Still foreign trade continues rather to diminish than increase, and probably only waits the doubtful period of peace to disappear altogether. The war therefore, if not just, is now become fatally necessary; at least for our existence. There are many reasons why peace would be of little or no benefit. In the first place, it would add some hundred thousands to an idle population, for whom, in consequence of the operation of our restrictions on the trade of the continent, it would be physically and morally impossible to find employment; consequently the starvation or emigration of thousands must take place, and not carrying money out of the kingdom with them, in what character must they leave it? As servants! What a humiliation! But is there no remedy? No; there can be no remedy, unless the government can afford to give up more than half of its present revenues. The enormous height of the taxes, of house-rent, and provisions, have long compelled our manufacturers to do infinitely more work for a bare subsistence, and to answer the demands of the present war, than the people of any other nation do for theirs; consequently, the foreign markets have been long glutted. Add to this cause, the mischievous introduction of machinery has still lowered the price of labour, which Mr. Tooke would have proportioned to that of provisions.

“ If then in time of war, when so many thousands of our people are in arms in different parts of the world, there be not by any means sufficient employment for those that are at home, what are to be done with the additional hands which would be thrown upon us by a peace? If, while our island has become, as it were, the counting-house of the creation, and if with the sweep of the whole sea in every part of the globe, and the exclusive command of every port in the world, in consequence of the continuation of the war, we barely exist as a commercial people, what must be the result of admitting any rival in the case of a peace? Much less can we bear the idea of the liberty of the seas to *all* nations; we who subsist as a commercial country wholly and solely by our peculiar possession of the ocean, and the exclusion of others from equal privileges! This must be the effect of our ‘turning commerce into a sword.’ And as the present war differs from former wars in many respects, so will the peace that *must* follow it sooner or later differ from any other peace; *Ness* all Europe, and we may now add South America also, should be again disorganized in our favour.

‘ All this dread order break—for what? for thee?’

Vile worm! Oh, madness, pride, impiety!

“ And yet it must be so, if we are saved as a nation without such a *radical reform* as Mr. Tooke and his friends sought to obtain.”

Such is the writer who has got the start of all others in pay-

ing the tribute of posterity to the memory of Mr. Tooke. And upon our consciences we can say, that excepting the philological part of that gentleman's character, we do not see that the task could have fallen into better hands.

We cannot boast of having enjoyed any personal acquaintance with the subject of these memoirs. We know him only from his works; and from those public scenes in which he has been equally observable by all. Of his private life we could say nothing, if, as reviewers, it was our province to speak of it. We have learned only through the common channels of information what others have learned. Of his public life Mr. Reid seems to be a most determined admirer. With a zeal, falling little short of adoration, he has sacrificed to his manes a hecatomb of great characters, and among these victims we find, in the 7th page of the introduction, those whom we confess ourselves to regard with feelings of affectionate homage. In the same page, the same patriotic writer talks of the unhappy disagreement between "these two great men," meaning Mr. Horne Tooke and Mr. Wilkes. Every one has an undoubted right to bestow the epithet "great" upon whomsoever he pleases, according to his fancy. And so far are we from feeling angry with the application of the epithet in this instance, that we are rather pleased with it than otherwise, as thinking the effect of it was to convert into panegyric the preceding invective against the sovereign and his son.

With this taste for greatness, the author of the memoirs commences his labour of love in recording for the example of his countrymen, the virtuous struggles of the suffering patriot. He takes him up at the period of his intimacy and co-operation with the great Mr. Wilkes. The beautiful confederacy of such minds in the correction of ministerial profligacy, and the protection of riotous Spitalfields weavers from the sacrilegious hands of justice, seems to fill our biographer's mind with the greatest admiration. The struggles of Cato against his country's degeneracy did not obtain for him a higher eulogy from the real patriots of Rome. This solemn league and covenant between Mr. Horne and Mr. Wilkes was farther cemented by the assistance voluntarily afforded by Mr. Horne in promoting Mr. Wilkes's election for Middlesex. We find at this period the reverend gentleman opening houses for the "great man" at Brentford. But alas! how fragile are all human alliances, though settled upon the purest principles. There was something perhaps of delicacy in the continuation of this amiable union, which rendered it unable to sustain the rude collision of political contests. It gave way on a sudden; and as susceptible minds are subject to extremes, a

fierce hostility succeeded, in which each of the parties found, in the circumstances of their former intercourse, an ample fund of crimination and reprobation.

The writer of the book before us lays the whole blame on the great Mr. Wilkes, who, he admits, with an amiable air of mild disapprobation, was certainly far from being a spotless character. The author of the letters signed Junius, declared in favour of Mr. Wilkes, whom he seemed to think a much less exceptionable character than his reverend antagonist. For our own parts, we must fairly confess that, in this interesting comparison, we find it absolutely impossible to settle the point of deterioration. The biographer of Mr. Tooke observes that Mr. Wilkes was too sparing of his person and his purse, while Mr. Tooke was lavish of both in the great cause in which they were engaged. Junius, however, entertained an opposite opinion. "Mr. Horne," says he, "enlarges with rapture upon the importance of his services, the dreadful battles which he might have been engaged in, and the dangers he had escaped; but he cannot help admitting the superiority of Mr. Wilkes in this line of service. On the one side we see nothing but imaginary distresses; on the other we see real prosecutions; real penalties; real imprisonment; life repeatedly hazarded; and at one moment almost the certainty of death." What these memorable patriots and champions of liberty predicate of each other, will only meet in one point of consistency. We believe it to be safest, as well as most complaisant, to agree with each concerning the other.

With respect to Wilkes, whom our author, with such an interesting naiveté, calls "a great man," we do not conceive there is another person in the country who does not esteem him one of the most desperately wicked men whom political agitations and the accidental posture of the times have rescued, for a season, from merited infamy.

Who Junius was seems yet to be a profound secret, and will, probably, for ever remain so. What he was may be in a moment collected. Hardly a letter, or a line of his imposing compositions, is without strong indications on this head. His politics are the politics of a party, full of ephemeral cant—of the grossest inconsistencies, and of the most slanderous aspersions; and the mode of his attack upon individuals was such, as to render his declamation detestable, even where it was true. We agree with Mr. Tooke that he was a skulking assassin. His morality seems, in some measure, to identify itself with that of Mr. Wilkes, whose excesses both in public and private conduct, with a most prostitute urbanity, he ascribes to the liberal sentiments by which he was governed; and in a language re-



plete with insult to his own country, claims, for *the English gentleman*, that latitude in vice by which the mock assertor of liberty was above all men distinguished. “Mr. Wilkes,” says this admired writer, in his letter to the King, “brought with him into politics the same liberal sentiments by which his private conduct had been directed; and seemed to think, that as there were few excesses in which an English gentleman may not be permitted to indulge, the same latitude was allowed him in the choice of his political principles, and in the spirit of maintaining them.” This is one of Junius’s curious paragraphs, and a specimen of his art in placing his meaning out of the reach of criticism, by refining it into a sort of exquisite nonsense. Enough, however, is discernible in it to shew his fitness to be a censurer of public conduct, or a judge of private worth.

His notions of a true patriot, he gives us in his letter dated the 5th of October, 1771. “He must be a person *obstinate, intrepid, and fertile in expedients*, and must found his popularity upon such a conduct towards government, as may preclude the possibility or hope of reconciliation with his sovereign.” He need not have told us after this, that “it was not necessary for his patriot to have the virtues of a stoic,” or “that it would be impossible to find a man with purer principles than Mr. Wilkes, prepared to go the lengths, and run the hazards that he had done.” The letter to the Duke of Grafton, on the subject of cutting timber on Whittlebury forest, contains a dastardly attack on his Majesty, and among the compositions of Junius stands foremost for malignity, meanness, and falsehood. That the charge of hypocrisy upon the king, and an attempt to betray his subjects by a pretended zeal for religion, should find reception among educated persons, is not to be imagined, but by what perversion of intellect, rational and moral men have been induced to give to the tawdry antitheses, and insolent verbiage of Junius the credit of grave and dignified satire, we are unable to conceive. The whole substratum of this most vile and venomous epistle was well known to have been totally false in fact, as was declared by Mr. John Pitt, the surveyor-general of the king’s woods; by whom the last editor of Junius states himself to have been assured, that so far from any blame in this respect attaching upon the king or his minister, the utmost regard to the public interest had been always manifested in respect to the timber of Whittlebury forest. Such were the weapons with which Junius attacked the sacred honour of a young prince, and murdered the reputation of his fellow-subjects. To the ferocity of the beast, that rushes from

his lair of his prey, he added the cruelty of the human savage, that prefaces destruction by torture.

That the style of Junius possesses point and brilliancy, can not be denied. But it is a brilliancy more successful in captivating the judgments of young readers, than in compelling the admiration of men of ripe understandings. Dazzled by the specious rhetoric, and antithetical structure of the sentences, but still more by the seeming courage of the invective, the student, bred in obedience to authority, surrenders himself to the imposing spectacle of a subject flinging his unmeasured abuse upon the magistracy and nobility of his country, and insulting his sovereign with impunity in terms which, between gentlemen, (to speak in popular language,) could only be expiated in the field of honour.

Among the vulgar, the popularity of these letters is a problem of easy solution. He that, without flinching, can utter falsehoods of those who are in power, needs nothing but assertion to obtain implicit belief; and Junius, who with his usual dexterity in substituting paradox for depth of thought, has subjoined to his declaration in favour of monarchy a wish for a republican people, has, in his wicked endeavours to alienate the people from the prince, furnished the best comment on his meaning.

It was an event of happy omen to the ambition of Mr. Tooke to be engaged in a contest with Junius, in the outset of his political career. The moment and the occasion were singularly propitious. The malignancy of Junius had been too strong for his discretion: encouraged and exasperated by the passive dignity of the monarch, he had shot his bolt so furiously wide of all semblance of truth, and, rendered wanton by success, had so carelessly developed the full scope and extent of his malice, that for the task of exposing him, little more was required than plain sense and sound mediocrity of talent.

Mr. Tooke brought too much of Junius to the conflict with Junius. In the style of his letters it was evidently his ambition to reflect the idiom and spirit of his antagonist upon himself. This was not natural, and was, therefore, ungraceful. In the gaudy habiliments of Junius, he makes but an awkward figure. His own familiar dress and ordinary manner would have better suited the occasion. It was one of the disgusting sentiments of Junius, that as long as Wilkes should continue active in his hostility to the administration, and to be a thorn in the king's side, he would deserve the support of his country. For a proposition so foolish and so base, no terms of reproach could be excessive; and yet the reproaches of the Rev. Mr. Horne do not, we confess, much engage our sympathies in the perusal.

This may be partly owing to prejudices arising from subsequent events, but we feel that the principal cause of their failing to interest us, is the general *tone* of the composition.

"It was thought a daring expression of Oliver Cromwell," says Mr. Horne Tooke, "in the time of Charles the First, that if he found himself placed opposite to the king in battle, he would discharge his piece into his bosom as soon as into any other man's. I go farther: had I lived in those days, I would not have waited for chance to give me an opportunity of doing my duty; I would have sought him through the ranks, and, without the least personal enmity, have discharged my piece into his bosom, rather than into any other man's. The king, whose actions justify rebellion to his government, deserves death from the hand of every subject; and should, such a time arrive, I shall be as free to act as to say."

We can not much respect the feelings of the man who, at this distance of time, shaded and softened as remote events usually become in the retrospect of common humanity, can remember only the failings of the unhappy Charles, without a sentiment of pity for his sufferings, or respect for his virtues. One would have thought that the calm hostility of Mr. Horne Tooke might have contented itself with a declaration which satisfied the keen ambition and fanatical fury of Cromwell. It was scarcely to have been expected that the scholar and the philosopher would have envied the usurper his bloody precedency, and have compensated the want of actual guilt by the display of a more sanguinary disposition of the heart. Having been born too late to be an actor in the scene of regicide, was it a consolation to Mr. Tooke to boast that the greatest performer in the tragedy was not better qualified than himself to play the part of the hero? Yet such appears to have been the taste of that gentleman. His hand, by his own account, would have been ready, had he been born in time, to take away the life of a sovereign distinguished among men, even by the confession of his enemies, for piety, courage, and humanity; distinguished also for his untimely grey hairs, and multiplied sorrows; distinguished too, if to err be a distinction from the common lot of man, by some mistakes in conduct. We are of another taste; a taste which leads us to prefer to the vengeance of Mr. Tooke the valor of Sir Edward Lake, who, after receiving sixteen wounds, by one of which his left arm was disabled, continued to hold the bridle between his teeth, to fight the battle of Marston. While we condemn the boast of the patriot, we can only forgive the pride of those (if proud they are) who can boast their descent from him whose valorous loyalty has pur-

chased for them the right to record the achievement, by adding to their armorial bearings the lion of England, the armed right arm, the sword, and the banner argent, as the symbols of the gratitude of a sovereign who had nothing left him to bestow but honour.

The period at which the character of Mr. Tooke reached its highest distinction, was that in which he became conspicuous for his exertions in favour of parliamentary reform. To have acted in conjunction with such men as at that time united their efforts for effecting this object was, in our opinion, a circumstance conferring some dignity on the name of Tooke.

Great has been the obloquy cast on the memory of Mr. Pitt for his imputed apostacy from his early professions. He has been said to have thirsted for the blood of his former associates in reform. In answering party invective argument is thrown away: by the violence of its ebullition it either overflows and wastes itself, or expends its substance in fume and vapour. He, therefore, that respects the memory of Mr. Pitt should be cautioned against employing a mode of vindication which supposes the semblance of truth in the distortions of party exaggeration, and gives body and consistence to sound and fury.

It must, however, be confessed that the sentiments of the distinguished person to whom we have last alluded did undergo a decided alteration on the subject of parliamentary reform, practically considered. But did the practical condition of the country undergo no change? And was Mr. Pitt the only man in the country in whom age and experience could justify no change of opinion? Is it not the common fate of this much abused subject to be considered by those who are unacquainted with actual affairs, and the real difficulties of the art of governing, as a question of principle rather than of expedience, as a question of abstract truth, rather than as one of which the solution is found only in the passions, the wants, and weaknesses, of ordinary humanity?

We certainly are among those who have always given Mr. Pitt full credit for sincerity in his early professions in behalf of reform, and we have never imagined that a man in the meridian of his mind, is bound by any duty to himself or others, to give effect to the projects of his dawning genius. We know of no necessary limit but the grave to the progress of self-correction; but if the understanding must have its solstice, let it at least be the solstice of summer—let it be placed, in correspondence with the laws of the physical world, at that point of altitude from which its light and heat are most vigorously imparted; and not in the incipient stage of its ascending glory.

It is possible, however, that Mr. Pitt might have judged that the reform to which he had given his sanction, was subsequently

enlarged by those with whom he had been associated, much beyond his own original views; on which supposition, it might be consistently alleged that reform deserted Mr. Pitt, instead of Mr. Pitt's deserting reform. Might he not also have consistently regarded the question itself as having become adulterated by an admixture of French revolutionary principles, which had rendered that dangerous in application, which was still true in the abstract? Or lastly, might he not have been convinced by reflection, that while so many under the pretence of reform dissembled very mischievous or mistaken views, it would be quite inconsistent with sound sense or policy to risk the enjoyment of so much practical good, in the pursuit of projects of problematical advantage? It seems to us that any of these reasons would have justified the change in the policy of Mr. Pitt, which has been the subject of such bitter accusation. We are inclined, however, to think that none of these reasons formed the true ground of Mr. Pitt's alteration of sentiment on the measure of reform: it was, we presume to conjecture, the natural consequence of his clear and unclouded perceptions, exercising themselves on a nearer view of those objects which at a greater distance had cheated his fancy. What had seemed to be the useless adjuncts, if not rather the deformities of the structure, appeared on closer inspection to be the buttresses, and real supports, on which it depended. What was wanted in grace, he found compensated in strength and durability; and a new and special beauty in the fabric appeared to arise from the aptitude of its parts to its purpose, and the substantial excellence of its interior dispositions.

It is probable that the mind of the youthful statesman as it accumulated the means of comparison, discovered that there was no warrant in the practice of former times, no preexistent model, for the proposed changes of the system; that no earlier period in the history of man could be matched with that in which he drew his breath for the enjoyment of a rational and regulated freedom; that the House of Commons had never been in fact better composed; and that, composed as it was, it was the true epitome of the nation; comprizing a more diffusive representation of the country, than if it had been wholly popular in its constitution. That it represented the mind and faculty of the people, and displayed a sort of mosaic of breathing emblems, working up into its texture the variegated pattern of human character, as it lies spread out on the floor of a nation comparatively free.

We are of opinion, upon the whole, that the great majority of reasoning men in the country are satisfied with the House of Commons as it is at present composed, from a persuasion that it

practically answers its true intention. But reform will never cease to have a captivating sound. To the vulgar the hope of change will always be seducing as long as they shall continue unequal to distinguish between adventitious evils, and those which are inseparable from man's appointed condition. The contagion of any strong feeling gives it a spread beyond the limits of ignorance, and thus the mind of the young statesman is apt to be carried away by the acclamation which accompanies the idea of reform; while the ends of designing ambition are answered by adopting the clamour. It is no disrespect to the memory of Mr. Pitt to suppose him at his political outset to have been in some measure misled by the very magnanimity of his character into some of these illusions on the subject of reform, which a little more constitutional tact and political experience naturally dispelled. Let Mr. Horne Tooke then engross the merit of consistency, for he was certainly persevering to the end. The very pillar of Mr. Pitt's glory on the other hand, must rest upon what has been called his apostasy. Never to change while all about one is changing, is what some understand by consistency. It seems to us that this immutability of opinion is often the result of obstinacy and bad design. There is, to be sure, a right and wrong in substance which can never vary, but relative and circumstantial right and wrong (which are only the proprieties of human actions) are perpetually changing places, and even as to that which is essentially right or wrong, opinion must vary with the capacities of discernment in the same man. He that preserves in his changes the progressive law of his nature, marks his consistency by his varieties, which like the vicissitudes of the seasons, are as beautiful as they are beneficial.

Passing through these mellowing changes, Mr. Pitt advanced to that maturity of knowledge, and elevation of views, which enabled him to discern and counteract the malignant tendency of the disorganizing principles, which, at the commencement of the French revolution, had begun to find advocates and supporters in this country. That we were not "confounded in the perilous time" was owing, under God, to the efforts of his firm hand and commanding voice. He that now contemplates the smiling faces of his children, or sits under the shade of his own sycamore, or perambulates his fields, or gathers the fruits of his industry on British ground, is deficient in sense or gratitude, if he honours not the name of William Pitt;—of him, who from afar, saw, (what it is charitable to presume escaped the penetration of reformers, and it is just to conclude deceived the sagacity of his great opponent and his adherents) the gathering peril, and holding in his hand the protecting trident of Britain, admonished the country of its duty, and repressed the spirit of the storm.

So when the father of the flood appears,  
 And o'er the seas his sovereign trident bears,  
 Their fury falls: he skins the liquid plains,  
 High on his chariot; and, with easy reins,  
 Majestic moves along, and awful peace maintains.

Such was the happy fruit of the imputed apostacy of Mr. Pitt. In the mean time the consistency of Mr. Tooke proceeded with a steady march, until we find him with associates very inferior to himself in capacity, a state prisoner under a charge of treason. Of this charge of treason he was acquitted, and we think rightly acquitted, by a jury of his country; but we must be permitted to think and speak with some disrelish of a conduct liable to be mistaken for treason. And independently of the question whether any and what legal offence was committed by Mr. Tooke, in the part he acted in his connection with the corresponding societies, we must, for ourselves, declare bluntly, that whatever is truly English in the composition of our minds, turns with disgust from their character and proceedings.

The country is so entirely sick of the very name of these corresponding societies, that it is almost become bad taste to bestow above a sentence upon them. It would, besides, be utterly useless. It is no longer necessary to expose them. A sort of odour accompanies their principles, which announces their pestiferous approach, and puts common prudence upon its guard. They have borrowed from the genius of Mr. Tooke neither ornament nor disguise, to protect them from disgust; nor under the specious pretext of reform are they any longer able to inpose upon one man in the country, possessing a competency of common understanding. How these doctrines appear when dressed up in the political philosophy of Mr. Tooke, he has left us the means of judging in that precious introduction to his second part of his publication called the Diversions of Purley, in which the same incubation has hatched a motley brood of politics, grammar, egotism, and invective. It is thus that under the etymology of the word right, which wanted no explanation, he has explained himself on the notable doctrine of the rights of man.

#### H.

“It appears to me highly improper to say, that God has a right: as it is also to say, that God is just. For nothing is *ordered*, *directed*, or *commanded*, concerning God. The expressions are *inapplicable* to the Deity; though they are common, and those who use them have the best intentions. They are applicable only to men; to whom alone language belongs, and of whose conceptions only words are the representatives; to men who are by

nature the subject of *orders* and *commands*, and whose chief merit is obedience.

F.

“Every thing then that is *ordered* and *commanded* is right and just!

H.

“Surely. For that is only affirming that what is *ordered* and *commanded*, is *ordered* and *commanded*.

F.

“Now what becomes of your vaunted *rights* of man? According to you the chief merit of men is obedience: and whatever is *ordered* and *commanded* is right and just! This is pretty well for a democrat! And these have always been your sentiments?

H.

“Always. And these sentiments confirm my democracy.

F.

“These sentiments do not seem to have made you very conspicuous for obedience. There are not a few passages, I believe, in your life, where you have opposed what was *ordered* and *commanded*. Upon your own principles, was that right?

H.

“Perfectly.

F.

“How now! Was it *ordered* and *commanded* that you should oppose what was *ordered* and *commanded*? Can the same thing be at the same time both right and wrong?

H.

“Travel back to Melinda, and you will find the difficulty most easily solved. A thing may be at the same time both right and wrong, as right and left. It may be *commanded* to be done, and *commanded* not to be done. The law lag, lag, i. e. that which is *laid down*, may be different by different authorities.

“I have always been most obedient when most attacked with disobedience. But my right hand is not the right hand of Melinda. The right I revere is not the right adored by sycophants; the *jus vagum*, the capricious *command* of princes or ministers. I follow the law of God (what is laid down by him for the rule of my conduct) when I follow the laws of human nature; which without any human testimony, we know must proceed from God: and upon these are founded the rights of man, or what is *ordered* for man. I revere the constitution and constitutional laws of England; because they are in conformity with the laws of God and nature; and upon these are founded the rational rights of Englishmen. If princes or ministers, or



the corrupted sham representatives of a people, *order, command, or lay down*, any thing contrary to that which is *ordered, commanded, or laid down*, by God, human nature, or the constitution of this government; I will still hold fast by the higher authorities. If the meaner authorities are offended, they can only destroy the body of the individual; but never can affect the right, or that which is *ordered* by their superiors."

Where shall we find in all the works of Thomas Paine, the rights of man more accurately defined on the principles of jacobinical philosophy? We may challenge all the reforming taylor and shoemakers throughout the united kingdom, to exhibit the doctrine in greater perfection of folly. According to this hopeful system, every man is to be the judge in his own case, of the quantum of obedience he owes to the laws. He carries in his individual bosom a kind of court of appeal from the legislature and government of the country. To this supreme court all the powers of the state are subordinate. If it be asked by what code of laws this lofty judicature is conducted, the answer is ready—the laws of God and human nature. And what are the laws of God and nature? Those, says the language above quoted, which a man, in his own mind, feels to be such; and which must necessarily supersede all meaner authorities, and such are the laws and statutes of the realm. Now, that there are certain ordinances written in the heart of man, and that there are certain positive commands of God written in his holy book, to which all human institutions must conform, we are far, very far, from disputing. All men, women, and children will agree with Mr. Tooke, that a law commanding us to commit murder, adultery, or theft, to disobey parents, or bear false witness against others, could derive no title to obedience from the highest authority of man. But bad, indeed, would be the compliment to Mr. Tooke's sagacity, to suppose him to mean nothing more than what is included in such a trite proposition. He must have meant, if he proposed to instruct the world, and such appears to have always been the scope of his pretensions, that he had a right, and consequently that every other man had a right (for he is speaking not of Mr. Tooke's rights but of the rights of man), to consider how far each constituted, settled, and standing law of the land was agreeable to certain laws, called the laws of *human nature*, before he yielded submission to it; or, in other words, that every subject was at liberty to bring the validity of every public law to the test of his own private judgment, and to wait for his own approbation, before he was bound to obedience.

Who can doubt that there is a law of universality emanating from God, and antecedent to all human institutions? But does

it from thence follow, that we are all competent judges how far the laws instituted by man are agreeable to that original law, and that every man has a right to try by that standard the laws of the state in which he lives, and to suspend his obedience upon the result of this private comparison? All that finally constitutes the happiness of man is doubtless clearly propounded by him who made us, and is strictly according to the nature of the educated and social man. All such matters are of transcendent obligation. *Hæc legi nec abrogari fas est, neque derogari in hæc aliquid licet; neque tota abrogari potest. Nec vero aut per senatum, aut per populum solvi hac lege possumus. Neque est quærendus explanator, aut interpret ejus alius; nec erit alia lex Romæ, alia Athenis; alia nunc, alia posthac.* If, therefore, any of these laws are plainly contravened by a positive institution, we certainly owe to it no obedience. But Mr. Tooke must have known that this is an extreme case, which it is equally dangerous and useless to discuss for any practical purposes. He must have known that when the question of the general expediency of a law comes under consideration, though its ultimate tendency to consequences beneficial to man must be the true test of its value, it can not be the proper test of its validity; and except where we suppose the extreme case above alluded to, its obligatory force must continue until repealed, or altered, by public and competent authority. Since it must have been evident to that gentleman, that government and civil society itself, can have no security but what rests upon the supposition that every individual member of the state has tacitly given up all right to ground upon his private judgment, a practical opposition to positive ordinance.

We now take leave of Mr. Tooke's Utopia, humbly hoping, and with great deference to those who borrow from thence their models of national reform, that we and our children may be long protected from its blessings, and may rather die in the desert than taste the milk and honey of this promised land.

The next situation in which our biographer presents his hero is on the hustings of Covent Garden, as a candidate for the representation of Westminster in parliament. A situation (we mean the hustings of Covent Garden) for which in the judgment of most of his friends he was eminently qualified. We have observed him in some of these scenes of his life, and are ready to bear testimony to his preservation of that consistency with himself to which we have already done such ample justice. And if we are not among the admirers of this display of Mr. Tooke's ability, we are far from denying his merit, considered with re-

ference to his object. To be in favour with the mob, we must deceive them in every point on which it is of the greatest importance to their happiness that they should be rightly informed. To foster their natural querulousness, their groundless jealousies, and their angry repinings, by echoing all their complaints; to encourage them in their habitual persuasion of the tyranny and oppression of their rulers; to teach them that the remedy for their fancied wrongs and necessary burthens, lies in exertions of their own unwieldy force; to talk to them as infallible oracles in politics, religion, and morals; to expose to their contempt the magistracy, the nobility, and the councils of the state, and to mock them with promises of benefit from changes, which it is evident to reason can never raise wages, diminish taxes, or multiply food, are the deplorable arts to which a candidate who depends upon the affections of the vulgar must resort. We have been always struck with the cruelty and indignity of this system of cajolement and fraud; and are really afraid that more is done at the season of a general election towards depressing and brutifying the understandings and character of the lower classes, than can be repaired by all those spirited undertakings for instructing the poor, and bettering their condition, by which the present era is so creditably distinguished.

We therefore presume to think, that if the House of Commons were wholly composed of persons who had thus acquired the favour of the multitude, our affairs would not be more ably and steadily conducted; and that if there were no other channels of introduction to that assembly, a large proportion of the soundest and wisest men in the country would be virtually excluded. Upon the calmest consideration of these inevitable consequences, we deprecate a reform which would open the doors of the house to those alone who could enter therein upon the shoulders of the people.

We have ventured to make these remarks as an excuse for our insensibility to the value of those electioneering qualities of Mr. Tooke, of which his biographer is such an admirer. His speeches from the hustings appear to us to have been the depositaries of all that rancour towards constituted authorities, which the perpetual disappointment of his ambitious hopes had been so long accumulating in his mind. They are themselves among the strongest proofs of his living under a state in which liberty is not only enjoyed to the fullest rational extent, but sometimes to excess and abuse. It will be doing but justice to Mr. Tooke, to exhibit a specimen of the character and spirit of his hustings orations.

“ Monday, June 6, 1796.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ I have more satisfaction from this day's poll than from all the days which are past: not because I have polled a greater number of votes, but because my poll continues steady. This poll shows a steady people, and the steadiness of the people is of more consequence than the gaining of any election. You have this day thrust down the admiral one step. The admiral tells me that is a very small step: it appears, therefore, he does not value very much the being the first in your esteem. I trust you will go on and give him an opportunity to shew the excellence of his temper, by trying how he will bear to be put down the other step.

“ The admiral has said nothing to you this day but to return you thanks, which he does not owe; for the numbers upon the poll are notoriously not given to Sir A. Gardner, but to Mr. Pitt, the minister.

• “ The admiral told you the other day (with what decorum you will consider) that he should much rather choose to be returned your representative in parliament (which is merely a political situation) along with the right honourable gentleman, than with the other candidate, although at the same time he declared that he disliked the politics of that right honourable gentleman. He did not, however, add a single word of disparagement of the other candidate, whom he rejected for a colleague—I do not think he can. But if he can, or if those who sent him here can, I should be glad to hear it; and I think, after such a voluntary and uncalled-for declaration, he owes it in his own justification to you: in the mean time, I am left to find out the reason of his preference from the expressions which he has used. I am compelled to suppose, that the baronet's reason is contained in the two words *right honourable*, for with these words he graced that gentleman's name. A title before a name may be a very natural motive for a baronet's preference in the choice of his colleague, but I will endeavour very shortly to convince you, that it would be a very bad motive for you in the choice of a representative, and I shall do it with the greater satisfaction to myself, because Mr. Fox has a much better and a much more solid claim to your support; I mean that very opposition to the minister which the baronet dislikes.

“ In this country, if any of you have been at the parade, or at a review, you have seen the commanding officers standing gallantly before their men (as the candidates do here upon the hustings), and give a word of command *in front*; you are egregiously mistaken if you suppose they do the same in the time of action. No, Gentlemen; they then give the word of command *from behind*. This will always be the practice in all other services, as well as the military, as long as favour, and birth, and title, and parliamentary corruption, and money, promote men to superior offices. The higher their station, the safer in time of action will be their situation. Now then, gentlemen, look at the conduct of that enemy,

from whom you may learn some other things more useful than the *telegraph* which we have adopted. With their superior merit and bravery alone promote their private men from the ranks, and place them in command, and even at the head of their armies. See the never-failing consequence of this practice in their last brilliant victory at Lodi, when a column of their bravest grenadiers were for a moment stopped; and hesitating at the furious cannonade of the Austrians, six of their generals rushed foremost at the head of the column, gave the command, and (what was better) their example *in front*, the victory immediately followed.

“ You, gentlemen, the electors of Westminster, and all the other electors throughout England, will do well to consider and to ask yourselves these questions:—

“ In our present cruel struggle between liberty and slavery, who are the persons starving for want of bread?

“ To whom do the ministry propose to substitute for bread?

“ Who are the persons oppressed, beggared, dishonoured, vilified, and ruined?

“ Who are languishing and rotting in their gaols?—[*A voice from the crowd said, Horne Tooke.*]—It is true, I have been frequently in prison, but at present I had forgotten myself, I was thinking only of you.

“ I wish you to consider, who are sentenced to be flogged to death; or are tortured (the cruelest of all tortures) with putrid diseases in their prisons?

“ Who are sent as felons to Botany Bay? Who are cast into dungeons, and treated and tried as traitors?

[*Many persons present exclaimed, “ the people.”*]

“ Gentlemen, you say true. It is so. It is we; we, the privates in the ranks.

“ Where all this while were our political general? Where were our right honourable and honourable representatives? Behind, safe, and in the rear, *reposing on their beds of pension and privilege.*

• “ Gentlemen—Believe me, you cannot possibly have the smallest chance, you cannot reasonably entertain even the smallest hope of success, unless at your elections you pass by these lords and these lordlings, these barons and baronets, and choose your representatives from amongst the privates in the ranks.”

The other speeches pronounced by Mr. Tooke at the close of each day's poll, during the contest in which he was engaged, are collected in the pages of his biographer, as constituting a brilliant feature of his public life. Men view these things through very different media. Some are of opinion, that addresses to the people upon these occasions, are entitled to a large and liberal measure of indulgence; that a candidate is at full liberty to sell himself of the temper of the multitude, and to ride upon their favour, however acquired, to the accomplishment of his object. That what would be foul detraction at another time, is

legitimate abuse upon these occasions; and that falshood and exaggeration lose their essential qualities in the mouth of an election orator, and become the harmless figures of his privileged rhetoric. Others view these matters very differently. They insist upon the universality of the rules of truth and honesty; and particularly, that there is a sort of reverence due to ignorance which casts upon the virtuous mind a more than ordinary care of what proceeds from him in the presence of raw and uninstructed hearers. Phocion, upon hearing himself applauded by the multitude, expressed to somebody near him his apprehension that some bad thing must have escaped his lips to account for the acclamation. There is no doubt, therefore, how Phocion would have decided between the two opinions above alluded to; and we trust we shall not disgrace ourselves as christians by copying that honest heathen in most of his political sentiments, particularly in his hatred of tyranny, whether it be the tyranny of established rule, the tyranny of usurpation, the tyranny of faction, or the tyranny of tumultuous force.

The contest for Westminster in which Mr. Tooke made so distinguished a figure was terminated on the 13th June 1796, Mr. Tooke having lost his election after having polled 2819 votes; and as all these were considered as pure votes, the defeat of that gentleman was by his friends regarded as a virtual triumph, and as such was celebrated at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, by a very numerous assembly, with a laudable observance of all the solemnities of eating, drinking, toasting, and haranguing. Mr. Tooke being here called upon by an elector, to explain himself distinctly on the article of parliamentary reform, and to tell the people by what means they were to regain their rights, and expel their profligate ministers, delivered himself in the following terms.

• “Gentlemen—Nothing in the world ever gives me more pleasure than to be called upon as the gentleman has done. It is the manner in which gentlemen should call upon all those persons who are their representatives, or who offer to become their representatives, and scrutinize every sentiment they hold which relates to public liberty. I am called upon for two things—one, which I can answer—and one which I cannot. As far as relates to myself, I am able to do it, I am willing to it, and I am glad to do it; but when I am called upon to explain the sentiments of a gentleman who is absent, I must beg to be excused. I think the best, and hope the best, of Mr. Fox, although there are some things still left unexplained by him. However, the moment will certainly arrive, when the gentleman who spoke last, and myself, and all who think as we do, may compel him to explain himself upon this subject even if he were not inclined to do so.

"The gentleman has supposed, that if I were in parliament, I too should be in a minority. I believe not; for both the majority and minority would perhaps be unanimous to hagg me. For the means which the people ought to pursue to obtain a reform in parliament, I say, they ought to pursue any effectual means that shall be in their power. Individuals cannot do much: but in my opinion, individuals ought to pursue their rights, even though they should produce the most sanguinary measures from the minister against them: they ought never to desist; for though the minister may slaughter them, the liberty of the people will arise out of their blood!"

From these scenes, the patriot and philosopher retired to the shades of Wimbledon, where, according to the return made by him to the commissioners of the income tax, his regular income must have been small indeed. His biographer thus introduces and relates the circumstance.

"Mr. Tooke's disposition to baffle and perplex those whom he deemed the instruments of tyranny and oppression, has been conspicuous on many occasions: among instances of this kind, the two following letters are said to have passed between him and the commissioners of the income tax, in the spring of 1799.

"TO JOHN HORNE TOOKE, ESQ.

"Office of the commissioners for carrying into execution the act for taxing income.

"Wandsworth, May 3, 1799.

"SIR,

"The commissioners having under their consideration your declaration of income, dated the 26th of February last, have directed me to acquaint you, that they have reason to apprehend your income exceeds sixty pounds a-year. They, therefore, desire that you will re-consider the said declaration, and favour me with your answer on or before Wednesday, the 8th inst.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"W. B. LUTTLY, clerk."

"TO MR. W. B. LUTTLY.

"SIR,

"I have much more reason than the commissioners can have to be dissatisfied with the smallness of my income. I have never yet in my life disavowed, or had occasion to reconsider any declaration, which I have signed with my name. But the act of parliament has removed all the decencies which used to prevail between gentlemen, and has given the commissioners (shrouded under the signature of clerks) a right by law to tell me, that they have reason to believe that I am a liar. They have also a right to demand from me both, the particular circumstances of my private situation. In obedience to the law, I am ready to attend them upon this de-

grading occasion, so novel to Englishmen, and to give them every explanation and satisfaction which they may be pleased to require.

“ I am, Sir, your humble servant,

“ J. HORNE TOOKE.”

One is a little surprised, putting all these things together, to find Mr. Horne Tooke in 1801, a member of the legislature, as the representative of Old Sarum. We have but an obscure recollection of the demeanour of Mr. Tooke as a legislator. His biographer says of him, that those who had formed their opinions of him as a violent partizan, had mistaken his character: that “ he spoke in favour of an enquiry into the Ferrol expedition, with equal temper and ability;” that on the Poor Relief Bill, “ he declared himself an enemy to every departure from established and approved principles,” and he gives as a specimen of his parliamentary talents, his speech in a committee on the high price of provisions. We cannot refrain from extracting this precious morceau, that our readers may form from it some estimate of Mr. Tooke's wisdom and eloquence in council, and how probable it was, that had he remained longer in parliament, the public would have been enriched from the fund of his political philosophy.

“ Sir, it is idle now to think of keeping down the price of provisions: you cannot keep it down, and your awkward attempts will only make it rise the faster. Look back to the earliest times, and you see it constantly rising, and this cause continues to operate with increased force. It is in vain then to struggle with inevitable necessity. You will only heap abuse upon abuse. Remove the national debt, repeal the taxes, and then you may hope to see things at a moderate price; but while you daily add to the amount of these, to entertain such a hope is madness. By this absurd and ineffectual attempt, the public distresses are rendered far more severe. The true friends to their country will allow things to rise in their natural course. By thus doing nothing they will do every thing. They will avoid a thousand errors; they will save millions of lives.

“ Sir, in my humble opinion, however paradoxical it may appear, you ought to try to raise the price of every thing. This doctrine may seem extraordinary, but it may be right for all that; and I shall at all times be ready to defend it. Notwithstanding all that has been said, I am a great enemy to innovation. I hate *innovation* in all things, in church, in state, and in agriculture. My *vital christianity* teaches me to love every thing that is established. Do I examine the attachment I ought to have to any system or practice, I do not examine its intrinsic merits, but I say to myself—Is it established? Though a much better may be pointed out to me, still I think it ought to be adhered to, and that no rash experiment should be hazarded. These are my opinions—these have ever been



my opinions. I have long been in public life; I have spoken a good deal, and written still more. But let any one examine my speeches and publications with the greatest minuteness, and I defy him to shew that I ever expressed a sentiment contrary to what I now utter. Those principles, Sir, compel me to disapprove of this measure; I cannot consent to see the system of agriculture changed; I cannot consent to see a man obliged to pay a premium against himself. It makes little difference whether the people pay more for the potatoes, or pay an additional tax for a county to produce them. But it is idle thus to think of lowering the price. If you wish to promote the comfort of the poor, raise as speedily as possible the price of labour. It is far too low, and must soon rise in spite of you. Though not young, I am not very old, and within my recollection the price of labour has been trebled. Effects will still follow causes, and it must soon advance much farther. Why then struggle against a necessity which no human power can controul, and no human ingenuity elude? Where will the storm fall? I allow it must at last fall somewhere, and I say it must fall upon the public creditor. A man lends 100*l.* to government, and gets three per cent. for it. If the quartern-loaf is at sixpence, he gets one hundred and twenty loaves a-year, but now he gets only forty or fifty, and in a short time he may not get twenty. Thus, in the course of things, he may be altogether ruined. The poor will not ultimately suffer, for their wages will be increased in proportion. The landed interest will not suffer, for their rents will be increased in proportion. The revenue will not suffer, for in the same proportion the ability of the people to contribute will be increased. The mischief will only fall upon the holders of stock, and as they are not a very numerous set of men, it will not be difficult to relieve them. These steps seem to be taken to prevent the monied interest from being alarmed. They certainly would be less willing to advance their money, but it is unfair thus to try to deceive them."

Whatever were Mr. Tooke's qualifications for the task of legislation, the clergy incapacitation act prevented them from being displayed after the end of the session of the parliament into which he had been elected. With what dignity or usefulness that gentleman filled up the remaining years of his life, we shall not presume to enquire. According to the sage historian of his life, whose book has been the apology for this article, his house continued to be the school in which some of the disciples of reform were instructed in political wisdom. His hospitality towards the latter end of his life, his biographer believes, was confined to the dinners which he gave on Sundays to his political friends, and among these to the unfortunate Mr. Paul. For some time before his death, which happened on the 19th March 1812, Mr. Tooke had been in a declining state, and must consequently have had the prospect of the final change fully before his eyes, in

good time to bestow upon it the proper reflections. He is stated in the book before us to have expressed his confidence in the existence of a supreme being, whose final purpose was the happiness of his creatures.

Whether this was all, or his historian has out of delicacy forborne to draw aside the curtain, and shew him to us in the last crisis of mortality, we cannot tell. Peradventure, even after the departure of his friends who surrounded his bed, a short pause was yet allowed him, of which some beneficial use was made. In what religious belief, or whether in any, he breathed his last we pretend not to know; we hear neither of prayers or sacraments; and we find him desiring that no funeral ceremony might be read over his remains, which he had directed to be laid in a vault in his garden. A command, doubtless more honoured in the breach than it would have been in the observance. It is difficult to divine the reason for this rejection of the rites of our church, unless on the ground of unbelief in its doctrines. We will venture to say his soul could lose nothing by the ceremony; and the sceptic who denies not the possibility of what he doubts, must confess it to be dangerous at least, to withdraw from God, a service which, to speak humanly, has been once vested in him by the ordinances of holy men.

Mr. Horne Tooke has not left behind him very voluminous proofs of his literary and intellectual attainments. Some very trifling productions, such as a contrasted sketch of the characters of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, in which at the time when it was published, it suited the writer's political connections to exalt the merit of Mr. Pitt; and a letter to a friend on the reported marriage of his royal highness the Prince of Wales, are scarcely worthy of being enumerated. In his character as a clergyman, he favoured the world with a sermon on friendship, the tendency of which is said to have been wholly political. This sermon was dedicated to Alderman Townsend, dated Feb. 21, 1769. We have never seen the production, but can readily believe his biographer when he pronounces it unequal to the sermons of either Tillotson or Blair.

But the great work of Mr. Tooke was his *EHEA HTEPOENTA*, or *Diversions of Purley*, the first edition of which appeared in 1786, being an expansion of the idea which he had first announced to the world as a discovery, in a letter written to Mr. Dunning, in the year 1778, and published in the form of a pamphlet. An enlarged edition was afterwards produced, and within a few years previous to his death, another volume made its appearance, under the title of a second part of the same work.

The fundamental hypothesis of Mr. Tooke's theory, seems to be this—That the only necessary words or parts of speech are nouns and verbs, and that all others are only the substitutes of these under the proper title of abbreviations. In this manner all the undeclinable parts of speech, as adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions have come into existence. These, and all those parts of speech usually called particles, only supply, by the common consent, into which mankind have gradually and imperceptibly fallen, the place and meaning of the proper constituents of language—the noun and the verb. Without these particles the language might move or be dragged like a sledge, but these are the wheels which enable it to move rapidly, and approach more nearly the quickness with which our thoughts are generated.

Our passions and our necessities are always prompting us to shorten and condense the media of communication. Thus, in the progress of refinement, we have continued to multiply these forms of speech, which, like what is called short-hand in writing, enable us to follow the course of the mind at a less distance, and with greater fidelity. All particles, therefore, according to Mr. Tooke, are only abridged forms of speech, and understood in their true expansion, are perfectly significant. Thus 'it' is merely a verb. It is the imperative of the Gothic or Anglo-saxon word *ƿifan* *ƿifan*, and in those languages as well as in the English formerly, this supposed conjunction was pronounced and written as the common imperative purely, *ƿif* *ƿif*, *gif*. And accordingly our corrupted 'if' has always the significations of the English imperative 'Give,' and no other, and this is the proper resolution of the construction. Wherever the datum upon which any conclusion depends, is a sentence, the article 'that' is understood, and may be inserted after *if*. "How will the weather dispose of you tomorrow? *If* fair, it will send me abroad; *If* foul, it will keep me at home."

Here the datum is not "*If* that," but "*If*, i. e. give fair weather, or give foul." But let the expression be, "*If* it is fair weather," or "*If* it is foul weather," and then the article 'that' is understood, and may be inserted after '*If*,' as, *If* that it is fair weather, or, *If* that it is foul. And this, says Mr. Tooke, will be found to hold universally, not only with *if*, but with many other supposed conjunctions, such as, *but*, *that*, *unless*, *that*, *though*, *that*, *lest*, *that*, &c. (which are really verbs) put in this manner before the article *that*. *An* in the sense of *if*, is also a verb, it being nothing else but the imperative of the Anglo-saxon verb *Anan*, which likewise means to give, or to grant. In the same manner *unless* is traced to the Saxon Oulery which is the imperative of the verb Ouleryan, to dismiss. But, from

Be-utan, the imperative of Beon-utan, to be out. *And*, from An-ab, the imperative of Anan-ab, to accumulate. "Not that I mean," says Mr. Tooke, "that those words which are called *conditional conjunctions* are to be accounted for in all languages in the same manner as I have accounted for *if* and *an*. Nor, indeed, that they must all mean precisely as these two do, *give* and *grant*, but some word equivalent; such as *be it, suppose, allow, permit, suffer, &c.*, which meaning is to be sought for from the particular etymology of each respective language, not from some *unnamed* and *unknown* 'turns, stands, postures, &c. of the mind, as Mr. Locke expresses it.' In short, to put this matter out of doubt, I mean to discard all supposed mystery, not only about these *conditionals*, but about all those words also which Mr. Harris and others distinguish from prepositions, and call *conjunction of sentences*. I deny them to be a separate sort of words or part of speech by themselves; for they have not a separate manner of signification: although they are not devoid of signification. And the particular signification of each must be sought for amongst the other parts of speech by the help of the particular etymology of each respective language.

"By such means alone can we clear away the obscurity and errors in which grammarians and philosophers have been involved by the corruption of some common words, and the useful abbreviations of construction. And at the same time we shall get rid of that farrago of useless distinctions into *conjunctive, abjunctive, subdisjunctive, copulative, negative, continuative, subcontinuative, positive, suppositive, adversative, conditional, suspensive, illative, conductive, declarative, &c. &c. &c.* which explain nothing."

We have given this passage from the work, because it will help very much to explain both the matter and the *manner* of the writer. Though we do not go to the length to which many of his contemporaries have gone, in admiration of the learning and philosophy of the treatise, we are very far from denying the ingenuity of some of the hypotheses, and the general utility of the work, especially when considered in the light of an assistant and guide to the lexicographer. Some remarks, however, we think, must necessarily force themselves upon the most candid mind, in the perusal of the *Diversions of Purley*. The work is evidently destitute of that comprehensiveness of reasoning, that power of generalizing, and that philosophical arrangement, which usually accompany the march of original genius, consolidating and perpetuating its discoveries and acquisitions. Few general observations on etymology, or the manner in which moral, and physical, accidents and associations, or national habits and pe-

culiarities of condition, bring about its vague, collateral, and latent results and combinations; nothing of deduction, from the principles of speech, or what the Greeks call *συναγωγή*; nothing or next to nothing, on the mutability of letters, the interchange of sounds, the elliptical defalcations of sentences, or, in short, the silent though natural and necessary fluctuations of all languages, occur in either of the volumes under consideration, to connect the different hypotheses of the work into a system, or enable the reader from some fixed point or station to take in the whole of what the author has spread out before him. The work is occupied only with details, in which one or two very good *hits*, if we may be excused the adoption of the term, having been made, the analogy is pursued with an undeniable spirit and success. But it really seems to us that the merit lay principally in the first idea, which, having been once started, the subsequent instances of its successful application displayed little more than a sort of mechanical labour. And according to the author's own account, this labour was extended over all the most vigorous years of his existence. •

Mr. Tooke appears to have been so transported with the magnitude of his supposed discovery, and perhaps so elated with the eulogy of some of his ignorant contemporaries, by whom he was at once exalted to the same class with Bacon and Newton, as to keep no measures with those grammarians or philosophers to whom his theory had not presented itself. Mr. Locke is treated with very little ceremony, the great and learned Bishop Lowth is taken from his pedestal, and the ill-fated author of *Hermes* is degraded from his literary rank with every mark of contumely and scorn. We do not know that in all our acquaintance with authors and authorship, we have ever observed the conceit of discovery and illumination carry the bloated feeling of self-importance and contempt of others, to a wilder excess. Having shewn, and we admit, satisfactorily shewn, that what are called particles by the grammarians, are nothing but abbreviations, and are, therefore, deducible to a significant origin, he is full of the most insolent contempt for those, and for Mr. Harris among others, who have treated them as separate parts of speech, and have bestowed upon them distinct appellations in reference to their different offices in actual composition. But, surely, it is as absurd to find fault with the different names given to particles after they have assumed their different applicable forces in composition, as to censure the practice of giving different appellations to the same thing at its different stages of being, from the egg to the butterfly. But etymology is every thing with Mr. Tooke. It is by which every corruption in language is to be cured.

It is to furnish a test by which we are to try the propriety and legitimacy of all our common modes of speech, and before we can be sure that we are expressing ourselves with purity, we must resolve the phrase into its Anglo-saxon elements. What is this but a retrograde motion towards barbarism itself!

We are far from undervaluing the usefulness of etymological researches. They supply the lexicographer with some of his best materials. But when, instead of assistances towards the exposition of language, they are proposed as the means of restricting its compass of expression, and narrowing it to the rustic simplicity of an ignorant period, its proper application seems to be egregiously mistaken. Is it of such vast importance that the pedigree of every word should be ascertained? can no prescription settle the sense of a word? And if the common consent of centuries have allied a meaning to a word, a meaning, too, absolutely necessary in the intellectual intercourse of society, must its title be still open to cavil by referring to the musty records of its barbarous origin?

This is really the madness of etymology, and Mr. Horne Tooke's imagination inflamed by the vanity of discovery, seems to be completely possessed by it. Politics, morals, and metaphysics, are all brought under its magical power. On the subject of the rights of man, we are first, according to him, to settle the derivative sense of the word *right*. And thus in a supposed discussion in the way of dialogue between himself and Sir Francis Burdett, we are told that *right* is no other than *rect-um* (*regitum*), the past participle of the Latin verb *regere*. Whence in Italian you have *ritto*, *diritto*, and *dritto*, in French *droit*, and their modern *droit*. In the same manner our English word *just* is the past participle of the word *jubere*. Sir Francis then asks "What is law?" And he is told that in our ancient books it was written *lauh*, *lagh*, *lage*, and *ley*, being the past tense and past participle of *Laȝ* of the Gothic and Anglo-saxon verb *ΛΑΨΑΝ*, *lecȝan*, *ponere*, and that it means something laid down as a rule of conduct. Right, then, says Mr. Tooke, is what is ordered and commanded; at which proposition the gentle Sir Francis seems to take some alarm, as if *right* itself must in reality be that which etymology determined it to be; and if its sense, according to its etymology, should turn out to be *that which is ordered*, the dilemma in which he would be placed would be this, either to deny that the nature of the thing itself must depend upon its etymology, which would be treason against the grammatical dogmas of Mr. Tooke, or to acquiesce in the obligation of obedience to what was ordered by the governing power. He is rescued from this embarrassment by his

sage instructor, who tells him, that though every thing which is ordered and commanded is *right* and *just*, and ought to be obeyed, yet that as one thing may be ordered by the government, and another by the laws of God and *human nature*, it is for the individual to look for what is *right* in what is commanded by the higher, in opposition to that which is ordered by the meaner, authorities. And thus out of the etymology of the word *right*, he furnishes a practical lesson of polity, grounded upon what he calls the rights of man, and on which we have already delivered our sentiments.

But according to this grammatical metaphysician, RIGHT is not more obsequious to the etymology of the word, than TRUTH, which in the abstract sense in which we have been so long understanding it, he fairly etymologizes out of existence. Sir Francis, willing to take up with nothing that does not repose upon a good etymological foundation, puts this short question to the philosopher. What is *truth*? Upon which Mr. Tooke, after some pleasant allusions to the scriptures, in which we shall not follow him, betakes himself to his oracle and expounds its etymology. "Like the other words, *true* is also a past participle of the verb ΤΡΑΨΑΝ, Τρεψαν, confidere, to think, to believe firmly. This past participle was anciently written *trew*, which is the regular past tense of *traw*. As the verbs to *blow*, to *crow*, to *know*, to *throw*, give us in the past tense *blew*, *crew*, *knew*, *threw*. *True*, as we now write it, or *trew*, as it was formerly written, means simply and merely, that which is *trawed*; and, instead of its being a rare commodity on earth, except only in words, there is nothing but *truth* in the world. That every man, in his communication with others, should speak that which he *traweth*, is of so great importance to mankind, that it ought not to surprize us, if we find the most extravagant and exaggerated praises bestowed upon *truth*. But *truth* supposes *mankind*: for *whom* and *by whom* alone the word is formed, and to *whom* only it is applicable. If no *man*, no *truth*. There is, therefore, no such thing as eternal, immutable, everlasting *truth*; unless mankind, such as they are at present, be also eternal, immutable, and everlasting. Two persons may contradict each other, and yet both speak *truth*: for the *truth* of one person may be opposite to the *truth* of another. To speak *truth* may be a vice as well as a virtue: for there are many occasions where it ought not to be spoken."

We have heard it said, that there is a seeming philosophy in this reasoning. To us it seems nothing better than *flat nonsense*. Is there nothing then proceeding from God which may be called *absolutely true*? Is there nothing which may be called abso-

lutely true in the necessary relations of ideas? Nothing immutably true in the properties of figures? Nothing in science, nothing in feeling, nothing in the consequences of actions, nothing in reason, nothing in revelation true, because the word *truth* is derived from an Anglo-saxon word, which means only a confident belief or persuasion?

After this specimen of Mr. Tooke's powers of philosophical investigation and close thinking, we confess we are not sorry that he did not find time to execute his threat of applying "his system of language," as he hinted to his docile pupil he had thoughts of doing, "to all the different systems of metaphysical (i. e. verbal) importance." We certainly should not have been among the *ὀ μύσοι*, but have endured the chagrin of seeing all our contemporaries outstrip us in the recondite mysteries of the new science, content to bring up the rear of the great intellectual march, and to remain the least endowed among the votaries of science.

But we would not be suspected of dealing harshly with Mr. Tooke. We certainly are among those who appreciate his labours highly for the sake of the valuable lights which he has occasionally thrown upon a very abstruse and difficult subject; we wish we could forget the use which he has made of a grammatical treatise as a vehicle for his angry passions, and his inveterate hostility towards the government of his country, and the dispensers of its laws. We can more easily forget his lofty appreciation of his own merit, and his disdain of his great predecessors in the same department of literature. His strong prejudices in favour of the parent language of his country, if they provoke a smile, it ought surely to be a smile bordering upon approbation. It is rather pleasant to observe the precipitance with which he decides, from the frequency of similar words in the Saxon and Latin languages, that the founders of the Roman state were from the north of Europe instead of the north of Asia, not reflecting that those who served as mercenaries in the Roman armies, and learned their religion from Romish priests, must have been tenacious, indeed, of the purity of their native tongue to have abstained from engrafting Roman words into their barbarous dialect.

We shall not easily find in any author more sensible observations on the advantages of abbreviations in general, and of the defective manner in which they have been adopted into our own language. "A short, close, and compact method of speech," says Mr. Tooke, "answers the purpose of a map upon a reduced scale: it assists greatly the comprehension of our understanding, and in general reasoning frequently enables us, at one glance, to take in very numerous and distant relations and conclusions."



which would otherwise totally escape us. Our ancient tongue, he observes, was very destitute of abbreviations in the manner of signification of words; and our early authors being pressed by the defect, endeavoured to remedy it. They perceived that other languages were possessed of the abbreviations of which they were in want; they did not stop to consider the nature and origin of them, and the manner of their adoption: they did not give themselves the trouble of investigating the contrivance which was the parent of them, in order to proceed in the same manner with their own language, and by similar methods to procure for it similar conveniences: but they took a much shorter course: they seized the terms themselves, and engrafted them on the discordant stocks of a heterogeneous dialect. The consequence has been, that our roots belong to one language, while our derivatives are taken from another; that the defects of our tongue have been supplied at the expence of its uniformity; and that our dialect is a medley rather than a language." We should have been heartily glad to have found the good sense and discriminative observation by which the above passage is distinguished, extending its character over the whole work, but alas! his stormy politics are perpetually disturbing the peaceful region of literature, and frightening his muse out of her senses. We may add too, that what portion of good sense his politics left him, was further abridged by his petulant vanity.

Our readers, we trust, will pardon us for thus introducing a criticism of the diversions of Purley in a review of a biographical sketch of the author's public life; but as the production of that work was by far the most important act of his life, and is that exertion of his powers by which alone he will probably be known to posterity, we thought it due to the public, and to those principles and objects which gave existence to the British Review, to offer our opinion candidly and unreservedly on its merits.

But we cannot yet forsake the subject till we have bestowed a few observations on the credit which has been given to it for the perfect novelty of its theory. As a *discovery* it has usually been classed with the invention of the mariner's compass, the art of printing, or the circulation of the blood. Now, although we are very ready to acknowledge that the system has been enlarged, illustrated, and improved in the hands of this grammarian; yet we think that the merit of the first *discovery* can by no means be allowed him without doing great injustice to others. That language was originally composed only of nouns and verbs, and that these were the only necessary parts of speech, is an opinion of very ancient date. Towards the end

of the *Platonicae Questiones* of Plutarch, the same opinion is maintained and illustrated with great correctness and elegance of expression. The same remark will be found both in G. J. Vossius and in Professor Schultens. (See Schultens, sect. 5, and G. J. Vossius *de arte Gram.* lib. 3, cap. 1.) The instance which first originated the whole scheme in the mind of Mr. Tooke, appears to have been the palpable and beautiful etymology of our word *if*, which we have seen is derived from the Anglo-Saxon verb signifying to *give*. Now both Skinner and Junius give us the same etymology, as Mr. Tooke is himself forced to acknowledge. Thus Skinner: "If (in agro Linc gif) ab A. S. *Ēif* si hoc a verbo *Ēifan* dare. q. d. dato." How near also Skinner was to a similar mode in deriving *unless* and *but*, may be seen under those respective words in his glossary.

Mr. Tooke has no greater claim to originality in respect to his treatment of adjectives, which he considers as nothing but inflections of nouns and verbs, and therefore denies them any place among the parts of speech, or the essential constituents of language. What are usually called adjectives and participles, are only verbs or nouns with adjective terminations. We shall find in Wallis the same position expressed nearly in the same terms. "Adjectivum respectivum nihil aliud est quam ipsa vox substantiva adjective posita." And again, "Quodlibet substantivum adjective positum degenerat in adjectivum." We do not, however, dispute the merit of Mr. Tooke in the application of this principle of exposition to our own language, and in the great propriety and pertinence of his remarks upon the practice of adopting the adjectives and participles of other languages, where these abbreviations have been found ready to our hands, instead of abbreviating our own vernacular words, in imitation of what had been done in foreign dialects. Thus he says, while *boy, man, woman, mind, birth, life, &c.* are our own words, the adjectives are of foreign origin, as *infantine, puerile, virile, human, female, feminine, mental, vital, &c.*

That the particles are only elliptical abbreviations, or the fragments and vestiges of other words and phrases, and particularly corrupted from verbs, and, therefore, to be regarded as having a basis of meaning, is a discovery of the most interesting and beautiful kind; but the merit of it does not rest with Mr. Tooke. Hoogeveen, in his prefatory discourse on the doctrine of the Greek particles, expresses himself in substance as follows: "That the origin of the Greek, as well as that of other languages, was at first entirely simple, nature herself leads us to suppose; and the probability is that the first

ενκαθίστη; framed words to express things and actions alone, without particles; which, however great their power of affecting sentences in various ways, yet are not to be considered as absolutely necessary. This priority of verbs and nouns being admitted, we easily come at the origin of particles. Those nouns and verbs which the most ancient people introduced in a regular construction at full length in their discourses, succeeding ages, for the sake of brevity, have inserted in a mutilated state, leaving them in part to be understood, and retaining only the vestiges and traces of the words and sentences themselves. So that in truth, particles were originally nothing but nouns and verbs, for example—Σωκράτης φιλοσοφεί Πλάτων φιλοσοφούμενα εγραψεν. Here we have two sentences opposed to each other, and the opposition is clear. But if it were thought necessary to express the opposition, the manner of doing it would have been thus: Σωκράτης φιλοσοφεί, αλλο οτ αλλα λεξω, Πλάτων τα φιλοσοφούμενα εγραψεν. With the words αλλο οτ αλλα λεξω the sentence is rendered full and complete, and in this manner, no doubt, the remotest ages expressed themselves. Those who followed, omitted λεξω for the sake of brevity, and retained αλλα, which word alone came thus to signify an opposition between the sentences, and the place of its accent being changed, was converted into a particle.

Instances of the full form of expression will be found in many of the ancients, and in some not very ancient writers who were not particularly studious of brevity. Thus in Hom. Il. 1, 2, v. 261.

Ἄλλο δε τοι ἔρω, συ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βαλλες σῆσιν.

So in Xenophon's Cyropedia, l. 8, p. 211, where the speaker in passing to a different point, Καὶ ἄλλο δε σοι ἔρω.

Thus also the particle εἰ, if, the same writer derives from the third person of the verbs εἶω and εἶμι. From εἶω, when the sense is αιτιολογική, shewing the procedure of the consequence from the premisses in the process of the argument, as εἰ Ἄνθρωπος γέγονε θνητός ἐστὶ; but when it is to be understood in the way of argumentative interrogation, it seems rather deducible from εἶμι sum, and then it must be understood as implying the same thing as εἶσιν ως in the Dutch and English vernacular phrase "is het zoo," "is it so," or the Latin dato.

A similar account is given by Hoogeveen of many of the other particles, and though he may be, and we believe is, often wrong, and erring in his conjectures, yet whether right or wrong, the principle of the etymology is the same.

The real truth is, that Mr. Horne Tooke is entitled to the

praise of considerable ingenuity in the application of a *well-known* theory, and this is all. But it is equally true that he was not above accepting from those by whom he was surrounded, and who, for the most part, were much inferior to himself in knowledge, the character of the inventor of a perfectly new philosophy in grammar, superseding and annihilating all former systems. This exalted station in the intellectual world he certainly arrogates to himself in many parts of his work, and his vanity has been fed by the ignorant wonder of those who have never studied grammar, but in the *Diversions of Purley*. Flattulent with the tones of this hyperbolic praise, he begins at last to assume the style of an oracle, and not content with carrying *through the work* the air of a great expositor of prescriptive errors, and a revealer of new truths to mankind, the hierophant suddenly and abruptly concludes his work with a sort of mysterious hint to his disciples, that all which they had hitherto heard was only the prelude to some grand explosive discovery which would at once blow up all the systems of logic and metaphysics by which the world had been grossly deluded. In what may have been the expectation of Sir Francis and his other disciples, we do not pretend to know, but, for ourselves, we cannot but suspect that the true reason of Mr. Tooke's denying all further communication to his pupil, either respecting the nature of the verb, or the wonderful things he professed to have in reserve, was, that he had come to a dead stand, and had, in good truth, nothing more to communicate.

Of the private character and qualities of the late Mr. Tooke we have forbore to say much, for the reasons given in the beginning of this article. We have never sat at any of his Sunday dinners, or witnessed the style of his manners and behaviour. We have heard that his temper, if not mild, was cool, and that all that was done by him, whether good or bad, was considerably done; that in strength of nerve no man was his superior, and we have seen that, in his steady adherence to his purpose, all his words and actions proclaimed his consistency and courage. No moral or physical evils (and he seems to have had a share of both) were capable, according to report, of making any impression upon this characteristic fortitude; and, what is much to the honour of his philosophy, amidst the sufferings of his latter years, his friends appear to have found in him neither the querulousness of disease, nor the moroseness of age. We have heard him praised for his hospitality to his friends, and his wit is said to have run sparkling and clear to the very dregs. We have understood that in conversation he was instructive, fluent, and full of anecdote, but at the same time

lax, disputatious, and dictatorial, and too ready to sacrifice the most important questions to the vanity of paradox. Of his general intellectual powers too much has been said. His mind seemed to have been deficient in compass and comprehension, as much as it excelled in subtlety, force, and penetration. Subtlety and force in conversation frequently stand for merit of a higher kind. But the Diversions of Purley have shewn him in his true light, as a man made for minute investigation, for single efforts, and for desultory research, but wanting in that vigorous intensity of thought which is necessary to the thorough prosecution of a complicated theme, from its first principles to its distant analogies; and in that philosophical taste which, disposing the parts of a subject in their natural order, facilitates the intelligence of the reader, and dismisses him permanently impressed.

His social hours were chiefly passed among men of abilities inferior, but of sentiments correspondent, to his own, and among whom, as he could not meet with much opposition, it is probable he displayed no want of complacency. But to those from whom he differed, either in literature or politics, he was not, as we have seen, remarkable for his forbearance or charity. Against dignities and authorities, and against all those situations of honour and trust, to which good men for the sake of society pay a cheerful reverence, his life was one unceasing warfare. This we have heard sometimes imputed to the provocations of perpetual failure in his attempts to raise himself to an eminence on a level with his talents, and we are ready to admit this excuse as far as envy can be an excuse for acrimony, or disappointment for revenge. It may be, as we have found it suggested in a delineation of the character of Mr. Tooke lately in our hands, that had he obtained a situation in which his great talents had found their proper scope and exercise, that disposition and conduct which, under the exasperations of disappointment, were dangerous to the peace of society, would have been the source of blessings to the nation. We will not contradict this charitable surmise, but we must be permitted to say that we can never regret, that the man on whom disappointment operated in the manner supposed, was never tried in a situation of power, or trusted with the accomplishment of his wishes.

ART. II.—*Elements of Chemical Philosophy.* By Sir Humphry Davy, M.D. Secretary to the Royal Society. Part I, v. 1. Johnson, St. Paul's Church-yard. Price 18s.

WE opened this work with great expectation; we have not been disappointed. It is the work of a man whose discoveries have formed an era in chemistry,—who has studied the science not merely in books, but in the operations of the laboratory, and in the phenomena of nature; and who has been for many years accustomed to deliver popular illustrations of it. No person has better qualifications for a work upon the elements of chemical philosophy; and we bestow no mean praise when we say, that we think he has executed the task in a manner worthy of himself.

The materials, and the arrangement of the materials, are equally new. Respecting the former we shall speak last, as we have most to say upon it. The arrangement is simple and clear, and the parts well connected. An elegant, learned, and concise history of chemistry forms the introduction. It is the first which has appeared, that is not a copy of Bergmann's. Sir H. Davy has not, like the Swedish chemist, gone into remote antiquity in search of the origin of chemistry;—to Cain and Tubal-cain,—but has shewn that chemistry was not even known to the Greeks; that its birth-place was the furnace of the alchemist, and that its native country was Arabia. He has brought down his historical sketch to the present time, and thus traced the progress of chemistry from an art to a science. The present volume constitutes only the first part of the whole work, but it is all that has yet appeared. The subjects treated are, “the laws of chemical changes; and the undecomposed bodies, with their primary combinations.” The first division of the work relates to the powers of matter in general; the second, to radiant æthereal matter, as heat, light, electricity, and magnetism; the third, to empyreal undecomposed substances, viz. oxygen and chlorine, and their combinations with each other; the fourth, to the undecomposed inflammable substances not metallic, and their combinations with the preceding bodies and with each other; the fifth, to the metals and their primary combinations; the sixth, to substances the nature of which is not fully known, and the seventh and last, to the analogies between the undecomposed substances, speculations respecting their nature, and the relations of their compounds. This arrangement in the present state of our knowledge is excellent particularly as it separates the certain from the doubtful, the known from the unknown, the established truths of science and

generalizations of facts, from speculative views and analogical reasonings.

It is not our intention to enter into a minute analysis of this work, but to consider the striking features which give it character, and the new and general doctrines which it contains.

When we compare what chemistry is at present with what it was fifty years ago, we are filled with astonishment. The German philosophy was then the fashion of the times, and the German school was at the height of its glory. A few substances only were known, and those very vaguely; the number of the ancient metals was indeed somewhat enlarged, but the chemists of those days had not learnt to distinguish the different kinds of earths, and they were not at all acquainted with the different kinds of gasses. They called all the airs they met with factitious airs, and conceived them to be all merely different modifications of the air of the atmosphere. Statics had not been brought into the laboratory. The great agent was fire: and the "philosophers by fire" let the gasses or spirits, as they were called, escape in their experiments, and rejected the fixed residue, the "caput mortuum" as useless. By means of a few elements borrowed jointly from the Greeks and the alchemists, with the assistance of their main spring phlogiston, they were able to explain in a manner satisfactory to *themselves* all the changes in art, and all the grand operations in nature,—and they were contented. Such nearly was the state of the science when Dr. Black discovered the existence of carbonic acid gas: a discovery which may be truly said to have given wings to chemistry. It at once demonstrated that prevalent opinion to be erroneous which supposed the existence of only one species of elastic fluid, and rendered it more than probable, that what had been neglected under the title of factitious airs, were distinct and peculiar gasses. The light which from this one discovery burst upon all departments of chemistry, roused the zeal of enquirers in this country to the investigation of gaseous bodies, and their labours were rewarded with the most brilliant success. Cavendish, by the discovery of hydrogene, and of the composition of water and nitric acid, and Priestley, by the discovery of nitrous gas, nitrous oxide, and the composition of the atmosphere, obtained, as it were, the keys of nature's laboratory. Black, Cavendish, Priestley, were the founders of pneumatic chemistry, and may with propriety even be called the founders of the science of chemistry; inasmuch as these active investigators, and preeminently among them Mr. Cavendish, first introduced weights and measures, and applied them for the establishment

of chemical truth. The developement of the doctrines of latent heat by Black, the analytic labours of Scheele and Bergmann, and the generalization of facts by Lavoisier, constituted the first stage of modern chemistry.

Let us pause a moment to consider the character of the last-mentioned philosopher, who formed a party and a school, and left a proud name behind him in this department of science. The merit of Lavoisier was that of a sound logician, not of a discoverer. He was strongly impressed with the importance of keeping the imagination under the discipline of experiment; that nothing must be taken for granted, nothing admitted to exist that is not made evident to the senses; that occult causes, and unknown bodies, and all the remains of scholastic trifling and alchemical mysticism should be banished from the new philosophy; that truth was to be reached by the road of induction, and that scientific principles must be acquired from the comparison and expansion of individual facts. To make one proposition of the whole, that all bodies are to be considered as simple substances, which have not yet been decomposed. The defective part of his great design was the French nomenclature, which, though admirably adapted to a perfect science, was not at all suited to one in its infancy. It was a tight garment that did not admit of enlargement, well fitted to the man, but very unfavourable to the growing child.

After the discovery of the Leyden phial, in 1746, electricity became a subject both of popular and scientific attention. It was next to a miracle that an invisible power of such an extraordinary nature, as to be capable of melting the hardest metals, producing all the phenomena of light and fire, and destroying even animal life itself, should be confinable in a glass vessel, and subject to be arrested in its progress by silk. Neither was the interest in electricity diminished by the labours of Franklin, who identified it with the lightning of heaven, and by the simplest means, by a school-boy's kite, realised the fable of antiquity respecting the Promethean theft. In the progress of enquiry, fresh wonders were added to electricity. The lightning of the thunder-storm was found to be wielded by some of the inhabitants of the deep: the gymnotus, the silurus, the torpedo, were proved to be armed with this power, and capable of voluntarily employing it as a weapon of attack or defence. But still electricity was unconnected with chemistry, and remained an insulated science, being analogous to nothing but magnetism.

In 1800, the first step was taken to connect the two sciences by the great discovery of the pile of Volta. This instrument,



whilst in action, might be compared with an inexhaustible Leyden phial, always capable of giving shocks, of producing the phenomena of heat and light, and of operating various chemical changes of an extraordinary kind. It decomposed water and acids, and metallic salts, and, what is very remarkable, the separated elements of water were not evolved together, but maintained their distinct places; the hydrogen at the part determined to be the negative extremity, and the oxygen at the positive end. The power, too, was found identical with common electricity, differing merely in degree, not in kind, and just the same as that possessed by the torpedo. Like common electricity, it gave the shock, produced heat and light, melted metals, and passed imperceptibly over their surfaces; was stopped by glass, silk, and similar substances, and might be transferred to a glass jar, and there confined. We need not state that common electricity was found capable of producing similar chemical changes.

To no one is Voltaic electricity so much indebted as to Sir H. Davy for the discovery of its principles of action, and for the application of it, as an instrument of research to chemical analysis. He detected the errors of Pacchioni and Sylvester, who had asserted that, by the operation of electricity, muriatic acid and fixed alkali were formed on the decomposition of water; and he exploded their notions, that the muriatic, oxymuriatic, and nitric acids, as well as the volatile and fixed alkalis were all of similar origin, and merely different oxides of hydrogenic. He proved that the alkalies and acids they had supposed to be generated, were previously existing in the substances employed in the experiments, and only produced. He proved, at the same time, that the decomposing powers of the Voltaic battery are so energetic, that the firmest rocks, the hardest minerals, and most vehement chemical affinities, are incapable of resisting them, and that the smallest quantities are within the scope of its power. He thus drew out from rocks and salts, from animal and vegetable substances, their constituent parts, and detected some of their minutest ingredients. He determined various laws respecting electrical action and chemical decomposition; as, that inflammable and metallic substances, that earths, alkalies, and metallic oxides, are attracted by the negative extremity or pole of the battery, being themselves positive; that oxygen, chlorine, and acids, are attracted by the positive pole, because they themselves are negative; that chemical attractions are put to rest or destroyed by superior electrical attractions, and that bodies may be transferred, without interruption, from one pole to another even through fluids, having natu-

rally a strong chemical attraction for them. These views, which first appeared in his publications in the *Philosophical Transactions*, are again developed and illustrated in his "*Elements of Chemical Philosophy*," together with the theory of the action of the Voltaic battery. Which action he does not attribute primarily to chemical changes, but to the contact of the different metals and fluids.

The more clearly to convey a notion of his theory, we shall have recourse, as he has done, to the common electrical machine. When a body that is a non-conductor is brought into the neighbourhood of the prime conductor, it acquires two electrical states, or "polarities," as our author expresses it: the negative one is that nearest the positive conductor; the positive one is that most remote. The same occurs in respect to the Voltaic battery, when pieces of steel wire are placed in water; connected with a powerful combination, they separately acquire polarities, as if they were influenced by a powerful magnet: they arrange themselves with their positive poles farthest from the positive pole of the battery, and the negative nearest, and they acquire similar powers of chemical decomposition. These facts are readily applicable to the action of the battery. The battery does not differ from the electrified wires, but in having within itself the source of its own electricity, instead of possessing a borrowed power. Each pair of metals is analogous to one wire; one of the pair is positive, the other negative. Sir H. Davy supposes the water to be capable of becoming electrically polar, and one part of it, viz. that extremity of a particle which is nearest the positive metal acquires negative polarity, and the other part, in consequence, acquires positive polarity; while the different series of metals so influence each other, that the power of the whole combination increases with the number and surface of the plates.

Though electrical action is not primarily dependent on chemical changes, as the early enquirers imagined, yet are they intimately connected, as appears from the impossibility of preserving a permanent action of the battery without the assistance of chemical agents, and from the circumstance that those substances excite the battery most powerfully, which act on the metals most rapidly. The explanation offered by Sir H. Davy is, that the tendency of electrical action is to return to its equilibrium; and that the tendency of chemical action is to destroy this equilibrium. Thus, when a communication is made between the negative and positive cylinders of a common electrical machine, there is an immediate rest or cessation of all action; and in a similar way the Voltaic battery would cease to act when its extremities are joined, were it not for the chemical

changes taking place: oxygene and chlorine, and acids themselves negative bodies, are attracted by the positive metallic surfaces, and hydrogene and alkalis themselves positive, are attracted by the negative metallic surfaces; those individuals capable of entering into combination with the metals, unite with them, and the electrical equilibrium is momentarily restored; but the combinations formed being soluble in the water, are removed from the metals; and the gasses evolved being thus disengaged, the equilibrium of electricity is again disturbed, and the electrical action continued.

Our author in a satisfactory manner accounts for the fact, that the action of a battery on imperfect conductors, such as water, the human body, and similar substances, increases with the number of plates; whilst its action on perfect conductors increases with the size of the plates. Those imperfect conductors, it is said, can only discharge a very minute quantity of electricity, probably not more than the smallest battery possesses; therefore, they are only affected by a difference of intensity, and the greater the intensity of the electricity is, the more they are affected; but the intensity or the energy of the electrical polarities is independent of quantity of surface, and is proportionable only to the number of pairs of plates. On the other hand, the perfectly conducting metals are capable of discharging large quantities of electricity, consequently they are affected by the quantity; and as the quantity is proportionable to the surface, the effect of a battery on perfect conductors will be proportionate to the surface. These important principles Sir H. Davy has explained at length in his Elements, and proved and illustrated the hypothesis by a series of happy experiments. He has endeavoured to determine the exact ratio in which the intensity of the battery and the quantity of electricity increase with the number of similar plates, and also the ratio of increase of quantity with the increased size of the plates. And from experiments apparently admitting of much accuracy, he concludes, that the intensity of the battery is as the square of the number;—that the quantity of electricity is as the number of equal plates;—but that the quantity or power of acting on perfect conductors is in a very high ratio with the increased surface, probably higher than even the square.

Sir H. Davy observes, that “electrical effects are exhibited by the same bodies when acting in masses, which produce chemical phenomena when acting by their particles; it is not therefore improbable, that the primary cause of both may be the same, and that the same arrangements of matter, or the same attractive powers, which place bodies in the relations of positive and negative, i. e. which render them attractive of each other

electrically, and capable of communicating attractive powers to other matter, may likewise render their particles attractive, and enable them to combine when they have full freedom of motion." This ingenious speculation, which the author justly complains has been attacked and misrepresented by those who did not understand his views, has good analogies in its favour. Heat and light are the common effects of strong electrical and chemical action. Those bodies, which in masses most powerfully excite each other electrically by contact, when their particles have freedom of motion, most readily combine chemically, as the acids and alkalies; the metals and sulphur:—and when the natural electrical state of a body is artificially exalted, its chemical attraction also is exalted, and when the former is destroyed, the latter too is no longer exerted. No finer illustration can be given of these truths than the effects attending the action of the Voltaic battery.

Sir H. Davy has used this instrument with the greatest success, and by opposing the superior electrical attractions to the natural chemical ones, he has penetrated into the composition of various bodies, that had long baffled all research. By the same methods, from the fixed alkalies which are well known to be corrosive, dull, and very soluble substances, he has extracted bodies of metallic lustre, exhibiting the colour and splendour of silver, and like metals, perfect conductors of heat and electricity. They are, nevertheless, the lightest bodies in nature, and the most inflammable substances known: the basis of potash takes fire on water and ice, and both of them decompose all bodies known to contain oxygen; so that no little ingenuity of contrivance was necessary to preserve them, and prevent their return to their original state by the absorption of oxygen. The discoverer of these bases of the fixed alkalies considers them as metals, and has accordingly called them potassium and sodium. But his views and his names, though now generally adopted, have met with some weak opposition from those on whom the extraordinary features of the new bodies made the deepest impression—namely, their lightness and inflammability connected with their alkaline origin. We must acknowledge, that his reasons for this classification appear to us perfectly conclusive. It is founded on obvious analogies of the most decisive character. Were minute differences to be taken into account, there would be as many classes of bodies as there are now individuals. The principle of scientific arrangement, is to go from the more general or common properties to those which are less common and particular, and thus kingdoms, classes, orders, &c. are arrived at. To determine the propriety

of Sir H. Davy's classification, we must enquire what are the characters essentially constituting the class of metals. Certainly those are not the properties to seize in making a classification, which are constantly varying, and are different in almost every individual, as colour and specific gravity; but those which uniformly exhibit themselves in all metals, as opacity, the metallic lustre, the power of freely conducting electricity and caloric, and the power of forming chemical combinations with certain substances. If these latter are considered essential characters to the exclusion of the former, as we do not hesitate in asserting that they should be, no doubt will remain respecting the metallic nature of the bases of the fixed alkalis: and there is no less propriety, we conceive, in the names given by Sir H. Davy to these bodies, than in the places he has assigned them. Aware of the evils of the French nomenclature, founded upon hypothetical views, he has purposely avoided names connected with theory, and has chosen such as may remain unchanged during the perpetual fluctuation of systems. This being the case, we cannot but reprobate the vain spirit of innovation, that invents names without discovering things; and makes distinctions where there are no real differences. Thus, in France, some chemists, in pursuance of their particular views, have thought proper to call the bases of the alkalis metalloids instead of metals, and what is more to be wondered at, these terms have constantly been imported into use by some in our own country. Names to the true philosopher, who looks and examines beyond names, signify but little, but, to the superficial inquirers, who are satisfied with their acquisition, they are of great importance. And those given by discoverers should be held as sacred as the names given by parents to their children, not to be trifled with and altered at every one's capricious taste, but only to be changed when called for by absolute necessity.

A rapid and brilliant course of discovery was the consequence of the decomposition of the fixed alkalis, and the further application of the Voltaic battery to chemical analysis. The alkaline earths had long been suspected to contain metallic matter, and this suspicion was verified by Sir H. Davy, who by various ingenious devices separated their bases from oxygen, and examined them sufficiently to ascertain their metallic nature and some of their physical qualities, and shewed that they approached the common metals in density and fixedness in the fire, though they greatly exceeded them in the affinity for oxygen. The decomposition of the common earths, and the demonstration of the metallic nature of their bases soon followed; but his experiments were not so satisfactory on this subject as

on those we have just mentioned, and much remains to be done to make us acquainted with the character of these new metals. The speculations arising from these discoveries are very curious, and promise to throw much light upon various subjects hitherto but little understood. They do not concern the surface of our globe, as much as the hidden depths and unexplorable heights.

There are two kinds of phenomena equally mysterious and wonderful, viz. volcanoes and meteoric stones. Earthquakes and volcanoes have long been the admiration of philosophers and the terror of the vulgar.

Various attempts in all ages have been made to explain their origin, and all the causes hitherto assigned have been equally inadequate. The very resistance of meteoric stones has only lately become credible, but no sooner was it believed, than their formation was attempted to be explained: some supposed them to be particles from the moon, sent to our earth by the projectile force of volcanoes; others imagined that they were formed in the higher regions of our atmosphere; and the idea that they were the fragments of broken planets had its supporters.

The inquisitive mind of man will be for ever speculating on the unknown, and endeavouring to reconcile it with the known. For the explanation of volcanoes, the very inflammable metals of the alkalis and earths appear far better adapted, than any of the imaginary causes yet assigned. Nothing is required, but to suppose these bodies existing in the bowels of the earth. They would be inflamed by the influx of water, and such an inflammation may well be thought to produce the phenomena of earthquakes and volcanoes. And this supposition is equally consistent with the products of volcanoes and the mean density of the earth. Ascending to the higher regions and to meteoric stones, these may be considered as coming into our atmosphere composed of the metals of those earths which they are found to contain; and thus, though their origin is left undetermined, their ignited state, their fused surface, and some other appearances connected with them may be explained.

These discoveries of Sir H. Davy, while they offer explanation of the destructive and terrible in nature, are also calculated to disclose the manner in which the harmony and order of the universe are preserved. Chemical changes are constantly going on in our rocks and mountains, tending to the ruin of the high lands, the filling up of vallies, and the overflowing of seas; but underneath, in the tranquil bosom of the earth, electrical changes produced by means of vast natural combinations of different strata and different fluids, may be in action, and as powerfully renovat-

ing below as the chemical changes are degrading above, and as rapidly preparing new continents as they are wasting the old. We have glanced at these hypothetical views, not because they are dwelt upon in Sir H. Davy's work, who is too judicious to mingle them with the established truths of science, but on account of their probable connection with his discoveries, and the grandeur of the speculations they suggest.

Other substances besides those already mentioned have experienced the power of the Voltaic battery, and that of the alkaline metals. Berzelius and Pontin, two celebrated Swedish chemists, effected the amalgamation of ammonia, as it has been called, by the Voltaic instrument. This is an extraordinary experiment, and one of the greatest chemical wonders of the 19th century, already so prolific in wonders. When a globule of mercury moistened with liquid ammonia is negatively electrified by the battery, it greatly increases in volume, and acquires a butyraceous consistence and a crystalline texture. As soon as it is separated from the battery, its decomposition commences, as if it had no independent existence; hydrogen and ammonia are evolved, and the mercury returns to its former state. The different opinions which have appeared respecting this amalgam are noticed in the last division of the Elements, where its nature is ably discussed. From analogy it was inferred to consist of mercury and the metal of ammonia; and from direct experiments it was concluded to be a compound of mercury and hydrogen with nitrogen. The latter composition, however inconsistent with our established systems, is the only one warranted by facts. Granting this composition of the amalgam, which has perfectly metallic characters, a suspicion cannot but be formed of the compound nature of the other metals; and that hydrogen truly is, what the later phlogistians supposed to be the general inflammable and metallizing principle. But there are other experiments that warrant other views, and one in particular, which we cannot pass by, described by Sir H. Davy in his work, which is no less extraordinary than the amalgam itself. When a globule of mercury was put into a vessel full of water, and the vessel connected with a powerful Voltaic combination, the globule became affected,—it acquired polarity,—oxide was formed at the positive pole, but no hydrogen evolved at the negative, except when the conducting power of the water was increased by the addition of salt, and then a vibratory motion which before appeared, ceased to be produced. The author has minutely examined all the circumstances of the experiment, and cannot account for the disappearance of the hydrogen, without supposing that water in different electrical states constitutes the ponderable matter of oxygen and

hydrogene. Nothing prevents the adoption of this conclusion at present, but its immense importance, and the wary spirit of the philosopher.

From the alkalies and earths Sir H. Davy extended his researches to the undecomposed acids, the boracic, fluoric, and muriatic. By means of potassium, he effected the decomposition of boracic acid, and both by analysis and synthesis proved it to consist of an inflammable basis united to oxygene. The same means applied to fluoric acid were not equally efficacious, and we still remain in a great measure ignorant of the nature of this body, which has not yet been obtained in an insulated state, but is always found combined with water, siliceous, or boracic acid.

He has been more successful with respect to muriatic and oxymuriatic gas. His discoveries have quite reversed the order of our notions respecting the composition of these bodies. The former, which was long considered as the simple substance, he has proved to be compounded; and the latter, which was supposed to be compounded and to consist of muriatic acid and oxygene, he has shewn to be simple, and to be contained in muriatic acid gas united to hydrogene. The series of facts by which he has arrived at these conclusions are of the most important and decisive nature. We shall not follow his route in the gradual development of his doctrines, but mention merely those facts which appear sufficient to establish their truth. Charcoal intensely ignited, remains unaltered in oxymuriatic gas; sulphur and phosphorus do not extract oxygene from it, but form with it peculiar compounds, and the metals do not become oxidated in it, but uniting with it, form that class of bodies formerly called dry muriats. To be brief, oxygene cannot be obtained from oxymuriatic gas, either by potassium, or the immense power of the Voltaic battery, and can only be procured when substances are used known to contain oxygene, and which are proved to be decomposed in the experiment. The facts respecting muriatic gas are equally clear. When equal volumes of oxymuriatic gas and hydrogene are inflamed together, this gas alone is formed; there is no deposition of water, and no water can be procured from it, excepting when compounds are used known to contain water or oxygene. Sir H. Davy does not assert, that oxymuriatic gas may not contain oxygene, he merely maintains, that it has not yet been decomposed, and that till it has been decomposed, it must be considered as a simple substance. The name oxymuriatic is evidently not very consistent with its simple nature, and he has accordingly discarded it and substituted chlorine, which expresses a physical quality of the gas. The same necessity of change for extending to all substances containing



chlorine, a total reform in this part of nomenclature became absolutely necessary; and we are happy to say, has been effected on the most philosophical principles. The new names proposed by Sir H. Davy for this class of bodies are independent of theory, and will not require change whatever discoveries may be hereafter made relative to their composition, which is a great advantage in a progressive science like chemistry. A superficial observer might perhaps complain, that as these names convey no information respecting the constituent parts of substances, they are of no assistance to the student, and a great burthen to the memory. But such an objection, were it correct, is of little importance; their advantage is, that they convey accurate ideas, and cannot retard the progress of discovery. The object of science being truth, that nomenclature is best, which most promotes its acquisition.

Sir H. Davy considers chlorine and oxygen analogous to each other, and to be similar acidifying principles; he has accordingly placed them together in his Elements in one class, in opposition to all other substances. Chlorine like oxygen is attracted by the positive pole of the Voltaic battery, and repelled by the negative. Both form acids by union with certain inflammable substances. The metallic combinations of both are also allied in many properties: and there are triple combinations of chlorine with carbon and hydrogen, very similar to certain vegetable substances, of which carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen are the constituent parts.

This doctrine respecting chlorine, appears to us one of the most perfect parts of the whole theory of chemistry. Satisfied with embracing the known, it does not extend to the unknown: nothing in it is taken for granted, and nothing imagined; it rests wholly upon sound logic and true philosophy. The fate of all new doctrines is opposition, and this doctrine is not an exception. The very few who are dissatisfied with it, defend the old hypothesis, as the phlogistians did their expiring creed. Since they are obliged to acknowledge that muriatic acid gas is not a simple substance, they call it a compound of an unknown basis and water; and since they will not grant oxymuriatic gas to be a simple substance, they call it a compound of the same unknown basis and oxygen; and this unknown basis, say they, is muriatic acid. Assertions and imaginations of such a description might, among the alchemists, very well pass for sound arguments and realities, but in the present state of the science, they are unworthy of serious consideration.

One of the most interesting parts of Sir H. Davy's work, is that on "chemical attraction and the laws of combination and decomposition." In this chapter he develops the doctrine that bodies combine only in certain definite proportions, and contro-

verts the opinion that they are capable of uniting in all quantities. His arguments are facts, which are alone deserving of confidence in an experimental science. By an appeal to facts, the accuracy of which cannot be doubted, he has satisfactorily shewn that a substance either combines with one quantity of another, or with a double, triple, or quadruple quantity of it, or to express it more concisely, with some multiple or divisor of that quantity. Thus there are four distinct combinations of oxygene and nitrogene, viz. nitrous oxide, nitrous gas, nitrous acid gas, and pale nitric acid: the first is composed of one quantity or proportion of nitrogene and one proportion of oxygene, the weights of which are to each other as 26 to 15; the second consists of one proportion of nitrogene, the number of which is 26, and two proportions of oxygene, which are equivalent to 30, or twice 15; the third contains four proportions of oxygene to one of nitrogene, and the fourth five to one. He has also proved that the relation of the proportions, or of the saturating powers of substance, is constant and regular, so that their states being ascertained in respect to neutrality, or the excess of one ingredient or the other, the composition of bodies may be calculated on a few data, and chemistry be reduced almost to a mathematical science. Thus, oxygene combines with twice its volume of hydrogen and twice its volume of chlorine, to form water and euchlorine; and two volumes of hydrogen require two volumes of chlorine, to form muriatic acid gas. Thus there are two combinations of phosphorus and chlorine, the one a liquid, and the other a solid body, and both decompose and are decomposed by water; the hydrogen of which, uniting with the chlorine, forms muriatic acid gas, and the oxygene uniting with the phosphorus in one instance, forms phosphorus acid, and in the other phosphoric;—or in other words, the phosphorus which was combined with two proportions of chlorine, can only acquire by the decomposition of water two proportions of oxygene, and that which in the solid substance was united with three proportions of chlorine, cannot by the decomposition of water, acquire less than three proportions of oxygene.

We shall give another example, and from Sir H. Davy's work. "There is not," says he, "perhaps in the whole series of chemical phenomena, a more beautiful illustration of the theory of definite proportions than that which is offered in the decomposition of hydrophosphorous acid (which consists of four proportions of phosphorous acid and two of water). Four proportions of the acid contain four proportions of phosphorous and four of oxygene; two proportions of water contain four proportions of hydrogen and two of oxygene. The six proportions of oxygene unite

to three proportions of phosphorus to form three of phosphoric acid, and the four proportions of hydrogen combine with one of phosphorus to form one proportion of hydro-phosphoric gas, and there are no other products. This relation of proportions might be illustrated in a thousand ways, particularly by the decomposition of metallic salts by metals, and of earthy salts by alkalies;—in the former, when the salts are neutral, there is merely an exchange of metals, the one taking the place of the other, without any change whatever in the combined proportions of oxygen and acid: so that M. Gay Lussac's law respecting these neutral metallic salts is perfectly correct,—that the acid is proportionable to the oxygen, and that the one being known, the quantity of the other may be calculated.

This doctrine, in its present extended form, is of very recent origin. When chemistry began to be cultivated as a science, all those who investigated the subject of affinities, seemed satisfied that bodies were capable of combining only in certain determinate proportions, but their views were not at all definite, and apparently rather the result of general speculations on the nature of attraction than induction from facts. Mr. Higgins was the first who descended to particulars, and embracing the corpuscular philosophy, attempted to prove that bodies combine particle to particle, and of course in definite quantities. Thus he considered water a binary compound of one particle of hydrogen and one of oxygen, and sulphureous acid gas as a similar compound of one of sulphur and one of oxygen, whilst he supposed sulphuric acid to be a ternary compound of one particle of sulphur and two of oxygen. But Mr. Higgins' views were very much neglected till the attention of the learned were directed to them by Sir H. Davy; and Mr. Dalton had all the merit of being the original founder of this doctrine. Mr. Dalton is certainly deserving of great praise for what he has done. He revived the theory when it was entirely forgotten, and supported it with much ability; extending its empire, and shewing its agreement with a great number of facts. Of all the authors who have written on it, Sir H. Davy, in the present work, has taken the most comprehensive view of the subject, and introduced by means of his original researches the greatest harmony into all its parts. And he, too, has the merit of separating it from the corpuscular philosophy, and of making facts its only foundation. Mr. Dalton, on the contrary, appears to be a fond disciple of Leucippus and Democritus, who above 2000 years ago taught that all things were composed of immixtable atoms. This philosopher not only believes in the existence of atoms, but even imagines himself acquainted with their invisible forms,

and conceives himself capable of calculating their relative weights and their number in any given volume of elastic fluid. Admitting his premises, his conclusions we will allow are capable of demonstration; but the existence of atoms, and even of matter itself, must be taken for granted, and does not admit of rigorous proof. We therefore consider the science as much indebted to Sir H. Davy for having divested this important theory entirely of its hypothetical dress, and placed it before the eyes of his readers in its proper attitude.

Nothing can shew to greater advantage the benefits of the theory of definite proportions than the work before us. Every where there is the greatest precision; the compositions of bodies are rigorously ascertained and compared together; no ingredient is overlooked as insignificant; water in particular, hitherto so much neglected, has received a due attention, as forming a part of the character of the compound. The proportions of the constituent parts of bodies are represented by numbers, and the memory is but little burthened with retaining them, as each simple substance has always the same numerical representative. Thus 15 is the general symbol of oxygene, and 26 of nitrogene, so that when the proportions are known in which they combine together, the weights of the constituent parts are most readily found.

The late progress of this theory has been surprisingly rapid. It now embraces all the substances we are accurately acquainted with. The numbers representing oxygene and chlorine, hydrogen, sulphur, phosphorus, and carbon, and most of the metals, have been determined, and the proportions in which all these substances combine respectively with each other, is in a great measure ascertained. So that chemistry is now become almost a numerical science, and its operations admit of being reduced to numerical exactness.

The refutation which the author has given of Berthollet's doctrines appears to us to be completely satisfactory. He has repeated some of his experiments and found them incorrect; others he has explained on more simple principles; and Puff has proved in some of the particular instances adduced by the French chemist himself, that quantity or mass has no influence in modifying the results, or of enabling weak to overcome powerful attractions. We must confess that this refutation affords us no little pleasure, as Berthollet's views had not the simplicity of truth to recommend them, and their tendency was to create confusion, and to render chemistry an art rather than a science. "If chemical attraction," observes Sir H. Davy, "be regarded as capricious in its effects, and as tending constantly

to produce different arrangements, chemistry is left without a guide, without any certain combinations, and no results of analysis can be perfectly alike: but fortunately for the progress of science, this is not the case: the changes of the terrestrial cycle of events, like the arrangement of the heavens and the system of the planetary motions, are characterized by uniformity and simplicity; weight and measure can be applied to them, their order perceived and their laws discovered."

We cannot in conclusion deny ourselves the satisfaction of transcribing the following extract, as a specimen of the ruling impressions which the ardent and successful pursuit of science has left upon the mind of Sir Humphry Davy. "It is contrary to the usual order of things, that events so harmonious as those of the system of the earth, should depend upon such diversified agents, as are supposed to exist in our artificial arrangements: and there is reason to anticipate a great reduction in the number of the undecomposed bodies, and to expect that the analogies of nature will be found conformable to the refined operations of art. The more the phenomena of the universe are studied, the more distinct their connection appears, the more simple their causes, the more magnificent their design, and the more wonderful the wisdom and power of their AUTHOR."

We have little doubt that these solemn views of the grandeur and simplicity of the works of God have been useful to Sir H. Davy in the regulation of his scientific pursuits, and have given a zest to every object. Nor can we withhold from him the tribute of our thanks, for his virtuous, and we hope successful endeavours in all his public addresses on his favourite science, to impress on the minds of his pupils those sentiments which he has afforded to himself so much pleasure and advantage.

In all his illustrations and analogies, (and even his manners have received a tincture from the ruling impressions of his mind,) he seems constantly to bear in recollection the humble and beautiful exclamations of the Psalmist: "The heavens are thine; the earth also is thine; as for the world and the fulness thereof, thou hast founded them. The north and the south thou hast created them; Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name."

ART. III.—*Tales*. By the Rev. Geo. Crabbe, LL. B. London. Printed for J. Hatchard. 1812.

To strike out a new path of interest or entertainment, either in poetry or prose, is become a task of some difficulty in this advanced age of literary competition. And it is no wonder if the struggle after novelty, where novelty is so hard to be found, should produce some anomalies in composition which rest their merit principally on their departure from long-existing practice. To this ambition of doing something not yet achieved, we are perhaps to attribute that rhythmical prose which, but a short time ago, was a prevailing fashion, and from a similar cause we may perhaps deduce a late practice of writing poetry in the style and language of prose.

We are well aware that we are to look for the sublimest and most affecting passages of our greatest poets among those in which there is the least appearance of studied ornament, and the most unambitious use of language. The words in the passages to which we allude are usually taken warm and breathing from the intercourse of common life; but a reader of delicate ear and correct judgment soon becomes sensible that a certain secret in the arrangement and application of these homely words imparts to them, under the magical controul of these great masters, an effect not to be produced by the most shining assemblage of magnificent terms. For examples in proof of the propriety of this observation, we may refer generally to Shakspeare and Milton.

But whatever may be the grace arising from a skilful combination of *single* words of low origin, the same poetical result is not to be produced by the adoption of the phraseology and idiom of vulgar life. Cowper descended lower than any bard had done before him, and it must be confessed that it required a general excellence like his to atone for the wilful negligences of his style in many parts. General excellence has a tendency to consecrate occasional faults; and Cowper's defects, like the scanty vest and rugged manners of Cato, have, insensibly perhaps, been an object of imitation to those who have had but little taste for his perfections. It is but justice, however, to this exquisite poet, and best of moral satirists, to remark, that he has, in numberless instances, produced, from the same sort of materials with which the plastic powers of Shakspeare and Milton wrought so successfully, the same surprizing fabrics.

But besides this beautiful application of ordinary terms, there is, it must be admitted, an ease, sporting on the very verge of negligences, which is very captivating in poetic composition, when its subject is the display of the manners or events of common life.

But it fares with this ease in composition, as it fares with what is equally called ease in behaviour: one is apt to suppose it consists merely in negation, and that to be graceful without the appearance of study, nothing is required but the absence of study. The supposition is natural, but very erroneous. Ease is, in truth, the consummation of art, and the last refinement of labour. It is not a blank, or meagre outline, but may be compared to a mellow assortment of colours, which gives repose to the eye, propagating its pleasing effects, and making all around it partake of its character. "*Compositur jurtim subsequiturque decor.*"

Among the various departments of writing, there are none either in prose or poetry to which true ease is more becoming than tales, such as those in which Gower, Chaucer, and Boccaccio, have given us the picture of their own times. But in the ease which is so necessary to this species of writing, consists, if we mistake not, the difficulty of its execution, and the reason of the rarity of these productions since the age of the three contemporary geniuses, to whom we have alluded. Such, indeed, is the merit of this *arduous ease* in the execution of the task of agreeable story-telling, that on this principally is founded the lofty reputation of Dryden, Swift, Prior, and Gay, Fontaine, Cervantes, and Marmontel; little else of their tales being their own except the manner of telling them. We might name, indeed, some females of modern times who are equally original both in the matter and manner, and whose matter and manner are worthy of Chaucer and Boccaccio, without being unworthy of the delicacy of their own feminine character. A little attention, however, to the structure of these compositions, will convince us that for the most part they have cost their respective writers no small degree of pains and assiduity. It is a most mistaken supposition which imputes the natural flow, and graceful simplicity, by which the style of many of these writers is often characterized, to carelessness or accident. They were most of them laborious writers; and those among them who have exercised themselves in various departments of literature, have bestowed upon the fabrication of tales more than their ordinary care. We do not mean by care, that strain and effort with which a dull man, or one who has no natural vocation to the thing, heavily accomplishes his task, but the solicitude with which a writer, having a clear impression of what constitutes the perfection of his work, and conscious of his danger of being carried into excess by the very strength of this impression, weighs and examines the products of his genius.

These remarks are just (and we are afraid of their being

considered as trite (rather than paradoxical) in respect to the composition of tales in general, they are surely so in a peculiar degree when applied to tales composed in verse. It has been said of Chaucer by an eminent judge, that he was the first who taught his native language to express itself poetically, and that this was chiefly done by him in his tales. If for this we are to thank and commend the father of English poetry, we must, to be consistent, condemn those who, in this same walk of literature, force the muse to tread back her steps, and descend into that unconsecrated region where poets seek only to come intelligibly to the point, express themselves like men of business, and relate their unvarnished tales, as honest men deliver matters of fact.

We have now brought our observations to a point, and we are sorry to say they center in the production which now lies before us. We are the more sorry to say it, because, from the specimens which this gentleman has heretofore given us of his poetry, we are impressed with a very high respect for his genius and talents. In the present work his object seems to have been to secure himself on the side of rhyme and metre, and to leave every thing else to chance. His poems remind us of the imitations of our English gardens, which we have formerly observed upon the continent, in which the ingenious owners, having no conception of any mode of controuling or regulating nature but by coercing her into quincunxes and parterres, contented themselves with paling in an area of ground, and then leaving its rambling vegetation to grow up at its leisure into a forest or wilderness. We are far from intending any reflection on Mr. Crabbe's general taste, or to compare him generally with the misjudging persons to whom we have alluded; but we mean by the similitude to mark in a strong manner our sense of the mistake into which we think he has been carried, by a love somewhat too undistinguishing of nature and simplicity. In the area which Mr. Crabbe has inclosed, his most careless progress could not fail to leave the vestiges of genius, and many a magnificent feature would be sure to attest the creative hand of the proprietor.

We differ from some of his critics, who have blamed in very general terms the selection of his subjects. Fiction is not the only province of poetry. Some of its best energies have been displayed on the familiar incidents of domestic detail, the delineation of common character, and the vicissitudes of vulgar happiness and sorrow. It cannot, however, be denied, that there are some realities of existence so gross, or so trivial, as to be fairly out of the jurisdiction of the poet, and flatly incapable of any interest or embellishment. And we doubt whether it may not



with justice be imputed to Mr. Crabbe, that, without sufficient consideration of these radical differences in the character of the subjects, which life in its ordinary walks suggests, to the poet's search, he has regarded nothing as too low, too particular, too obscure, or too minute, to be swept into the inventory of his busy muse. The amiable maxim in the play "*Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto,*" he seems to apply to himself in his character of poet.

Independently of this objection, we really feel obliged to Mr. Crabbe for giving us a little of truth instead of fiction in his poetry. We have been so long assailed by the wonderful and terrific in the poems and romances of the present day; our tranquillity has been so long disturbed by knights and wizards, by Saracens and magicians, that it is some comfort to feel ourselves with Mr. Crabbe in a whole skin among beings like ourselves, and without a hippogryph or dragon at our elbow.

If Mr. Crabbe cannot claim an equal rank with Chaucer in the variety and compass of his powers, and is below him in bold delineation of character, he has in these tales proved himself happy in seizing the little peculiarities of mind, and those strong though small complexional tints and shades, which discriminate the heroes of the cottage and the counter. For descriptive imagery his subjects have afforded him but little opportunity, but those local characteristics and striking appearances of nature or art which are connected with the interest of his narrative, he knows well how to present in their most affecting forms.

There is one distinction between the performance of Mr. Crabbe and those of the writers (we except of course the other sex) who have trod the same path before him, which we should notice as reflecting no small honour upon his muse, if we did not recollect the sacred function with which he is invested. His tales are free from every stain of indecency. In his closest copies of life he has not disgusted us with any gross exhibitions, or for the sake of gratifying a too numerous class of readers, has stooped to the indignity of titillating a loose imagination by ribaldry, jests, or descriptions of a vitiating or prurient tendency. We have so often spoken out upon this subject, that our readers will not be surprized at our now declaring, that with all our love for poetry and homage of genius, we would gladly consent to see all that now lives in verse of Chaucer and Prior blotted out of existence, if so we might be rid of the filthy tales which they have produced to the disgrace of their own memories, their own times, and of literature in general.

The Canterbury tales of Chaucer, like those of Boccaccio, are held together by a slender kind of connection; being put

into the mouths of persons whom a common object has assembled together, and who relate them in turn for the sake of amusement. The Decamerone, most of our readers know, is a collection of a hundred tales, written in prose, and supposed to have been told in a little circle of seven gentlemen and three ladies, who are imagined to have retired to a sequestered place, at some distance from Florence, in 1348, for the sake of avoiding the plague, which then raged in that city. The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer may have some little advantage over the stories of Boccaccio in point of machinery. He supposes a small body of pilgrims to the number of thirty, setting out together from the metropolis to do homage at the shrine of St. Thomas of Becket; an occasion which might naturally bring together a very motley group of characters; and so he has described them, and derived from thence a fair opportunity of assorting his stories in a suitable and appropriate manner among the different relaters, each of whom furnishes something to his tale from his own peculiar habit of life, or cast of humour. If this sort of apparatus is of any importance, Gower's plan is inferior to that of either of the two we have just mentioned. His *De Confessione Amantis* supposes a confession of a lover to a priest of Venus, who, in return, gives the lover a great deal of advice illustrated by a variety of narratives. He is considered, however, as having furnished the hint to Chaucer of constructing a volume of metrical tales. Mr. Crabbe has made no use of any contrivance like those of his predecessors for introducing his stories. And by some, perhaps, this omission may be regretted. For ourselves, we cannot say that we enter into this regret. The manner of relating a story is, without doubt, an important agent in producing its effect upon the hearer, but it looks like a fanciful refinement to consider the reader of a tale as deriving any collateral entertainment from a secret reference in his mind to the supposed character of the narrator.

Our author's stories are all of the most simple structure. Each turns upon a single event, and is designed to impress some useful lesson of prudence, some practical moral, coupled for the most part with a vivid display of contrast in character and manners. The reader is never embarrassed by the intricacy of the narrative; the actors are few; and the hero of the tale is conducted to the catastrophe, not by a series of surprising adventures, or an unexpected coincidence, or the disclosure of a long-buried mystery; but, a character being drawn and stated, and a situation supposed, (which situation is generally a very natural one, and such as is apt to determine a man's career of action), an ordinary train of consequences is made to follow

in a succession agreeable to experience and the course of human affairs.

It must be confessed, however, that in most of the tales simplicity exceeds its proper measure. They want the necessary stamina of a story, and are incapable of exciting curiosity, or of fixing attention. In one or two of them the main incident is too ordinary, and the moral too trite to be worth the rhymes in which they are conveyed.

Another prevailing fault we are bound to notice, as it characterises more or less every one of the tales, we mean an abruptness in passing from one fact, speaker, or scene, to another, leaving the chasm to be supplied by the reader as he can. By this practice, the poet has contrived, notwithstanding the simplicity of the story, to render it obscure, and to create frequent interruptions to the flow of the narrative. We do not say that sometimes this may not be done with good effect; but there is always danger that the facility with which a writer fills up in his own mind every break or omission, and smooths every transition, may lead him to suppose in the reader a similar promptitude;—a mistake too obvious to be enlarged upon.

The turn of Chaucer's mind was cheerful, and the gaiety of his disposition is reflected in his writings. They possess a festive humour, and a sportive variety of character, which is not found in the productions of Mr. Crabbe. The volume in our hands is not a mirror in which poor human nature, even in the social and educated man, sees a sprightly image of herself; and Mr. Crabbe must forgive us for hoping that the imperfection of the glass gives us back ourselves with some infidelity and distortion. His representation is the more painful, as it imports to be a faithful copy of living manners; and it is difficult to escape from the general sentence of degradation pronounced upon us, but by supposing the writer to speak a language dictated by a partial acquaintance with men, or provoked by particular disappointments. We are not apt to rate our fallen nature too high; but we cannot think the malignancy of conduct and temper which this volume describes so frequent in the present state of humanity, under the influence of religion and education, as to amount to more than exceptions to a rule, and if properly only exceptions, then it appears to us that they ought not to be exhibited as specimens of human character, unless under such circumstances as make them seem to be forced into existence by extraordinary incidents, encouragements, or provocations. If the heart is rather hardened than corrected by these views of its character. A tacit reservation in favour of itself prevents its operation as a lesson of humility, while it

shuts up the fountains of charity and benevolence towards our fellow creatures.

We have before remarked that this volume is free from the slightest tendency to what is immoral or indecent, but we have not remarked it as being extraordinary in a person of the author's holy vocation. It would be satire to remark as *extraordinary* the respect for religion which appears generally through the book. But as in the other works of Mr. Crabbe, we do not remember that he found an opportunity of making known his impressions on this subject, we were the more pleased at the indications dispersed over these tales, of an union of piety with genius. They meet together with propriety in a poem, which has discarded the *illusions* of poetry, and undertakes the task of improving us by examples which come home to our business and bosoms.

It is quite impossible to lay a fair specimen of this performance before our readers, without extracting a whole tale or two from the book. This, however, would be a method of doing him justice, which would not leave us room to do justice to the other publications which press upon our attention. By the perusal of the tale called the Mother, the reader will be able to judge of the author's sentiments on the power of religion. The circumstances of the story display no invention, and is far from being the happiest as to style and manner. It contains, however, so pleasing and well wrought a picture of an interesting and virtuous maiden, that our female readers shall have an opportunity of being edified by it.

“ A Village-maid unvex'd by want or love,  
 Could not with more delight than *Lucy* move ;  
 The village-lark, high mounted in the spring,  
 Could not with purer joy than *Lucy* sing ;  
 Her cares all light, her pleasures all sincere,  
 Her duty joy, and her companion dear ;  
 In tender friendship and in true respect,  
 Liv'd Aunt and Niece, no flattery, no neglect—  
 They read, walk'd, visited,—together pray'd,  
 Together slept the Matron and the Maid :  
 There was such goodness, such pure nature seen  
 In *Lucy's* looks, a manner so serene ;  
 Such harmony in motion, speech, and air,  
 That without fairness, she was more than fair ;  
 Had more than beauty in each speaking grace,  
 That lent their cloudless glory to the face ;  
 Where mild good sense in placid looks were shown,  
 And felt in every bosom but her own.  
 The one presiding feature in her mind,  
 Was the pure meekness of a will resign'd ;

A tender spirit, freed from all pretence  
 Of wit, and pleas'd in mild benevolence;  
 Blest in protecting fondness she repos'd,  
 With every wish indulg'd though undisclos'd;  
 But Love, like Zephyr on the limpid lake,  
 Was now the bosom of the Maid to shake,  
 And in that gentle mind a gentle strife to make."

The two most important poems in the volume are the "Confidante" and "Resentment." The story of the Confidante is shortly this. A young lady of great merit and beauty becomes at a very early age the prey of a seducer, who deserts her and is heard of no more. One only friend is made acquainted with her misfortune, assists her through it, and remains the sole depository of the secret. The fruit of her unhappy intercourse dies, and the heroine becomes a humble attendant upon a lady of rank. In this situation she makes an impression upon the heart of a gentle, generous, and wealthy yeoman, to whose addresses she yields her hand, and with whom she is living in a very peaceful and happy state, when the friend and confidante begins to disturb her repose. This friend being in possession of the fatal secret, by constant threats of disclosing it to the husband, keeps the poor wife in a dreadful state of alarm, and forces from her bribe after bribe in the shape of presents, as the price of her fidelity. At length this tyrannical friend forces herself to be received into the house, and in that situation so practises upon the fears of the wife, as totally to destroy her peace of mind, and to threaten the destruction of her health. Her altered looks, her evident embarrassment, and her agitated deportment and expressions of fear in the presence of the friend, continue every day more and more to alarm the bosom of the generous and affectionate husband, who cannot help seeing that there existed some mysterious cause of the very uncomfortable state of his family, with which this friend had no little concern. Many interesting scenes, and very naturally and forcibly described, take place between the husband and wife, but the secret still remains untold. At length the danger becoming great, and there being no other resource left, the frank yeoman resolves to listen unseen to the conversation between his wife and the friend. The affair is then discovered, and the forgiveness by the husband of his wife, and the shame and discomfiture of the confidante, conclude the tale. The whole narrative is conducted with vivacity, delicacy, feeling, and force. The method adopted by the husband to disclose to his wife the fact of his being privy to the secret, is beautifully imagined and described. We trust it will please our readers.

" *Stafford*, amus'd with books, and fond of home,  
By reading oft dispell'd the evening gloom ;  
History or tale—all heard him with delight,  
And thus was pass'd this memorable night.

" The listening Friend bestow'd a flattering smile,  
A sleeping boy the Mother held the while ;  
And ere she fondly bore him to his bed,  
On his fair face the tear of anguish shed.

" And now his task resum'd, ' My tale,' said he,  
' Is short and sad, short may our sadness be !—'

" ' The Caliph *Harun* \*, as historians tell,  
Rul'd, for a tyrant, admirably well ;  
Where his own pleasures were not touch'd, to men  
He was humane, and sometimes even then :  
*Harun* was fond of fruits, and gardens fair,  
And wo to all whom he found poaching there.  
Among his pages was a lively Boy,  
Eager in search of every trifling joy ;  
His feelings vivid, and his fancy strong,  
He sigh'd for pleasure while he shrank from wrong ;  
When by the Caliph in the garden plac'd  
He saw the treasures which he long'd to taste ;  
And oft alone he ventur'd to behold  
Rich hanging fruits with rind of glowing gold ;  
Too long he staid forbidden bliss to view,  
His virtue failing, as his longings grew ;  
Athirst and wearied with the noon-tide heat,  
Fate to the garden led his luckless feet ;  
With eager eyes and open mouth he stood,  
Smelt the sweet breath, and touch'd the fragrant food ;  
The tempting beauty sparkling in the sun  
Charm'd his young sense—he ate, and was undone :  
When the fond glutton paus'd, his eyes around  
He turn'd, and eyes upon him turning, found ;  
Pleas'd he beheld the spy, a brother-Page,  
A friend allied in office and in age ;  
Who promis'd much that secret he would be,  
But high the price he fix'd on secrecy.  
" ' Were you suspected, my unhappy friend,'  
Began the Boy, ' where would your sorrows end ?  
In all the palace there is not a page  
The Caliph would not torture in his rage ;  
I think, I see thee now impal'd alive,  
Writhing in pangs—but come, my friend ! revive ;

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\* The Sovereign here meant, is the *Haroun Alraschid*, or *Harun al Raschid*, who died early in the ninth century ; he is often the hearer, and sometimes the hero, of a Tale in the Arabian Nights Entertainments.

Had some beheld you, all your purse contains  
 Could not have sav'd you from terrific pains;  
 I scorn such meanness; and, if not in debt,  
 Would not an asper on your folly set.

“ ‘The hint was strong; young *Osmyn* search'd his store  
 For bribes, and found he soon could bribe no more;  
 That time arriv'd, for *Osmyn*'s stock was small,  
 And the young Tyrant now possess'd it all;  
 The cruel Youth, with his companions near,  
 Gave the broad hint that rais'd the sudden fear;  
 Th' ungenerous insult now was daily shown,  
 And *Osmyn*'s peace and honest pride were flown;  
 Then came augmenting woes, and fancy strong  
 Drew forms of suffering, a tormenting throng;  
 He felt degraded, and the struggling mind  
 Dar'd not be free, and could not be resign'd;  
 And, all his pains and fervent prayers obtain'd,  
 Was truce from insult, while the fears remain'd.

“ ‘One day it chanc'd that this degraded Boy  
 And tyrant-Friend were fix'd at their employ;  
 Who now had thrown restraint and form aside,  
 And for his bribe in plainer speech apply'd;  
 Long have I waited, and the last supply  
 Was but a pittance, yet how patient I!  
 But give me now what thy first terrors gave,  
 My speech shall praise thee, and my silence save.

“ ‘*Osmyn* had found, in many a dreadful day,  
 The Tyrant fiercer when he seem'd in play;  
 He begg'd forbearance; I have not to give,  
 Spare me awhile, although 'tis pain to live;  
 Oh! had that stolen fruit the power possess'd  
 To war with life, I now had been at rest.

“ ‘So fond of death,' replied the Boy, 'tis plain  
 Thou hast no certain notion of the pain;  
 But to the Caliph were a secret shown,  
 Death has no pain that would be then unknown.

“ ‘Now,' says the story, 'in a closet near,  
 The Monarch seated, chanc'd the Boys to hear;  
 There oft he came, when wearied on his throne,  
 To read, sleep, listen, pray, or be alone.

“ ‘The tale proceeds, when first the Caliph found  
 That he was robb'd, although alone, he frown'd;  
 And swore in wrath, that he would send the Boy  
 Far from his notice, favour or employ;  
 But gentler movements sooth'd his ruffled mind,  
 And his own failings taught him to be kind.

“ ‘Relenting thoughts then painted *Osmyn* young,  
 A passion urgent, and temptation strong;

And that he suffer'd from that villain-Spy  
 Pains worse than death, till he desir'd to die;  
 Then if his morals had receiv'd a stain,  
 His bitter sorrows made him pure again:  
 To Reason, Pity lent her powerful aid,  
 For one so tempted, troubled, and betray'd;  
 And a free pardon the glad Boy restor'd  
 To the kind presence of a gentle Lord;  
 Who from his sin and his country drove  
 That traitor-Friend, whom pains nor pray'r could move;  
 Who rais'd the fears no mortal could endure,  
 And then with cruel av'rice sold the cure.'

" My tale is ended; but, to be applied,  
 I must describe the place where Caliphs hide: "

" Here both the Females look'd alarm'd, distress'd,  
 With horrid passions hard to be express'd. "

" It was a closet by a chamber plac'd,  
 Where slept a Lady of no vulgar taste;  
 Her Friend attended in that chosen Room  
 That she had honour'd and proclaim'd her Home;  
 To please the eye were chosen pictures plac'd,  
 And some light volumes to amuse the taste;  
 Letters and music on a table laid,  
 For much the Lady wrote, and often play'd;  
 Beneath the window was a toilet spread,  
 And a fire gleam'd upon a crimson bed. "

" He paus'd, he rose; with troubled joy the Wife  
 Felt the new era of her changeful life;  
 Frankness and love appear'd in *Stafford's* face,  
 And all her trouble to delight gave place. "

" Twice made the Guest an effort to sustain  
 Her feelings, twice resum'd her seat in vain,  
 Nor could suppress her shame, nor could support her pain:  
 Quick she retir'd, and all the dismal night  
 Thought of her guilt, her folly, and her flight;  
 Then sought unseen her miserable home,  
 To think of comforts lost, and brood on wants to come. "

The contrast to this pretty tale is that which comes next in the volume, and is called "Resentment." In this truly pathetic story, a woman of an unforgiving temper, but in other respects virtuous and humane, is deceived by her husband, a man, this one base act excepted, every way respectable, into signing a deed whereby she gives up her settled fortune, which is soon sunk with the wreck of the husband's property by misfortunes in trade. She separates herself from him, and soon after has a large property settled upon her by a rich relation. Every overture, every entreaty to be forgiven from the unhappy husband is spurned. He tries every means of supporting himself, but po-



thing succeeds; and from stage to stage of misery he drops at length into decrepitude, famine, and despair. We will produce a passage from this tale, from which an estimate may be formed of the author's pathetic powers.

“ Thus was the grieving man, with burthen'd ass,  
 Seen day by day along the street to pass:  
 ‘ Who is he, *Susan*? who the poor old Man?  
 He never calls—do make him, if you can.—  
 The conscious Damsel still delay'd to speak,  
 She stopp'd confus'd, and had her words to seek;  
 From *Susan*'s fears the fact her Mistress knew,  
 And cried—‘ The Wretch! what scheme has he in view?  
 Is this his lot?—but let him, let him feel,—  
 Who wants the courage, not the will, to steal.’  
 “ A dreadful winter came, each day severe,  
 Misty when mild, and icy-cold when clear;  
 And still the humble dealer took his load,  
 Returning slow, and shivering on the road:  
 The Lady, still relentless, saw him come,  
 And said,—‘ I wonder, has the Wretch a home!  
 ‘ A hut! a hovel!’—‘ Then his fate appears  
 To suit his crime.’—‘ Yes, Lady, not his years:—  
 No! nor his sufferings—nor that form decay'd;—  
 ‘ Well! let the Parish give its Paupers aid:—  
 You must the vileness of his acts allow;’  
 ‘ And you, dear Lady, that he feels it now;’  
 ‘ When such dissemblers on their deeds reflect,  
 Can they the pity they refus'd expect?  
 He that doth evil, evil shall he dread.—’  
 ‘ The snow,’ quoth *Susan*, ‘ falls upon his bed,—  
 It blows beside the thatch—it melts upon his head.—  
 ‘ His weakness, child, for grieving guilt to feel:’  
 ‘ Yes, but he never sees a wholesome meal;  
 Through his bare dress appears his shrivel'd skin,  
 And ill he fares without, and worse within:  
 With that weak body, lame, diseas'd, and slow,  
 What cold, pain, peril, must the sufferer know!’  
 ‘ Think on his crime.’—‘ Yes, sure 'twas very wrong;  
 ‘ But look, (God bless him!) how he gropes along,—  
 ‘ Brought me to shame.’—‘ Oh! yes, I know it all—  
 What cutting blast! and he can scarcely crawl;  
 He freezes as he moves,—he dies! if he should fall:  
 With cruel fierceness drives this icy sleet,—  
 And most a Christian perish in the street,  
 In sight of Christians?—There! at last, he lies;—  
 Nor unsupported can he ever rise:  
 He cannot live.—‘ But is he fit to die?’—  
 Here *Susan* softly mutter'd a reply,

Look'd round the room—said something of its state,  
*Dives* the rich, and *Lazarus* at his gate;  
 And then aloud—' In pity do behold  
 The Man Affrighten'd, weeping, trembling, cold:  
 Oh! how those flakes of snow their entrance win  
 Through the poor rags, and keep the frost within;  
 His very heart seems frozen as he goes,  
 Leading that starv'd companion of his woes:  
 He tried to pray—his lips, I saw them move,  
 And he so turn'd his piteous looks above;  
 • But the fierce wind the willing heart oppos'd,  
 And, ere he spoke, the lips in misery clos'd:  
 Poor suffering object! yes, for ease you pray'd,  
 • And God will hear—he only, I'm afraid.'

“ ‘Peace! *Susan*, peace! Pain ever follows Sin,  
 Ah! then, thought *Susan*, when will ours begin?  
 ‘When reach'd his home, to what a cheerless fire  
 And chilling bed will those cold limbs retire!  
 Yet ragged, wretched as it is, that bed  
 Takes half the space of his contracted shed;  
 I saw the thorns beside the narrow grate,  
 With straw collected in a putrid state:  
 There will he, kneeling, strive the fire to raise,  
 And that will warm him, rather than the blaze;  
 The sullen, smoky blaze, that cannot last  
 One moment after his attempt is past:  
 And I so warguly and so purely laid,  
 To sink to rest—indeed, I am afraid.’—  
 ‘Know you his conduct?’—‘Yes, indeed, I know,—  
 And how he wanders in the wind and snow;  
 Safe in our rooms the threat'ning storm we hear,  
 But he feels strongly what we faintly fear.’  
 ‘*Wilful* was rich, and he the storm defied;  
*Wilful* is poor, and must the storm abide;  
 Said the stern Lady,—‘Tis in vain to feel;  
 Go and prepare the chicken for our meal.’  
 “*Susan* her task reluctantly began,  
 And utter'd, as she went,—‘The poor old Man!’—”

We are sorry to be forced to take our leave of Mr. Crabbe, but our room is exhausted; we trust, however, we part good friends, and request him to accept our sincere thanks for the pleasure and instruction his volume has afforded us. That he has some faults as a writer we have ventured to suggest, but we are happy to add on the subject of those faults, that they seem all to be within the scope of his vigorous judgment to correct. His taste has been betrayed by too strong a bias to simplicity. But with all his faults, he has supported his character as a powerful delineator of the passions, and a correct painter of moral scenes, as

scientifically acquainted with the operations of feeling, and the springs of natural tenderness. If his style is mean, it is pure and grammatical, and there are sufficient specimens in this work of vigorous language, and elevated sentiment, to shew that, when he touches the bottom,—and he touches it too often,—he does so rather from choice than from necessity.

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ART. IV.—*Tales of Fashionable Life.* By Miss Edgeworth, Author of *Practical Education*, *Belinda*, *Castle Rackrent*, *Essay on Irish Bulls*, &c. In 6 Vols. Vols. 4, 5, and 6. Third Edition. London. Johnson. 1812.

MISS Edgeworth had taken a deservedly high rank amongst the female ornaments of literature, before we began our career; and if we do not preface our remarks on this publication with a general eulogy on her distinguished talents, it is because we do not wish to tell our readers what they all know as well as ourselves: Her name would sufficiently justify our paying some attention to the present work, if it did not contain in itself what must necessarily procure for it a rapid and extensive circulation. But this it does in a peculiar degree; and we scarcely know any book in that class, which goes under the general denomination of *light reading*, that is likely to fall into so many hands. The grave, who are too busy, and the gay, who are too idle, to spare time for the perusal of a romance of four volumes, will venture upon a tale comprised in one. Many, who would revolt at the name of a novel, will deem a moral tale worthy of their attention. All who value genuine humour, a lively delineation of the scenes of real life, and a nice discrimination of those more delicate shades of character, which escape common-place writers and observers, will be well inclined to read tales written by one who has so often pleased and instructed us by the display of these talents. From this consideration these volumes assume an importance, which might not at the first view appear to belong to them. Compared with certain ponderous products of the press, they scarcely bear the proportion of a bullet to a battering-ram: but, in both cases, if in calculating the effects that are likely to be produced, we take only the weight of metal into account, our conclusions will be erroneous. The comparative degrees of velocity with which the different volumes will pass through the reading societies, or the list of subscribers to a circulating library, must not be forgotten in the estimate.

We candidly avow too, though we know at what hazard,

another motive of attention to the works of Miss Edgeworth. We think the perusal of them, without a sufficient guard, attended with considerable danger. The sentimental novel excites in many of us a nausea, which carries off the poison mixed up with it, and prevents any beneficial effects from the dose. But in this case we have no such antidote. A compound rendered palatable by so much wit, and containing ingredients of such approved efficacy, will be sure to remain in the stomach; and if it be deficient in an article essential to its salutary operation and alterative efficacy, we are in duty bound to give it its true character, and confine it within its proper range. It may serve to abate in some degree the apparent violence of the disorder, to alleviate some of its external symptoms; but after all,

It will but skin and film the ulcerous place,  
Whilst rank corruption, mining all within,  
Infects unseen.

It may be said perhaps, that this is a work of entertainment, and not to be viewed in this serious light; but we suspect that Miss Edgeworth would decline the benefit of such an apology, and are inclined to give her credit for a conscientious regard to the application of her talents, which would not suffer her to send a work into the world for the mere purpose of enabling her readers to kill time. Each of the three tales contained in the volumes under our consideration has avowedly a moral design, and were we not to keep this design mainly in view in the course of our observations, we should degrade them in their scale of literary importance, and limit their author to an orbit of insignificance, in which she would be ill content to move.

These volumes form the continuation of a work, which has been some time before the public; but as they have no particular connection with those which have preceded them, though bearing the same name, and having certainly a strong family likeness, we shall confine our remarks to their individual merits.

The first tale, entitled *Vivian*, is intended "to expose one of the most common defects of mankind," infirmity of purpose; that weak, vacillating instability of character, which yields continually, in spite of better knowledge, to external impulses, and moves always in the direction given to it by the last impulse. There is nothing original perhaps in the conception of *Vivian's* character, but it is delineated with great skill, and with some of those strong and spirited touches, which betray the hand of a master. The circumstances in which he is placed are ingeniously adapted to the display of his character; and, for the most part, without that air of strained contrivance, to which

probability is often sacrificed. But we are obliged to qualify this praise, as some instances to the contrary may be found in this tale, and still more palpably in those which follow.

The following account, given by the hero of his early education, may serve as a key to his character.

“ My mother is a very clever woman, and most affectionate, and she certainly paid particular attention to my early education; but her attention was too particular, her care was too great. You know I was an only son—then I lost my father when I was an infant; and a woman, let her be ever so sensible, cannot well educate an only son, without some manly assistance; the fonder she is of the son the worse, even if her fondness is not foolish fondness—it makes her over anxious—it makes her do too much. My mother took too much, a great deal too much care of me; she over-educated, over-instructed, over-dosed me with premature lessons of prudence; she was so afraid that I should ever do a foolish thing, or not say a wise one, that she prompted my every word, and guided my every action. So I grew up, seeing with her eyes, hearing with her ears, and judging with her understanding, till, at length, it was found out, that I had not eyes, ears, or understanding of my own. When I was between twelve and thirteen, my mother began to think that I was not sufficiently manly for my age, and that there was something too yielding and undecided in my character—Yielding and undecided!—No wonder!—Had not I been from my cradle under the necessity of always yielding, and in the habit of never deciding for myself!—Seized with a panic, my mother, to make a man of me at once, sent me to Harrow school. There I was, with all convenient expedition, made ashamed of every thing good I had learned at home; and there I learned every thing bad, and nothing good, that could be learned at school. I was inferior in Latin and Greek; and this was a deficiency I could not make up without more labour than I had courage to undertake. I was superior in general literature, but this was of little value amongst my competitors, and, therefore, I despised it; and, overpowered by numbers and by ridicule, I was, of course, led into all sorts of folly by mere *mauvaise honte*. Had I been in the habit of exercising my own judgment, or had my resolution been strengthened by degrees; had I, in short, been prepared for a school; I might, perhaps, have acquired, by a public education, a manly, independent spirit. If I had even been wholly bred up in a public school, I might have been forced, as others were, by early and fair competition, to exercise my own powers; and by my own experience in that microcosm, as it has been called, I might have formed some rules of conduct, some manliness of character, and might have made, at least, a good schoolboy; but, half home-bred, and half school-bred, from want of proper preparation, one half of my education totally destroyed the other.” (Vol. iv. p. 3.)

The word “manly” occurs in this quotation in rather an un-

warrantable sense. We are well persuaded too that the picture, incidentally drawn, of Harrow-school, is not a little caricatured. With all the imperfections, that must attach to such an institution, on its head, we believe it to be one of the most correct of the great public schools: we know that it has a signal advantage with respect to moral and religious instruction, and that it has produced some of the most useful, as well as some of the brightest characters, that have recently adorned the walks of public life.

• We will not follow Vivian through the various stages of his mental disease, the progress of which is marked by minute circumstances, of which no adequate idea could be given in an abstract. Gifted with talents of a superior order, and with many of the moral qualities essential to an estimable character, and placed in a situation calculated to draw them out to the best advantage, he forfeits, by his weakness and ductility, both public credit and private happiness. He is led both into errors and vices with his eyes open, merely from wanting the power to say "No." Against his better judgment he "turns a comfortable house into an uninhabitable castle," is involved in the expences of a contested election, becomes the tool of a man of talents inferior to his own, and marries a woman for whom he has no affection. In defiance of his principles he is a political apostate, an adulterer, and a duellist; and with the same unresisting imbecility, is talked into one vice, trepanned into another, and driven into a third, till he closes his career in misery and accumulated ruin, the necessary result of his moral and intellectual cowardice.

The tale is not uninteresting; but after all we have only a statement of the evil, without the suggestion of any, at least of any adequate remedy. The effects of the errors it exhibits are placed in a vivid light,—their causes are but partially illustrated. We admire the skill with which the various turns and windings of the pernicious habit, intended to be exposed, and its gradual increase from a puny stream to an overwhelming torrent, are graphically traced; but the main fountains of its supply are not sufficiently explored. Much of the blame is thrown on Lady Mary Vivian, the mother of the unfortunate hero, who is always thinking aloud, and thinking absurdly. But however unpopular the attack may be with numbers who have read the tale, we cannot help implicating Mr. Russell, the steady, liberal, conscientious, independent tutor, as an accessory. To do him full justice, we will introduce him to our readers in a light, which must conciliate their esteem and respect, before we discuss what we deem the deficiencies of his character.

The following extract occurs in the course of a dialogue, in which Vivian had described him as his "guide, philosopher, and friend, though by much too young, and infinitely too handsome for a philosopher:" from which insinuation, with respect to the incompatibility of wisdom with personal beauty, we suspect that the writer must be ignorant of the rapid progress which philosophy is making amongst the young, and the beautiful of her own sex, who are blessed with the means of subscribing for it.

"After all, I don't know whether I ought not to lay the blame of my faults on my masters, more than on my poor mother."

"Lay the blame where we will," said Russell, "remember, that the punishment will rest on ourselves. We may, with as much philosophic justice as possible, throw the blame of our faults on our parents and preceptors, and on the early mismanagement of our minds; yet, after we have made out our case in the abstract, to the perfect satisfaction of a jury of metaphysicians, when we come to overt actions, all our judges, learned and unlearned, are so awed, by the ancient precedents and practice of society, and by the obsolete law of common sense, that they finish by pronouncing against us the barbarous sentence, that every man must suffer for his own faults." (Vol. iv. p. 8.)

After the completion of Vivian's education, Russell had preferred the task of educating Lord Glistonbury's son to "a state of dependent idleness," of which his former pupil's gratitude gave him the option. In this situation he shews an honourable delicacy, which we cannot recommend too strongly to those who are similarly occupied.

"In the mean time, tell me how you go on yourself," said Vivian; "how you like your situation here, and your pupil, and all the Glistonbury family. Let me behind the scenes at once; for you know, I see them only on the stage."

"Russell replied, in general terms, that he had hopes Lord Lidhurst would turn out well; and that therefore he was satisfied with his situation; but avoided entering into particulars, because he was a confidential person in the family. He thought that a preceptor and a physician were, in some respects, bound, by a similar species of honour, to speak cautiously of the maladies of their patients, or the faults of their pupils. Admitted into the secrets of families, they should never make use of the confidence reposed in them, to the disadvantage of any by whom they are trusted. Russell's strictly honourable reserve, upon this occasion was rather provoking to Vivian, who, to all his questions, could obtain only the dry answer, 'Judge for yourself.'" (P. 77.)

delicate and honourable sentiments on another subject,

in which delicacy and honour can never be too strictly regarded, do him equal credit, and are well portrayed in a dialogue with his pupil (p. 81, & seq.) on the meanness and want of principle exhibited in the conduct of a man, who can consent to trifle with the affections of a woman from thoughtless vanity, or any of those selfish motives, which the refinements of polished society do but very ill conceal. When we add that Russell's conduct throughout the tale is in unison with these sentiments; that, when put to the proof himself, he exemplifies the principles he had inculcated upon others, we have surely given him as much vantage-ground as the warmest advocate of his character could desire. And yet we want but one evidence to establish the truth of the accusation we have brought against him. The following correspondence between him and his former pupil, who was living in a state of adultery with the wife of his intimate, though profligate friend, is to us a sufficient testimony, that if Vivian's instability of character overcame the principles he had imbibed from his tutor, it was no less from the weakness of those principles, than from the strength of the habit.

“ ‘ To the Rev. Henry Russell.

“ ‘ Indignant as you will be, Russell, at all you hear of me, you cannot be more shocked than I am myself. I do not write to palliate, or apologize—my conduct admits of no defence—I shall attempt none, private or public—I have written to my lawyer to give directions, that no sort of defence shall be set up, on my part, when the affair comes into Doctors Commons—as it shortly will; for, I understand, that poor Wharton has commenced a prosecution. As to damages, he has only to name them—Any thing within the compass of my fortune he may command—Would to God that money could make him amends!—But he is too generous, too noble a fellow—profligate as he is in some things, how incapable would he be of acting as basely as I have done! There is not, perhaps, at this moment, a human being, who has so high an opinion of the man I have injured, as I have myself:—he did not love his wife—but that is no excuse for me—his honour is as much wounded, as if I had robbed him of her during the time he loved her most fondly;—he once doated upon her, and would have loved her again, when he was tired of his gallantries; and they might then have lived together, as happily as ever, if I had not been—What was I?—What am I?—Not a villain—or I should glory in what I have done—but the weakest of human beings—And how true it is, Russell, that “all wickedness is weakness!”

“ ‘ I understand, that W——, wherever he goes, calls me a coward, as well as a scoundrel; and says, that I have kept out of the way to avoid fighting him.—He is mistaken.—It is true, I had the utmost dread of having his life to answer for—and nothing should have provoked me to fire upon him;—but I had determined



how to act—I would have met him, and have stood his fire.—I should not be sorry, at present, to be put out of the world; and would rather fall by his hand, than by any other. But, since this is out of the question, and that things have taken another turn, I have only to live, as long as it shall please God, a life of remorse—and, at least, to try to make the unfortunate woman, who has thrown herself upon my protection, as happy as I can.

“ ‘ If you have any remaining regard for a pupil, who has so disgraced you, do me one favour—Go to Miss Sidney, and give her what comfort you can. Say nothing for me, or of me, but that I wish her to forget me, as soon as possible. She discarded me from her heart, when she first discovered this intrigue—before this last fatal step.—Still I had hopes of recovering her esteem and affection; for I had resolved—. But no matter what I resolved—all my resolutions failed; and now I am utterly unworthy of her love. This, and all that is good and happy in life; all the fair hopes and virtuous promises of my youth, I must give up. Early as it is in my day, my sun has set. I truly desire, that she should forget me—for you know I am bound in honour—Honour! How dare I use the word?—I am bound, after the divorce, to marry the woman I have seduced. Oh, Russell! what a wife for your friend!—What a daughter-in-law for my poor mother, after all her care of my education! all her affection! all her pride in me!—It will break her heart! Mine will not break. I shall drag on, perhaps, to a miserable old age. I am of too feeble a nature to feel those things as strong minds would—as you will for me; but do not blame yourself for my faults. All that man could do for me, you did. This must be some consolation to you, my dear and excellent friend! May I still call you friend?—or have I no friend left upon Earth?

C. VIVIAN. ”

“ ‘ Return to your country, your friends, and yourself, Vivian! Your day is not yet over! Your sun is not yet set! Resume your energy—recover your self-confidence—carry your good resolutions into effect—and you may yet be an honour to your family, a delight to your fond mother, and the pride of your friend Russell.—Your remorse has been poignant and sincere; let it be salutary and permanent in its consequences; this is the repentance which religion requires. The part of a man of sense and virtue is to make his past errors of use to his future conduct.—Whilst I had nothing to say, that could give you pleasure, I forbore to answer your letter—I forbore to overwhelm a mind sinking under remorse. My sacred duty is to waken the sinner to repentance, not to shut the gates of mercy on the penitent. Now, I can relieve your mind from part of the load, by which it has been justly oppressed. You know, that nothing can palliate your conduct in an intrigue with a married woman—from this, I had hoped your moral and religious education would have preserved you. But of the premeditated guilt of deceiving the husband, and laying a plan to seduce the wife, I

never suspected you; and I may now tell you, that you have not betrayed Mr. Wharton—he has betrayed you. You have not seduced Mrs. Wharton—you have been seduced by her. You are not bound to marry her—Wharton cannot obtain a divorce—he dare not bring the affair to trial; if he does, he is undone. There has been collusion between the parties. The proof of this you will find in the enclosed paper, which will be sworn to, in due legal form, whenever it is necessary. Even when you see them, you will scarcely believe these “damning proofs” of Wharton’s baseness. But I always knew, I always told you, that this pretence to honour and candour, frankness and friendship, with this avowed contempt of all principle and all virtue, could not be safe, could not be sincere, would not stand the test.—No—nothing should make me trust to the private honour of a man, so corrupt in public life as Mr. Wharton. A man, who sells his conscience for his interest, will sell it for his pleasure. A man, who will betray his country, will betray his friend. It is in vain to palter with our conscience: there are not two honours—two honesties. How I rejoice, at this moment, in the reflection, that your character, as a public man, is yet untarnished. You have still this great advantage:—feel its value.—Return, and distinguish yourself among your countrymen: distinguish yourself by integrity, still more than by talents. A certain degree of talents is now cheap in England: integrity is what we want—true patriotism, true public spirit, noble ambition; not that vile scramble for places and pensions, which some men call ambitious; not that bawling, brawling *Thersites* character, which other men call public spirit; not that marketable commodity, with which Wharton, and such as lie, cheat popular opinion for a season;—but that fair virtue, which will endure, and abide by its cause to the last; which, in place or out, shall be the same, which successful or unsuccessful, shall sustain the possessor’s character through all changes of party; which, whilst he lives, shall command respect from even the most profligate of his contemporaries; upon which, when he is dying, he may reflect with satisfaction; which, after his death, shall be the consolation of his friends, and the glory of his country. All this is yet in your power, Vivian.—Come, then, and fulfil the promise of your early years! Come, and restore to your mother a son worthy of her! Come, and surpass the hopes of your true friend—

H. RUSSELL.”

Had this been the letter of a heathen philosopher, addressed to his friend under similar circumstances, its tone would have been suitable to the writer’s necessarily limited and indistinct views of the nature and consequences of sin. But the christian divine, who could be so well contented with the degree and kind of remorse expressed in Vivian’s letter, who could speak in such vague and general terms on this important subject, and who, supposing him penitent, could point to no richer source of consolation than the career still left open to him by his un-

furnished political integrity;—however generous, honourable, and independent, was not likely to have laid in the mind of his pupil that broad and deep foundation of sound religious principle, which could alone have resisted the force of habit, and redeemed him from the pernicious influence of the weakness to which he fell a victim. We do not expect a treatise on repentance in a work of this nature; but we do demand in any work, that pretends to moral utility, an attention and a general reference to the only stable and satisfactory grounds of morality to which a christian can resort. What would be thought of the writer who, in a work calculated, though but incidentally, to illustrate some of the truths of natural philosophy, should refer to the erroneous or imperfect data of systems long since exploded, and neglect to avail himself of the light of recent discoveries, and the sagacity of the great luminaries of science? Surely he would come off cheaply with the imputation of having laboured in vain, and might rather expect to be called to account for a practice so likely to mislead the inexperienced, and delude the ignorant with an unsubstantial form of knowledge. If such a proceeding would be reprobated in this case, how much more so in the case of moral philosophy, where the practical inferences are of so much higher importance. There is in the human mind such an alacrity in sinking, where the moral principle is concerned; such a bias towards the system least incumbered with the duties of self-denial, that we must think any work of a moral tendency dangerous, which holds out the possibility of attaining to high degrees of perfection, without going through the humiliating and mortifying, but most indispensable steps of christian discipline. It is in this view that we have dwelt so long on the character of Russell, which is more likely than any other in these volumes to be regarded, and especially by a mind of feeling and generosity, as a model of imitation, and standard of excellence. We also looked to his characters of clergyman and tutor, which not only authorized, but peremptorily demanded the introduction of higher principles, on the occasion to which we have alluded. Had he viewed the conduct of Vivian, and its consequences, with the eyes of a man who takes his religion from the Bible, he never could have written a letter so calculated to mislead him with respect to the nature and effects of his remorse; he never would have thought, on a subsequent occasion, that a personal offence, committed under the influence of mistaken jealousy, was a sufficient reason for disclaiming his friendship,—nor the profession of political integrity, the proper ground of reconciliation;—he never would so pointedly have omitted the subject of religion, in the last hours of a friend and pupil, dying under such awful cir-

circumstances, nor have left his spiritual concerns, at such a time, to the care of a stranger; and yet there is a beauty and a grandeur in his character, which it is impossible not to love and admire; and it is against the fascinating and seductive notion, that the possession of such brilliant qualities, as generosity, and an independent spirit, and such solid virtues as prudence and steadiness, compensate for the want of genuine religion, that we would caution, more especially, our youthful readers. In fact, to disjoin religion and morality, is to put asunder what God has indissolubly united. To draw a portraiture of christian excellence in the garb of a heathen philosopher, has all the absurdity of putting the Roman toga on the shoulders of a modern statue, without the excuse of superior beauty in the drapery. But we must remember that we have still much ground to travel over, and shall, probably, meet with other temptations to renew this interesting topic.

This tale is, on the whole, rather a heavy one. It has a sombre uniformity of shade, which is not relieved by the author's usual proportion of playful humour, smartness of dialogue, or originality of character. It contains, however, some faithful portraits, of which we will give that of Wharton, a profligate politician, as a fair specimen.

“ Among the men of talents and political consequence, whom we met at Lord Glistonbury's, was Mr. Wharton, whose conversation particularly pleased Vivian, and who now courted his acquaintance with an eagerness, which was peculiarly flattering. Vivian knew him only as a man of great abilities; with his real character he was not acquainted. Wharton had prepossessing manners, and wit sufficient, whenever he pleased, to make the worse appear the better reason. In private or in public debate, he had at his command, and could condescend to employ, all sorts of arms, and every possible mode of annoyance, from the most powerful artillery of logic, to the lowest squib of humour. He was as little nice in the company he kept, as in the style of his conversation. Frequently associating with fools, and willing even to be thought one, he made, alternately, his sport and advantage of the weakness and follies of mankind. Wharton was philosophically, politically, and fashionably profligate. After having ruined his private fortune by unbounded extravagance, he lived on—nobody knew how—in careless profusion. In public life, he made a distinguished figure; and seemed, therefore, to think himself raised above the necessity of practising any of the minor virtues of economy, prudence, or justice, which common people find essential to their well-being in society. Far from attempting to conceal, he gloried in his faults; for he knew full well, that, as long as he had the voice of numbers with him, he could bully, or laugh, or shame plain reason and rigid principle out of countenance. It was his grand art to represent good sense as stupidity,

and virtue as hypocrisy. Hypocrisy was, in his opinion, the only vice, which merited the brand of infamy; and from this he took sufficient care to prove, or at least to proclaim, himself free. Even whilst he offended against the decencies of life, there seemed to be something frank and graceful in his manner of throwing aside all disguise. There appeared an air of superior liberality in his avowing himself to be governed by that absolute selfishness, which other men strive to conceal even from their own hearts. He dexterously led his acquaintance to infer, that he would prove as much better than his professions, as other people are often found to be worse than theirs. Where he wished to please, it was scarcely possible to escape the fascination of his manner; nor did he neglect any mode of courting popularity: he knew that a good table is necessary to attract even men of wit; and he made it a point to have the very best cook, and the very best wines. He paid his cook, and his cook was the only person he did pay, in ready money. His wine merchant he paid in words—an art in which he was a professed, and yet a successful adept, as hundreds of living witnesses were ready to attest. But, though Wharton could cajole, he could not attach his fellow-creatures—he had a party, but no friend. With this distribution of things he was perfectly satisfied; for he considered men only as beings, who were to be worked to his purposes; and he declared, that, provided he had power over their interests and their humours, he cared not what became of their hearts.” (P. 88.)

Such men as Wharton would do much less injury to society, were there fewer parents who reason like Vivian's mother.

“Lady Mary Vivian saw the rise and progress of this intimacy, and was not insensible to its danger; yet she was gratified by seeing her son distinguished by a man of Wharton's political consequence; and she satisfied her conscience by saying—‘He will bring my son forward in public life; and, as to the rest, Charles has too good principles ever to follow his example in private life.’” (P. 94.)

The gradual dereliction of high political principle, which so frequently results from a connection with a party, is well described in the following passage:

“Vivian insensibly adopted more and more of the language and principles of the public men, with whom he daily associated. He began to hear and talk of compensations and jobs, as they did; and to consider all measures, proved to be necessary for the support of his party, as expedient, if not absolutely right. His country could not be saved, unless he and his friends could obtain the management of affairs; and no men, he found, could gain parliamentary influence, or raise themselves into political power, without acting as a body. Then, of course, all subordinate points of right were to be sacrificed to the great good of promoting the views of the party. This argument, founded on the necessity of acting

in concert, was applied continually; and Vivian found, that it extended daily the bounds of his conscience." (P. 185.)

Indeed the political sentiments, throughout this tale, are highly to be applauded; though we fear that, if found in the commonplace-book of a modern politician, it would be under the head of "matter for speeches on the hustings." Lord Glistonbury is rather too much caricatured, and we are inclined to doubt the existence of an exact parallel to Lady Sarah Lidhurst. Her sister, Lady Julia, is more after nature. The description of her visit to a man of war, is one of the liveliest sallies in the piece.

"They embarked in a pleasure boat—Lady Sarah was very sick, and her admirer very cold; but Lady Julia was in ecstasies at every thing she saw and felt—she feared nothing, found nothing inconvenient—was charmed to be drawn so easily from the boat up the high side of the ship—charmed to find herself on deck—charmed to see the sails, the ropes, the rigging, the waves, the sea, the sun, the clouds, the sailors, the cook dressing dinners—all, all indiscriminately charmed her; and, like a school girl broke loose, she ran about, wild with spirits, asking questions, some sensible, some silly; laughing at her own folly, flying from this side to that, from one end of the ship to the other, down the ladders, and up again, whilst Mr. Russell, who was deputed to take care of her, could scarcely keep up with her: Lord Glistonbury stood by, holding his sides and laughing aloud. Miss Strictland, quite disabled by the smell of the ship, was lying on a bed, in the state cabin; and Lady Sarah, all the time, shaded by an umbrella, held by her shivering admirer, sat, as if chained upright, in her chair of state, upon deck, scorning her sister's childish levity, and proving herself, with all due propriety, incapable of being moved to surprise or admiration by any object on land or sea." (P. 58.)

We should scarcely have suspected so practised a writer of such an inaccuracy, as occurs in the following sentence:

"In her conversation there was a mixture of excellent sense and general literature with the frivolities of the fashionable world, and the anecdotes of the day in certain high circles, of which she seemed to talk more from habit than taste, and to annex importance more from the compulsion of external circumstances than from choice." (P. 10.)

We must pass rapidly over the next tale, which is called *Emilie de Coulanges*; though we could recommend it to the serious attention of sundry antiquated proficients in the art of tormenting, who expect a regular interest for the favours they confer, as for the money they lay out in the stocks; and draw upon their unfortunate *protégées* so frequently, though in petty ways, that gratitude itself becomes bankrupt. The object of the tale may be collected from the following extract:

“With the most benevolent, and even magnanimous intentions, Mrs. Somers often tormented her friends cruelly; and the more they admired and were obliged to her, and the more sensibility they possessed, the greater were their sufferings. Almost every day Emilie felt the apprehension or the certainty of having offended her benefactress; and the causes, by which she gave offence, were sometimes so trifling, as to elude her notice; so mysterious, that they could not be discovered; or so various and anomalous, that, even when she was told in what manner she had displeased, she could not form any rule, or draw any inference, for her future conduct. Sometimes she offended by differing, sometimes by agreeing, in taste or opinion with Mrs. Somers. Sometimes she perceived, that she was thought positive; at other times, too complying. A word, a look, or even silence—passive silence—was sufficient to affront this susceptible lady. Then she would go on with a string of deductions, or, rather, of imaginations, to prove, that there must be something wrong in Emilie's disposition; and she would insist upon it, that she knew better of what was passing, or what would pass, in her mind, than Emilie could know herself. Nothing provoked Mrs. Somers more, than the want of success in any of her active attempts to make others happy. She was continually angry with Emilie for not being sufficiently pleased or grateful for things, which she had not the vanity to suspect were intended for her gratification, or which were not calculated to contribute to her amusement: this humility, or this difference of taste, was always considered as affectation or perversity.” (Vol. v. p. 42.)

This character is well contrasted with that of Lady Littleton, who

“Had employed her excellent understanding in studying the minute circumstances, which tend to make people, of different characters and tempers, agree and live happily together; and she understood and practised so successfully all the *honest* arts of pleasing, that she rendered herself the centre of union to a large circle of relations, many of whom she had converted into friends. This she had accomplished without any violent effort, without making any splendid sacrifices, but with that calm, gentle, persevering kindness of temper, which, when united to good sense, forms the real happiness of domestic life, and the true perfection of the female character. Those who have not traced the causes of family quarrels, would not readily guess from what slight circumstances they often originate; they arise more frequently from small defects in temper, than from material faults of character. People who would, perhaps, sacrifice their fortunes or lives for each other, cannot, at certain moments, give up their will, or command their humour, in the slightest degree.” (P. 124.)

“This enabled her to do, what no other human being has accomplished, to continue in peace and amity, for upwards of thirty years, with Mrs. Somers.” The delicacy, right feel-

ing, and good sense in the following passage, which occurs in one of her letters to this lady, are in perfect consonance with this character.

"It has been the misfortune of your life, my dear friend, to believe, that, by making great sacrifices, and conferring great benefits, you could ensure to yourself, in return, affection and gratitude—you mistake both the nature of obligation, and the effect which it produces on the human mind. Obligations may command gratitude, but can never ensure love. If the benefit be of a pecuniary nature, it is necessarily attended with a certain sense of humiliation, which destroys the equality of friendship. Of whatever description the favour may be, it becomes burdensome, if gratitude be expected as a tribute, instead of being accepted as the free-will offering of the heart—'Still paying still to owe,' is irksome, even to those who have nothing satanic in their natures. A person, who has received a favour, is in a defenceless state, with respect to a benefactor; and the benefactor, who makes an improper use of the power, which gratitude gives, becomes an oppressor. I know your generous spirit, and I am fully sensible, that no one has a more just idea than you have of the delicacy that ought to be used towards those whom you have obliged; but you must permit me to observe, that your practice is not always conformable to your theory. Temper is doubly necessary to those, who love, as you do, to confer favours: it is the duty of a benefactress to command her feelings, and to refrain absolutely from every species of direct or indirect reproach; else her kindness becomes only a source of misery; and even from the benevolence of her disposition, she derives the means of giving pain. It is said, that the bee extracts the venom of her sting from her own honey\*."—(P. 111.)

Emilie de Coulanges, the unfortunate subject of Mrs. Somers's experiments in the art in which she was so well versed, is an interesting example of patience, magnanimity, and sweetness of temper. Her mother, a French Comtesse drawn to the life, finds a safeguard from the same persecution in her characteristic frivolity.

"She examined no farther than the surface; and, provided that there was not any deficiency of those *little attentions*, to which she had been accustomed, it never occurred to her, that a friend could be more or less pleased: she did not understand or study physiognomy; a smile of the lips was, to her, always a sufficient token of approbation; and, whether it were merely conventional, or whether it came from the heart, she never troubled herself to inquire. Provided that she saw at dinner the usual *couverts*, and that she had a sufficient number of people to converse with, or rather, to talk to, she was satisfied that every thing was right. All the variations in Mrs. Somers's temper were unmarked by her, or went under the general head, *vapeurs noirs*." (P. 65.)

\* Paley.



The catastrophe of this tale is brought about by one of those very extraordinary coincidences, which occur daily in novels and plays, and about once in a century in real life. This is the less to be tolerated in Miss Edgeworth's compositions, because the air of probability thrown over them by her generally accurate delineation of manners, makes such incongruities the more prominent and offensive.

The last, the longest, and certainly the most interesting of these tales, is the *Absentee*; which is intended, as we are told in the preface, "to warn the thoughtless, and the unoccupied, from seeking distinction by frivolous imitation of fashion, and ruinous waste of fortune." It contains, besides, an excellent lesson on the evils attendant upon non-residence, as exemplified in the history of Lord and Lady Clonbrony, great Irish proprietors; the former of whom may be briefly characterized by a description, in which too many of his countrymen are apt to glory, viz. that of no man's enemy but his own; a sort of being, who, in spite of this peaceable character, is generally doing mischief to hundreds besides himself, if his situation in life be such as to give him extensive influence. To the latter we must give our readers a more particular introduction, as well as to their son, Lord Colambre, who is the hero of the tale.

"In Lady Clonbrony's address there was a mixture of constraint, affectation, and indecision, unusual in a person of her birth, rank, and knowledge of the world. A natural and unnatural manner seemed struggling in her gestures, and in every syllable that she articulated—a naturally free, familiar, good natured, precipitate, Irish manner, had been schooled, and schooled late in life, into a sober, cold, still, stiff deportment, which she mistook for English—A strong, Hibernian accent, she had, with infinite difficulty, changed into an English tone—Mistaking reverse of wrong for right, she caricatured the English pronunciation; and the extraordinary precision of her London phraseology betrayed her not to be a Londoner, as the man, who strove to pass for an Athenian, was detected by his Attic dialect. Not aware of her real danger, Lady Clonbrony was, on the opposite side, in continual apprehension, every time she opened her lips, lest some treacherous *a* or *e*, some strong *r*, some puzzling aspirate or non-aspirate, some unguarded note, interrogative or expostulatory, should betray her to be an Irishwoman. Mrs. Dareville had, in her mimicry, perhaps, a little exaggerated, as to the *teebles* and *cheers*, but still the general likeness of the representation of Lady Clonbrony was strong enough to strike and vex her son. He had now, for the first time, an opportunity of judging of the estimation which his mother and his family were held by certain leaders of the ton, of whom, in her letters, she had spoken so much, and into whose society, or rather into whose parties, she had been ad-

mitted. He saw, that the renegade cowardice, with which she denied, abjured, and reviled her own country, gained nothing but ridicule and contempt—He loved his mother; and, whilst he endeavoured to conceal her faults and foibles as much as possible from his own heart, he could not endure those who dragged them to light and ridicule. The next morning, the first thing that occurred to Lord Colambre's remembrance, when he awoke, was the sound of the contemptuous emphasis which had been laid on the words IRISH ABSENTEES!—This led to recollections of his native country, to comparisons of past and present scenes, to future plans of life. Young and careless as he seemed, Lord Colambre was capable of serious reflection. Of naturally quick and strong capacity, ardent affections, impetuous temper, the early years of his childhood passed at his father's castle in Ireland, where, from the lowest servant to the well-dressed dependant of the family, every body had conspired to wait upon, to fondle, to flatter, to worship, this darling of their lord. Yet he was not spoiled—not rendered selfish. For, in the midst of this flattery and servility, some strokes of genuine generous affection had gone home to his little heart; and, though unqualified submission had increased the natural impetuosity of his temper, and though visions of his future grandeur had touched his infant thought, yet, fortunately, before he had acquired any fixed habits of insolence or tyranny, he was carried far away from all, that were bound or willing to submit to his commands, far away from all signs of hereditary grandeur—plunged into one of our great public schools—into a new world. Forced to struggle, mind and body, with his equals, his rivals, the little lord became a spirited schoolboy, and, in time, a man. Fortunately for him, science and literature happened to be the fashion among a set of clever young men, with whom he was at Cambridge. His ambition for intellectual superiority was raised, his views were enlarged, his tastes and his manners formed. The sobriety of English good sense mixed most advantageously with Irish vivacity—English prudence governed, but did not extinguish his Irish enthusiasm. But, in fact, English and Irish had not been invidiously contrasted in his mind: he had been so long resident in England, and so intimately connected with Englishmen, that he was not obvious to any of the commonplace ridicule thrown upon the Irish; and he had lived with men, who were too well informed and liberal to misjudge or depreciate a sister country—He had found, from experience, that, however reserved the English may be in manners, they are warm at heart; that, however averse they may be from forming new acquaintance, their esteem and confidence once gained, they make the most solid friends. He had formed friendships in England; he was fully sensible of the superior comforts, refinements, and information, of English society; but his own country was endeared to him by early association, and a sense of duty and patriotism attached him to Ireland—And what too he an absentee? was a question, which resulted from

these reflections—a question, which he was not yet prepared to answer decidedly.” (P. 210.)

But we must refer to another description of Lady Clonbrony, not so much for the sake of giving a finish to her portrait, as with a view to the decidedly mischievous tendency of the description itself.

“A few foibles out of the question, such as her love of fine people, her affectation of being English, and other affectations too tedious to mention, Lady Clonbrony was really a good woman, had good principles, moral and religious, and, selfishness not immediately interfering, she was good natured; and, though her soul and attention were so completely absorbed in the duties of acquaintanceship, that she did not know it, she really had affection—they were concentrated upon a few near relations.” (P. 299.)

What Miss Edgeworth's idea of a “really good woman,” possessed of “good principles moral and religious,” may be, we cannot pretend to say; but ours certainly, give it its most conciliating latitude, will not comprehend “affectations too tedious to mention, the love of fine people, selfishness, and a soul and attention completely absorbed in the duties of acquaintanceship.” We should shrink from the fidelity, which can alone give weight to our observations, did we not reprobate in plain and decided terms the lax and inadequate notions of *goodness*, to which such a statement must give countenance. The mischief here is not conveyed by inference or insinuation, the poison is not neutralized by the medium in which it is offered to us. The whole passage directly propagates, and gives credit to the glozing lie, with which the world stifles the scruples of more than half its deluded votaries. There cannot be a more palatable doctrine, than that it is possible to hold “good religious principles,” and yet indulge in a habit of mind totally inconsistent with the principles of true religion; to be “really good,” and yet foster in our bosoms, and strengthen by our daily practice, dispositions condemned in every page of that book, which we profess to regard as the guide of life. Nothing can be more palatable than this; but at the same time, however Miss Edgeworth may be startled by the imputation, nothing can be more decidedly antinomian. It is in the very spirit of this error to rob religion of its efficacy on the heart and life; to represent it in the light of a charm or talisman, which operates on those, who come within the sphere of its influence, whilst they remain mere passive subjects, partaking, without any reaction, of the benefits and privileges it confers. According to the established notion, that extremes have a tendency to meet, a reliance upon the efficacy of a dormant and inactive principle is equally characteristic of hot-headed fanaticism, and of dul-

warm indifference to religion. We believe that far the greater part of those, who, like this "really good lady," indulge in "affectation and selfishness," and suffer their "soul and attention to be completely absorbed in the duties of acquaintanceship," have some fancied safeguard of this kind in reserve,—some intentional, or at least notional religion, which is to compensate for the encouragement of unchristian tempers, and the devotion to habits of worldliness and self-indulgence. But if any thing can render such tempers and habits consistent with the effectual possession of "good religious principles," we must have studied a very incorrect edition of the book, in which those principles are said to be registered and inrolled.

To complete the account of the family, we must mention Grace Nugent, Lady Clombrony's niece, who has all the qualifications requisite to the leading part she has to play in the drama, though we should have liked her all the better for wanting the boldness of repartee, which enabled her to overawe Mrs. Dareville, and put Lady Langdale out of countenance. The anecdotes to which we allude are in bad taste, and savour more of the pertness of a forward Miss, who has been flattered into the notion that she is a wit, than of the delicacy and good sense of the character to whom they are attributed.

For this young lady Lord Colambre forms an attachment; but knowing the opposition it would meet with from his parents, and having some additional motives, which may be gathered from the sketch that has been given of his character, he determines to leave his family for a time, and pay a visit to his native country. Thither we were most happy to accompany him, for there we knew that Miss Edgeworth would display both the sportive animation and renovated vigour of an animal restored to its own peculiar element. In this we were not disappointed. The very approach to this favourite shore has more life and spirit in it than any of her pictures of English manners.

"The tide did not permit the packet to reach the Pigeon-house, and the impatient Lord Colambre stepped into a boat, and was rowed across the bay of Dublin. It was a fine summer morning. The sun shone bright on the Wicklow mountains. He admired, he exulted in the beauty of the prospect; and all the early associations of his childhood, and the patriotic hopes of his riper years, swelled his heart as he approached the shores of his native land. But scarcely had he touched his mother earth, when the whole course of his ideas was changed; and if his heart swelled, it swelled no more with pleasurable sensations, for instantly he found himself surrounded and attacked by a swarm of beggars and harpies, with strange figures and stranger tones; some craving his charity, some snatching away his luggage, and at the same time bidding

him 'never trouble himself,' and 'never fear.'—A scramble in the boat and on shore for bags and parcels began, and an amphibious fight betwixt men, who had one foot on sea and one on land, was seen; and long and loud the battle of trunks and portmanteaus raged! The vanquished departed, clinching their empty hands at their opponents, and swearing inextinguishable hatred; while the smiling victors stood at ease, each grasping his booty; bag, basket, parcel, or portmanteau.—'And your honour, where *will* these go? Where *will* we carry 'em all to for your honour?'—was now the question. Without waiting for an answer, most of the goods were carried at the discretion of the porter to the custom-house, where, to his lordship's astonishment, after this scene of confusion, he found that he had lost nothing but his patience; all his goods were safe, and a few *tinpennies* made his officious porters happy men and boys; blessings were showered upon his honour, and he was left in peace at an excellent hotel in ——— street, Dublin." (P. 1.)

The account of the state of society in Dublin is written with much spirit, and, we believe, with perfect accuracy. It is difficult to select the most striking group in a picture so admirably sketched, but perhaps no part of it exceeds in faithfulness the following description of the trades-people in that city.

"Lord Colambre had several commissions to execute for his English friends, and he made it his amusement in every shop to observe the manners and habits of the people. He remarked, that there are in Dublin two classes of tradespeople; one, who go into business with intent to make it their occupation for life, and as a slow, but sure means of providing for themselves and their families: another class, who take up trade merely as a temporary resource, to which they condescend for a few years; trusting that they shall, in that time, make a fortune, retire, and commence or recommence gentlemen. The Irish regular men of business are like all other men of business,—punctual, frugal, careful, and so forth; with the addition of more intelligence, invention, and enterprise, than are usually found in Englishmen of the same rank. But the Dublin tradesmen *pro tempore* are a class by themselves: they begin without capital, buy stock upon credit in hopes of making large profits, and, in the same hopes, sell upon credit. Now, if the credit they can obtain is longer than that which they are forced to give, they go on and prosper; if not, they break, turn bankrupts, and some times, as bankrupts, thrive. By such men, of course, every *short cut* to fortune is followed; whilst every habit which requires time to prove its advantage, is disregarded; nor, with such views, can a character for *punctuality* have its just value. In the head of a man, who intends to be a tradesman to day, and a gentleman to morrow, the ideas of the *honesty* and the duties of a tradesman, and of the honour and the accomplishments of a gentleman, are oddly jumbled together, and the characteristics of both are lost in the compound.

“ He will *oblige* you, but he will not obey you; he will do you a favour, but he will not do you *justice*; he will do *any thing to serve you*, but the particular thing you order, he neglects;—he asks your pardon, for he would not, for all the goods in his warehouse, *disoblige* you; not for the sake of your custom, but he has a particular regard for your family.—Economy, in the eyes of such a tradesman, is, if not a mean vice, at least a shabby virtue, of which he is too polite to suspect his customers, and to which he is proud of proving himself superior. Many London tradesmen, after making their thousands and their tens of thousands, feel pride in still continuing to live like plain men of business; but from the moment a Dublin tradesman of this style has made a few hundreds, he sets up his gig, and then his head is in his carriage, and not in his business; and when he has made a few thousands, he buys or builds a country-house—and then, and thenceforward, his head, heart, and soul, are in his country-house, and only his body in the shop with his customers.

“ Whilst he is making money, his wife, or rather his lady, is spending twice as much out of town as he makes in it. At the word country-house, let no one figure to himself a snug little box, like that in which a *warm* London citizen, after long years of toil, indulges himself, one day out of seven, in repose—enjoying from his gazebo the smell of the dust, and the view of passing coaches on the London road. No: these Hibernian villas are on a much more magnificent scale; some of them formerly belonged to Irish members of parliament, who were at a distance from their country-seats. After the Union these were bought by citizens and tradesmen, who spoiled, by the mixture of their own fancies, what had originally been designed by men of good taste.” (P. 12.)

To one of these villas Lord Colambre pays a visit, and we must treat our readers with a sketch of the feast that was served up to him.

“ The dinner had two great faults—profusion and pretension. There was, in fact, ten times more on the table than was necessary; and the entertainment was far above the circumstances of the person by whom it was given: for instance, the dish of fish at the head of the table had been brought across the island from Sligo, and had cost five guineas; as the lady of the house failed not to make known. But, after all, things were not of a piece; there was a disparity between the entertainment and the attendants; there was no proportion or fitness of things. A painful endeavour at what could not be attained, and a toiling in vain to conceal and repair deficiencies and blunders. Had the mistress of the house been quiet; had she, as Mrs. Broadhurst would say, but let things alone, let things take their course; all would have passed off with well-bred people; but she was incessantly apologizing, and fussing, and fretting inwardly and outwardly, and directing and calling to her servants,—striving to make a butler, who was deaf, and a boy, who

was hairbrained, do the business of five accomplished footmen of *parts and figure*. The mistress of the house called for 'plates, clean plates!—plates!'

" 'But none did come, when she did call.'

" Mrs. Raffarty called 'Lanty! Lanty! My lord's plate, there!—James! bread, to captain Bowles!—James! port wine, to the major!—James! James Kenny! James!'

" 'And panting James toiled after her in vain.'

" At length one course was fairly got through, and after a torturing half-hour, the second course appeared, and James Kenny was intent upon one thing, and Lanty upon another, so that the wine-sauce for the hare was spilt by their collision; but, what was worse, there seemed little chance that the whole of this second course should ever be placed altogether rightly upon the table. Mrs. Raffarty cleared her throat, and nodded, and pointed, and sighed, and set Lanty after Kenny, and Kenny after Lanty; for what one did, the other undid; and at last, the lady's anger kindled, and she spoke.

" 'Kenny! James Kenny! set the seacale at this corner, and put down the grass cross-corners; and match your macaroni yonder with *them* puddens, set—Ogh! James! the pyramid in the middle, can't ye?'

" The pyramid, in changing places, was overturned. Then it was, that the mistress of the feast, falling back in her seat, and lifting up her hands and eyes in despair, ejaculated; 'Oh, James! James!'

" The pyramid was raised by the assistance of the military engineers, and stood trembling again on its base; but the lady's temper could not be so easily restored to its equilibrium." (P. 25.)

This scene, however, is by no means exclusively appropriate to the country in which it is placed, the silly and self-defeating ambition it portrays, being so prevalent amongst the middle classes of English society, that, but for Miss Edgeworth's testimony, we might have been tempted to claim it as an endemic disorder. But we will now introduce our readers to a sketch exclusively Hibernian. Lady Dashfort, whose name may serve as an index to her character, happening to think Lord Colambre a desirable match for a daughter she had to dispose of, persuades him to accompany her on a visit to the mansion of Lord and Lady Killpatrick.

" And so it was settled. Our hero went to Killpatrickstown.

" 'Every thing here sumptuous and uninished, you see,' said Lady Dashfort to Lord Colambre, the day after their arrival. 'All begun as if the projectors thought they had the command of the mines of Peru: and ended as if the possessors had not *sixième*; *des arrangements provisoires*, temporary expedients; in plain English, *make shifts*.—Luxuries enough for an English prince of the

blood. Comforts, not enough for an English yeoman.—And you may be sure that great repairs and alterations have gone on to fit this house for our reception, and for our English eyes!—Poor people!—English visitors, in this point of view, are horribly expensive to the Irish. Did you ever hear, that, in the last century, or in the century before the last, to put my story far enough back, so that it shall not touch any body living; when a certain English nobleman, Lord Blank A——, sent to his Irish friend, Lord Blank B——, to let him know that he and all his train were coming over to pay him a visit; the Irish nobleman, Blank B——, knowing the deplorable condition of his castle, sat down fairly to calculate, whether it would cost him most to put the building in good and sufficient repair, fit to receive these English visitors, or to burn it to the ground.—He found the balance to be in favour of burning, which was wisely accomplished next day\*. Perhaps Killpatrick would have done well to follow this example. Resolve me which is worst, to be burnt out of house and home, or to be eaten out of house and home. In this house, above and below stairs, including first and second table, housekeeper's room, lady's maids' room, butler's room, and gentleman's, one hundred and four people sit down to dinner every day, as Petito informs me, beside kitchen boys, and what they call *char*-women; who never sit down, but who do not eat or waste the less for that; and retainers, and friends; friends to the fifth and sixth generation, who 'must get their bit and their sup;' for,—'sure, its only Biddy,' they say;—continued Lady Dashfort, imitating their Irish brogue.—And, 'sure, 'tis nothing at all, out of all his honour, my lord, has.—How could he *feel* it! †—Long life to him!—He's not that way: not a couple in all Ireland, and that's saying a great dale, looks less after their own, nor is more off-handed, or open-hearted, or greater openhouse-keepers, nor ‡ my Lord and my Lady Killpatrick.'—Now there's encouragement for a lord and a lady to ruin themselves." (P. 58.)

After a narrow escape from the wiles of Lady Dashfort and her daughter, Lord Colambre visits in disguise two different estates belonging to his father, one of which is under the care of a good, the other of a bad agent. As the character of the deputy is the point next in importance to the residence of the principal, it may be well to give our weak aid towards increasing the publicity of this useful portion of the work under our consideration. We will therefore detail part of a conversation between an innkeeper and Lord Colambre, then passing under the name of M<sup>r</sup>. Evans.

“ So the agent is a good agent, is he?”

“ He is, thanks be to Heaven!—And that's what few can boast,

\* Fact.

† *Feel* it, become sensible of it, know it.

‡ *Never*, than.



especially when the landlord's living over the seas: we have the luck to have got a good agent over us, in Mr. Burke, who is a right bred gentleman; a snug little property of his own, honestly made; with the good will, and good wishes, and respect of all.'

"Does he live in the neighbourhood?"

"Just convenient\*.—At the end of the town; in the house on the hill, as you passed, sir; to the left, with the trees about it, all of his planting, finely grown too—for there's a blessing on all he does—and he has done a deal.'

"There's salad, sir, if you are partial to it.—Very fine lettuce.—Mrs. Burke sent us the plants herself.'

"Excellent salad! So this Mr. Burke has done a great deal, has he? In what way?"

"In every way, sir,—sure was not it he that had improved, and fostered, and made the town of Colambre—no thanks to the proprietor, nor to the young man whose name it bears, neither?"

"Have you any porter, pray sir?"

"We have, sir, as good, I hope, as you'd drink in London, for it's the same you got there, I understand, from Cork. And I have some of my own brewing, which, they say, you could not tell the difference, between it and Cork quality—if you'd be pleased to try. Harry, the corkscrew.'

"The porter of his own brewing was pronounced to be extremely good; and the landlord observed it was Mr. Burke encouraged him to learn to brew, and lent him his own brewer for a time to teach him.

"Your Mr. Burke, I find, is *apropos* to porter, *apropos* to salad, *apropos* to cutlets, *apropos* to every thing,' said lord Colambre, smiling: 'he seems to be a very uncommon agent. I suppose you are a great favourite of his, and you do what you please with him.'

"O, no, sir, I could not say that; Mr. Burke does not have favourites any way; but, according to my deserts, I trust, I stand well enough with him, for, in truth, he is a right good agent.'

"Lord Colambre still pressed for particulars; he was an Englishman, and a stranger, he said, and did not exactly know what was meant in Ireland by a good agent.

"Why, he is the man that will encourage the improving tenant; and show no favour or affection, but justice, which comes even to all, and does best for all at the long run; and, residing always in the country, like Mr. Burke, and understanding county business, and going about continually among the tenantry, he knows when to press for the rent, and when to leave the money to lay out upon the land; and, according as they would want it, can give a tenant a help or a check properly. Then no duty-work called for, no presents, nor *glove-money*, nor *sealing money* even, taken or offered; no underhand hints about proposals, when land

\* Convenient, near.

would be out of lease; but a considerable preference, if deserved, to the old tenant, and, if not, a fair advertisement, and the best offer and tenant accepted: no screwing of the land to the highest penny, just to please the head landlord for the minute, and ruin him at the end, by the tenants racking the land and running off with a year's rent: nor no bargains to his own relations or friends did Mr. Burke ever give or grant, but all fair between landlord and tenant; and that's the thing that will last; and that's what I call the good agent.' " (P. 123.)

Having done with Mr. Burke, we should next introduce our readers to Nicholas Garraghty, Esq. his brother agent, but, for once, worth alone shall give precedence, and the warm-hearted, facetious, and intelligent Larry Brady, the worthy representative of that singular and most entertaining class of bipeds, the Irish postillion, shall make his appearance first.

"Towards the evening of the second day's journey, the driver of Lord Colambre's hackney chaise stopped, and, jumping off the wooden bar, on which he had been seated, exclaimed,

"'We're come to the bad step now. The bad road's beginning upon us, please your honour.'

"'Bad road! that is very uncommon in this country.—I never saw such fine roads, as you have in Ireland.'

"'That's true; and God bless your honour, that's sensible of that same, for it's not what all the foreign quality I drive have the manners to notice.—God bless your honour! I heard you're a Welshman, but, whether or no, I am sure you are a gentleman, any way, Welsh or other.'

"Notwithstanding the shabby great coat, the shrewd postillion perceived, by our hero's language, that he was a gentleman. After much dragging at the horses' heads, and pushing and lifting, the carriage was got over what the postillion said was the worst part of the bad step; but as the road 'was not yet to say good,' he continued walking beside the carriage.

"'It's only just bad hereabouts, and that by accident,' said he, 'on account of there being no jantleman resident in it, nor near; but only a bit of an under-agent, a great little rogue, who gets his own turn out of the roads, and every thing else in life. I, Larry Brady, that am telling your honour, have a good right to know; for myself, and my father, and my brother, Pat Brady, the wheelwright, had once a farm under him; but was ruined, horse and foot, all along with him, and cast out, and my brother forced to fly the country, and is now working in some coachmaker's yard, in London; banished he is!—and here am I, forced to be what I am—and now that I'm reduced to drive a hack, the agent's a curse to me still, with these bad roads, killing my horses and wheels—and a shame to the country, which I think more of—Bad luck to him!'" (P. 142.)

Whoever has travelled far in Ireland, will have sighed more

than once over the original of one of the following sketches, and smiled full as often at something very like the other.

"This town consisted of one row of miserable huts, sunk beneath the side of the road, the mud walls crooked in every direction; some of them opening in wide cracks, or zigzag fissures, from top to bottom, as if there had just been an earthquake—all the roofs sunk in various places—thatch off, or overgrown with grass—no chimnies, the smoke making its way through a hole in the roof, or rising in clouds from the top of the open door—dung-hills before the doors, and green standing puddles—squalid children, with scarcely rags to cover them, gazing at the carriage.

"'Nugent's town,' said the postillion, 'once a snug place, when my Lady Clonbrony was at home to white-wash it, and the like.'

"As they drove by, some men and women put their heads through the smoke out of the cabins; pale women, with long, black, or yellow locks—men with countenances and figures bereft of hope and energy." (P. 157.)

"Larry was driving off, but the carman called to him, and pointed to a house, at the corner of which, on a high pole, was swinging an iron sign of three horseshoes, set in a crooked frame, and at the window hung an empty bottle, proclaiming whiskey within.

"'Well, I don't care if I do,' said Larry; 'for I've no other comfort left me in life now. I beg your honour's pardon, sir, for a minute,' added he, throwing the reins into the carriage to Lord Colambre, as he leaped down. All remonstrance and power of lungs to reclaim him vain! He darted into the whiskey-house with the carman—re-appeared before Lord Colambre could accomplish getting out, remounted his seat, and, taking the reins, 'I thank your honour,' said he, 'and I'll bring you into Clonbrony before it's pitch-dark yet, though it's night-fall, and that's four good miles, but a spur in the head is worth two in the heel.'

"Larry, to demonstrate the truth of his favourite axiom, drove off at such a furious rate over great stones left in the middle of the road by carmen, who had been driving in the gudgeons of their axletrees to hinder them from lacing\*, that lord Colambre thought life and limb in imminent danger; and feeling, that, at all events, the jolting and bumping was past endurance, he had recourse to Larry's shoulder, and shook and pulled, and called him to go slower, but in vain; at last the wheel struck full against a heap of stones at a turn of the road, the wooden linch pin came off, and the chaise was upset: Lord Colambre was a little bruised, but glad to escape without fractured bones.

"'I beg your honour's pardon,' said Larry, completely sobered; 'I'm as glad as the best pair of boots ever I see, to see your honour nothing the worse for it. It was the linchpin, and them

\* Opening, perhaps from *lachs*, to loosen.

barrows of loose stones, that ought to be fined any way, if there was any justice in the country.'

"The pole is broke, how are we to get on?" said Lord Colambre.

"Murder, murder!—and no smith nearer than Clonbrony; nor rope even. It's a folly to talk, we can't get to Clonbrony, nor stir a step backward or forward, the night."

"What, then do you mean to leave me all night in the middle of the road?" cried Lord Colambre, quite exasperated.

"Is it me! please your honour. I would not use any jantleman so ill, *barring* I could do no other,' replied the postillion, coolly; then, leaping across the ditch, or, as he called it, the *gripe* of the ditch, he scrambled up, and, while he was scrambling, said, 'If your honour will lend me your hand, till I pull you up the back of the ditch, the horses will stand while we go. I'll find you as pretty a lodging for the night, with a widow of a brother of my shister's husband that was, as ever you slept in in your life; for old Nick or St. Dennis has not found 'em out yet: and your honour will be, no compare, snugger than the inn at Clonbrony, which has no roof, the devil a stick. But where will I get your honour's hand; for it's coming on so dark, I can't see rightly. There, you're up now safe. Yonder candle's the house.'

"Go and ask, whether they can give us a night's lodging."

"Is it ask? When I see the light!—Sure they'd be proud to give the traveller all the beds in the house, let alone one. Take care of the potatoe furrows, that's all, and follow me straight. I'll go on to meet the dog, who knows me, and might be strange to your honour." (P. 164.)

The description that follows, of the system pursued by the bad agent, and its miserable consequences, is too much in detail for quotation; but we would recommend it to the serious attention of every Irish absentee: and callous to every better feeling must be the heart of that man who can read it, and rest contented with the doubt, whether his own estate be managed by a Burke, or a Garraghty.

It would be presumption in us to think, that we could add any thing more to the statement of so able and well-qualified a pleader, than the strongest testimony to their truth, that our limited observations can warrant. It would be folly to think that any pathetic exhortations of ours would touch the feelings that could resist the ruined mansion, the rack'd and ragged tenantry, and all the combined miseries of a deserted domain. But this we will say, that we should prefer being out at elbows all our lives, to the splendour and luxuries of wealth supplied from such a source, and burdened with such responsibility. We firmly believe, that while every other proposed remedy for the distresses of our sister country would have but a partial or temporary effect, immediate, substantial, permanent, and still in-

creasing benefits would result to her, could Larry Brady's patriotic hope be realized by "its growing the fashion not to be an absentee."

Our limits, on which we have already trespassed, will not allow us to quote Larry's characteristic letter; and the same reason prevents us from treating our readers with the learned dissertation of Mr. Soho, "the first architectural upholsterer of the age; the noble exploits of the truly Irish Sir Terence O'Fay; or Count O'Halloran's excellent observations on the military character. The development of this tale is brought about partly by the very singular occurrence of Lord Colambre's discovering the retreat of a personage of some importance in it, by the direction on the outside of a cheese, which rolls from the top of a waggon, that he passes on the road. Now, as the dealers in fiction have the great advantage of choosing their own difficulties, we are inclined to close our remarks with a friendly hint to Miss Edgeworth, that in future it will be as well, before she leads her hero into a distress, to secure for him a decent and natural mode of escape.

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ART. V.—*Essay on the Practice of the British Government, distinguished from the abstract Theory on which it is supposed to be founded.* By Gould Francis Leckie. London: E. Lloyd. 1812.

IN a late number of the British Review, we took occasion to commend the justness of Mr. Leckie's political views with respect to Sicily; and the accuracy of his knowledge concerning the strange and intricate constitution of that island, in which we believe that he had sojourned and suffered for some years. It was therefore with some curiosity and not without hope of being rewarded for our trouble with increased information, that we undertook to peruse the pamphlet before us. But whether it is that the acumen of Mr. Leckie's mind requires to be sharpened by real and substantial injuries, before it can penetrate the recesses of the government, whose laws may cramp his genius, or restrain its excesses; or his continued contemplation of the ancient politics as recorded in classical history and of modern systems of government as exemplified on the shores of the Mediterranean, has infused into his mind a portion of the natural incapacity of foreigners, to embrace the scope, and understand the bearings

ings of the British constitution; certain it is, that this Essay on its *practice* will be very far from adding to the fair fame of its author; who, could he justly have appreciated his own talents for political discussions, would, in our opinion, have acted wisely to have closed them with his book on Sicily, and have sought for reputation in some department of literature more suited to his talents. Above all, we would recommend him to study with attention the syntax of the English language, which his long residence abroad seems to have, in some degree, erased from his memory, and to avoid that supercilious and dictatorial tone which we have scarcely ever observed to be the medium of conveyance to sound political reflections.

There is something exceedingly whimsical in the very outset of this Essay. We are informed in the preface, (p. vii.) that it is to contain a long statement of the system of "cabal and selfish views," by which all the strongly marked features of the British constitution, as delineated by Blackstone and Delolme, are obliterated. That the design of the work, nevertheless, is not (p. ix.) to contravene the favourable impressions made on all parts of Europe, concerning the excellence of the British constitution, nor "to endeavour to prove the reverse of what has been so triumphantly advanced; but merely to point out the inconveniences to which the system is liable, *for the purpose of putting men on their guard against the dreams of theorists*, who, under pretence of making us quite perfect, would plunge us into confusion, from which we can never emerge," &c. &c. Mr. Leckie also admits (p. viii) "that there is so much to praise in the British constitution, that it is no wonder that men should be so transported with the subject, as to shut their eyes to its imperfections." Here then we find a gentleman profess, that he is living under a government confessedly so excellent, that he stands in great fear of theorists, who, in attempting improvement, might eventually plunge it into confusion. Yet we find him at the same time profess, that he has written a book to prove, that from the scope given to the passions and prejudices of its several members, and the inherent vices of this same government, it has altogether deviated from the principles on which it was constituted, and lost sight of the objects it was meant to promote; and then again we are informed, that the purpose for which he has taken all this trouble is not to produce a reform of these vices, but to set men on their guard against those who would attempt it! Upon the same principle, we suppose the violent parliamentary reformists make their speeches and convene their meetings, not for the purpose of producing a reform in parliament, but for that of guarding men against the theorists who would attempt such a scheme;

and, truly, they do generally attain their object most completely; as completely as we think Mr. Leckie has succeeded in guarding those who peruse the pamphlet before us against the dreams of theorists. But they are not always like Mr. Leckie so ingenuous, as openly to confess their object, or even to admit that such is the effect of their lucubrations; and we heartily recommend them to take a lesson of candour and magnanimity from so original a writer.

For ourselves we confess, that from the moment we read these preliminary passages (and every succeeding page in the body of the work strengthened our conviction), we perceived that the Essay had no determinate or precise object in view, except that of being the vehicle to bring before the public certain detached political opinions, which had probably been the subject of loose conversation between the author and his friends; and of which we fear it cannot be predicated (as it was of some of the observations of our great moralist in his tour to the Hebrides), that they have long been rounded and matured in the deep and capacious mind of their parent. They will, however, afford the occasion of entering into discussions useful at the present time, on topics always interesting to a British reader; and we shall take them as they occur, without more regard to order and connection than their author has thought it necessary to preserve.

Mr. Leckie seems to think, that in order to avoid the imputation of being a theoretical reformer, it is sufficient to advocate the power of the crown at the expence of that of the House of Commons. He accordingly informs us in his preface (p. xi.) that "we should never lose sight of this *axiom*, that the House of Commons are to be considered as the defenders of our privileges, not as our masters. It is to the crown we owe allegiance, &c." And again, p. xii. "The alarming increase of the power and influence of the crown is a subject so popular, and on which so many have exerted their eloquence by *prating* in parliament, that it may seem strange to many readers, when *they come to see that according to this view*, the evils we suffer result rather from *the very opposite cause*." And again, p. xvii. "The intention of *this treatise* is to prevent evils, *by anticipating their danger*;"—(no very hopeful remedy we think) "to contest with the insidious outcry against the encroachment of the crown; to shew its real motive: to diminish the prejudices against monarchy, and to shew its difference from despotism. In this essay speculatively, monarchy is held to be the best of all governments; in the same manner it is in many respects preferable to the *theoretical* (we suppose from the following limb of the sentence that he means the *practical*) British constitution;—a system *excellent in speculation*,

but a speculation never strictly reduced to practice, and, in fact, incapable of being realized." "A deliberative representative assembly carries with it such innumerable inconveniences, and has in its nature so many inherent vices, that, construct it as you please, you will still get further from perfection."

After reading these dogmas on the British constitution, we were somewhat relieved by finding (p. xviii.) that "this part of the work (which in fact constitutes three-fourths of the whole, and to which indeed almost the whole has reference), is to be considered by the reader as *purely speculative*," not only because Mr. Leckie has a mortal aversion to revolutions, but also, because "if it were adopted new inconveniences might arise;" and for other very cogent reasons. But really we profess not to understand this continual pointing out of evils and deprecating of remedies. It savours of a pusillanimity which is neither fitting nor necessary in a British statesman. If, upon a fair review of our whole condition, a clear balance of real and tangible evils, subversive of, or endangering our liberties, can be shewn to arise out of the present practice of our constitution, we ought never to shew our faces in society, if we cannot muster up nerve enough to advocate their reform. While on the other hand, if the idea of the evils complained of arise, as we suspect, from a superficial view of things that seizes on little insulated objects overlooking the greater, and from a want of understanding the true scope and bearing of the several interests which do really balance the power of the state, and prevent it from being converted to the injury and oppression of the people;—then are the complaints against the power of the House of Commons *and its pruters* no less *theoretical*, nor a whit less mischievous, than those which are fulminated against the power of the crown; and we fear that Mr. Leckie must be compelled to take his rank among those who are

"Desirous to correct, not knowing how,

With very good design, but little wit,

Blaming or praising things as they think fit."

PRIOR.

In other words, among the *theorists* he dreads so much, that he dares not even recommend it to us to act upon the axioms he has taken so much pains to lay down, and we to toil through.

Let us then see whether those who have more political courage than Mr. Leckie can find in his arguments any result that may lead to a practical improvement of our government.

The first nine or three pages of the pamphlet contain what is called a brief survey of parliamentary proceedings from the revolution, in 1688, to 1812. Upon the accuracy of the historical and political knowledge displayed in these pages, it is not our object to expatiate. Enough of them are true to



prove the author's hypothesis that practically speaking, the government of England has been carried on by a king, through the medium of responsible ministers, selected from that party in the state which upholds the sentiments most applicable to the actual condition of foreign and domestic affairs, in the opinion of persons possessing property and education;—that one party becomes distinguished for its political sentiments, not so much from any conviction of their justness drawn from cool and sober contemplation, but because the candidates for power among the opposite party maintain the contrary opinions;—and that the crown, instead of acting from the independent suggestions of the royal mind, or from a system of policy emanating from its own contemplations, is under the necessity of selecting its ministers from the predominant party in parliament, and of adopting the system of policy which that party espouses.

The mischievous consequences which in various periods of our political history have, in Mr. Leckie's opinion, ensued from this condition of our polity, are to be found in the following extracts.

“ Thus the House of Hanover accepted the crown, as one takes a contract. They literally fulfilled the functions of royalty, and, as strangers, avoided all enterprises which could embroil them with the parliament. Inasmuch as they conducted themselves with moderation, so they never evinced any great zeal in politics: they have thus avoided disputes and troubles with the states, but have abandoned them to their factions and dissensions, without ever exerting that influence which alone resides in the regal authority, either to quash or reconcile them. The spirit of neutrality which they brought with them, and in which they have invariably persevered, has obscured the brilliancy of the throne, while it has tended to weaken the energy of the state: they may almost be said rather to have governed in the name of their ministers, than that ministers have governed in theirs. Princes, who have adopted a similar line of policy, cannot be supposed to have any views of their own of a general and extensive nature; and as a succession of factions must have in many respects opposite views, in vain we seek in Britain for the soul which animates the body, and which constitutes its unity. This order of things from long usage is become so inveterate, that notwithstanding it is the cause of every political reverse we have suffered, and is likely, if permanent, to cause many more, it is considered by the generality of mankind as the peculiar beauty and perfection of the government.” (P. 6.)

“ A sovereign who reigns half a century without appearing, but through the ministerial veil; who has allowed all the ambitious and factious candidates for power to contend with each other, without expressing an opinion of his own, or having any direct communication with his people, secluded like the grand Lama of Thibet

from the beginning to the end of his reign, must inevitably become first the tool of one party and then of another; his name must sanction the most contradictory resolutions, and he must submit ever to become an instrument in the hands of a predominant party."

"The most powerful empire, which a human being can exert over his fellow creatures, is that of opinion; and if a nobleman or even a commoner can find means to gain such an influence, what is to prevent the sovereign from taking the same advantages? Whatever sentiment a sovereign utters is preserved and repeated: such sentiments may be so many appeals to public opinion, and here he must have the advantage over every one. Unconstitutional interferences are unnecessary on his part to gain the public confidence; a sovereign will always reign, if he be the best statesman in the country; and he will have sufficient strength to support such a system of exterior policy, as he deems advantageous. As ministers are considered to be advisers of the sovereign, so they are answerable for his conduct; but as he chooses them, or is supposed to do so, they must either defend his measures, or leave their places. A sovereign who has the address and wisdom to rival even the demagogues in the public opinion, will never be at a loss to find ministers, because his conduct will be wise, and require very little sophistry to defend it: and, acting on the principles here described, he would put an end to the factions which have made Great Britain, in her connection with other states, the weakest government in Europe!" (P. 8.)

"In order to designate a succession of administrations, we apply to each the name of the chief of the party of whom it was composed; and in this country the duration of each ministry is marked by his name, which is affixed to the whole; as the reigns of kings are marked each by their proper name; thus we say the Pitt administration, the Portland, &c. &c. This manner of naming each party serves also to designate their principles, or rather their political conduct, with other nations; and that which has got the reins into their hands decide entirely, for the time being, what are the actual principles which characterise the British government; the king being nothing more than the titular chief." (P. 17.)

Now it appears to us perfectly evident, that so long as parliament is in the main either constituted of, or elected by, the persons of education and property in the country, that is, while it consists of the most enlightened and independent part of the community, the state of things complained of by Mr. Leckie, so far as it is true, is no evil, but a very great advantage, whether considered in connection with our foreign or with our domestic policy. It is bringing to bear upon the political resolutions of the state the moral force and concentrated wisdom of the nation, informed by repeated discussions carried on with all the acumen which the party feeling and personal ambition of the parliamentary gladiators can bring into exertion. It is resting the foun-

dations of our policy upon all the talents and virtue of the community, instead of trusting to the precarious chance of virtue, wisdom, prudence, and fortitude in the mind of an hereditary sovereign, or of his favourite minister. Nor do we think it necessary here to waste the time of our readers, by leading them back to those points of our modern history which would convict of great ignorance or haste that axiom of Mr. Leckie's, that "factions have made Great Britain, in her connection with other states, *the weakest government in Europe.*" Undoubtedly by the discussion that accompanies every measure, we lose on one side some of the advantages of secrecy: but we gain on the other so much strength by the conviction, which this publicity impresses upon the leading minds among the people, that all is fair and honest,—that we are struggling for national interests, not for the aggrandizement of the family, or the gratification of the personal views of the sovereign; that we may safely say to those who would take advantage of the openness of our proceedings, what an old governor of Bombay said to those who brought him a French spy, taken in the act of inspecting the fortifications.—"Let the gentleman be taken all round the works, and then sent back to his friends; we are so strong here, that the more our enemies see of us, the less I believe they will like us."

But do we notwithstanding find that the Sovereign is, practically speaking, so complete a cypher in the sum of our body politic? As we think, certainly not. The king of England has, what the king of every limited monarchy must and ought to have, in an enlightened country at least, an influence precisely proportionate with his moral and political virtue;—and we cannot, alas! now incur the imputation of flattery or servility to the source of power and emolument, by advancing, that we need only trace back the history of the last fifty years to prove this assertion. Where the sovereign of England shews his people, that the power and emolument of his station are not valuable to him, as the sources of indulgence in silly, effeminate, or corrupt propensities; or in forming to himself a party distinct from what he believes to be useful to the political welfare of the state; the loyalty of the English people, so far from permitting such a king to be a cypher in the community, is much more likely to endanger their political interests, by affording an undue preponderance to any peculiar or personal wish or prejudice, which may be an exception to his general rule of conduct. He does not, therefore, as Mr. Leckie asserts in one of the extracts we have given, live secluded "like the grand Lama of Thibet, without any communication with his people, first the tool of one party and then of another," unless he has wilfully destroyed his own respectability and weight

in the community. And if he has incurred that misfortune, we suppose that Mr. Leckie himself would not consider it to be a political evil, that he should then be held in the trammels of that party, which has been found most worthy of leading the political councils of the state, by possessing the confidence of the nation. And in no other trammels can the sovereign of England be ever held; for Mr. Leckie is exceedingly mistaken when he asserts, without qualification, that as "the King chooses his ministers, or is supposed to do so, they must either defend his measures or lose their places." This is only true, *sub modo*—, and the condition is, that the King when he has turned out a ministry obnoxious to him, shall find the nation agreeing in his opinion; unless this should be the case, he is ultimately only loading himself with greater embarrassments. The only act of government for which the agent is not immediately responsible to the people, which can be performed in England, is a change of administration: but even here the responsibility is only removed one step. The ministers who succeed to office do so at their peril, and if the nation have no confidence in their talents and integrity, and do not think them on the whole of the circumstances the most eligible persons for their stations, they become virtually responsible for accepting them, and they would evidently be subjected to very alarming if not overwhelming consequences.

But a wise, a prudent, and a statesman-like sovereign, who sacrifices his own personal pleasures and indulgence, or rather who finds them in exertions to attain the love and forward the interests of his people, needs not to "put an end to the factions," as Mr. Leckie calls them, in order to govern for the people's good, but will conduct himself by their light, and will rejoice that the personal interests of the several parties in the state will afford full opportunity of investigating the soundness of its policy, and of convincing the governed by the operation of fair argument, publicly and decorously conducted, that their governors require nothing from them which is not called for by their own interests well understood and fully appreciated. The temporary triumph of a party (or if Mr. Leckie pleases, a faction) which never rests upon any thing more than the ebullition of violent and ignorant minds previous to the investigation of facts, is as mere dust in the balance, when opposed to the solid advantages just enumerated; and that mind must be miserably deficient in the firmness of the true English character, which would make such temporary inconvenience the foundation of a permanent change of polity;—which would drain a mild and beneficent river, because it sometimes overflows its banks, or swallows up the bark that is incautiously trusted on its waves.

Neither can we agree with Mr. Leckie, that this necessity of conforming its acts to the views and opinions of the party which prevails in parliament and among the people, forces the British cabinet into dangerous versatility or revolting inconsistencies. Qualified as the necessity is by the power of making peace or war in the crown, by the opportunity of full and mature inquiry, unbiassed by mere popular outcry, which the duration of a septennial parliament affords, and by the acknowledged and salutary influence of the crown among all orders of the people, we think that no material change of state policy can ever be brought about by a prevailing party in parliament, unless such change should be substantially for the benefit of the country:—however much, as Mr. Leckie observes, “it may strike and surprise other nations:” who are, we doubt not, much wont to be stricken and surprised, when they find a cabinet which has pledged itself, perhaps, as far as it dared, to persevere in a wrong system of policy, obliged to withdraw from the helm, and to give way to those who will adopt a salutary change. As Englishmen, however, we cannot but consider this controuling power of the parties in the state, as calculated to benefit our country, although it may “strike and surprise” those foreigners who are occasionally disappointed by the effects. And we think that we may with full confidence refer to modern history to prove this at least, that the *power of parliament* has never driven the British cabinet into a noxious change of policy, although we are not certain that we can, with equal truth acquit the executive power of some *temporary* inconveniences of this nature.

The next evil noticed by Mr. Leckie, as arising from the spirit of faction, has in it more of plausibility.

“From the same source proceeds the impossibility of employing individuals, who, by their abilities, are best qualified for any particular service. The minister must, therefore, have the mortification to see the execution of his plans intrusted to those, whom he cannot consider without inward contempt. But what can he do? were he to deviate from this track, he would, with the best and most virtuous motives, be voted by parliament out of office: thus it is, that the confidence of the government cannot be the reward either of talents, or of virtue; but the medium of parliamentary support. Moreover, the candidates for public service are thus precluded from cultivating their talents on a great and extended scale. They must confine themselves to the principles of a party, and thus meanly devote themselves, entertaining no opinion, but what is dictated by some sophist, commonly called a leading man.” (P. 99.)

Before we enter upon any particular consideration of this passage we think it right to observe generally, that a representative

system of government must, from its very nature, be a system of influence; and, if the persons possessing that influence will barter it for their own private advantage, instead of employing it for the public good; they have no more right to complain of the effects, than a profligate would have, that he did not enjoy the fruits reserved to a religious and virtuous course of conduct. All that the most consummate wisdom can do, is so to confine the influence as to afford the fairest prospect of securing a conscientious, disinterested, and enlightened use of it; and it is evident both from history and analogy, that this security is most likely to be attained by placing it in the hands of the men of property and education, because their situation exposes them to fewer temptations to barter their independence for money; and their information is more likely to convince them of the mischievous effects of such a practice, and of the deep moral responsibility under which they act. We think that no sober mind will hesitate in admitting, that this construction of polity is more likely to secure a faithful, consistent, and upright system of public conduct, than the dictatorship of which Mr. Leckie seems so much enamoured, or a mere popular representation, such as is advocated by our vociferating reformers, and is to be seen exemplified in America;—where the most profligate, selfish, and unprincipled demagogues are always sure ultimately to obtain the ascendancy.

But if, notwithstanding these fair probabilities, religious knowledge and moral principle are at so low an ebb in the whole society, that the particular portions of it which should be expected to be most imbued with them have entirely cast aside all their sanctions, have become the slaves to their vices, and consequently, to those who can gratify them by the purchase of influence which was created with a view of being used uprightly and independently; then we may indeed bid farewell to the happiness and stability of that society!! But let us also recollect that the remedy does not lie in spreading the temptation more widely among a corrupted people, as some theorists would have us believe, nor indeed in any other *political* prescription,—for the disorder is not of a political nature. It is, in fact, a *moral* disease, and requires a moral remedy, and it is abundantly clear to us that it can only be found in an increased attention and encouragement to pure religion, and in the moral order and independence which necessarily follow in her train.

Having premised these general observations, we proceed to inquire how far Mr. Leckie's assertions that the agents of the British government are selected more from the influence of their patrons, than for their own personal qualifications, are founded

in truth. That the fact is partially true, we think is too notorious to be denied; religion and morals are in too low a state of depression among us, and selfishness too predominant in every rank of society, not to have permitted the entrance of some illegitimate motives into the discharge of almost all public duties. But we believe, that the evil, as arising from the constitution of parliament, has been very much exaggerated, and that at least one half of it ought to be ascribed to the example given by the more immediate dispensers of power and emolument. And we are quite sure that Mr. Leckie exaggerates most outrageously when he asserts that "*a minister cannot possibly employ the best qualified individuals for any particular service, because with the best and most virtuous motives, he would be voted by parliament out of office.*" Let a minister shew that he is really disposed and capable of selecting the best agents for every service, that he is willing to set aside his own relations, friends, and favourites, for this purpose, and let the Crown follow his example and support him in his conduct;—and we are convinced that more than enough of public principle resides in parliament, according to its present constitution, to enable the government to treat the illegitimate exercise of individual influence with utter contempt.

The public spirit and the moral sense infused into the people by such a firm and upright discharge of duty in the government, would enlist on its side all the numerous class of undecided characters, who from the want of that first of blessings, a fixed and steady principle, swim with the stream, and regulate their conduct according to the impression which has been stamped upon the public mind by the seal and sanction of its leading characters. Whereas these very persons, if they perceive the sovereign or his ministers perverting the influence intrusted to them, to the indulgence of caprice, of favouritism, or of corruption, will very naturally demand their share in the disposition of the spoil, and will, if gratified, arrange themselves in a partnership of iniquity, that will be much too strong for the sober and principled part of the community to resist. But here again let us observe, it is not a political remedy that will operate a cure. The disease is still a moral one, and an angel of policy would fail in dispelling it, unless he were also commissioned to convert the hearts of the sovereign and his ministers to the pure dictates of religion and virtue.

These reflections naturally lead to the last subject treated by Mr. Leckie, which we shall think it necessary to notice; namely, a reform in parliament; for it is evident that if parliament is not so constituted as to afford the best chance of an independ-

ent and upright discharge of its duties, that is, if it do not contain a fair representation of the property, the ability, and the good sense of the kingdom, the whole system is rotten at the core, and no moral amelioration of the mass of the people can secure a proper discharge of the public functions of the state. Further, we will assert that granting the affirmative of this first proposition, as to the general result of the elections, yet if, by the present constitution of parliament, they are necessarily so conducted as to foster among the people vice, immorality, bribery, corruption, a disregard to oaths, or any profane or illegitimate practice; we do not hesitate to avow our firm conviction that the favour of Providence will never alight on the national endeavours, without, at all events, wiping out the offence of doing evil, that good may come.

Upon the first point, so much was, as we think, so conclusively said in a former number of our work, that we cannot entertain a doubt that the several interests of the different orders of the community, and of the possessors of the different and numerous species of property in the country, are almost as well and as efficiently represented by the present system of election, as they could be consistently with the stability of the public affairs; and that the state of parliament in this respect surpasses the practice of any former period. We are very sure also that the interests of the lowest orders are much better attended to than they would be if, in their present state as to morals and information, they were permitted to interfere more immediately with the regulation of them. We agree with Mr. Leckie, that according to the present scale of public virtue in England.

“Whatever plans may be put under experiment to purify the house of commons, and fill it exclusively with men of disinterested virtue, as well as consummate wisdom, the experience of all ages has shown it impossible to shut out the ambitious, the interested, and the selfish. What is still more lamentable, in all deliberative assemblies, it will be found that these are always the most active, and the most vehement.” (P. 123.)

But we do not agree in the following conclusion.

“These inconveniences arising from the British system of polity have been so far felt, that a great body of the nation have entertained an opinion, that to remedy the evil, it was only necessary to reform the mode of representation, and of elections. Were they however, gratified with the trial, (leaving to parliament the same functions as before), it must appear evident from what has been already shown, that though they might succeed in bringing forward an entirely new set of men, these would inevitably run the same career. This opinion therefore originates in a superficial view of



the subject. Elect a body of men as you please, provided you present to them the same prospects, as well as the same manner of arriving at them, it is evident *no virtue* will ever prevent them from rushing forward to attain them. This would appear in a clear point of view, if we were to ask ourselves what we understand to be the intention of a national representation." (P. 125.)

And we are very far from agreeing with Mr. Leckie, that the combination of the following plan of Oliver Cromwell "*with that of Servius Tullius,*" would "perhaps be the least defective parliament."

"Oliver Cromwell, democrat as he was, until he became protector, notwithstanding his villainous cant and hypocrisy, yet felt the necessity, when he attained to sovereign power, and wished to throw down the ladder by which he ascended to it, of calling a parliament on a new plan. Lord Clarendon's own words are these: 'In order to this meeting, though he did not observe the old course in sending writs to all the little boroughs throughout England, which used to send burgesses, (by which method some single counties send more members to the parliament than six other counties do) he thought he took a more equal way by appointing more knights for every shire to be chosen, and fewer burgesses; whereby the number of the whole was much lessened, and yet the people were left to their own election. It was not thought by him an ill temperament and was then looked upon as an alteration fit to be made in a better time.'" (P. 132.)

Such a system as this, however eligible it might have appeared in the time of Lord Clarendon, when the major part of the property of the country consisted of land, would evidently, as an insulated measure at least, and unaccompanied by other important provisions, be inadequate to secure their due weight in parliament to the East Indian, the West Indian, the banking interests, the bank proprietors, the East India company, the mercantile, shipping, manufacturing, and various other interests, which can only be represented by the medium of money operating upon "the little boroughs," or by the nomination and election of members of parliament from among themselves. Nor would Mr. Leckie's, or rather Oliver Cromwell's plan, in fact, very much alter the amount of influence among the great aristocratical families, now proprietors of boroughs; we know enough of the influence which their landed property necessarily gives them in their several counties to be convinced that an *equal proportion* of county members would still be elected under their influence. Where they now influence one out of two, they would then influence two out of four, and so forth, so that the practical result would still be the same, with the exception of those seats transferred from the

open boroughs to the counties, which would constitute a transfer of just so much influence from the mercantile, and manufacturing, and other interests above mentioned, to that of the aristocracy; a transfer, which, we think, would very shortly lead to revolutionary consequences, and would operate as a serious injury to those interests which have a very fair claim to be represented by some means or other in the great council of the nation. We admit, however, that this reasoning would not apply to the transfer of some of the close boroughs (i. e. those consisting of a few miserable burgage tenures, which are now in the hands of the great families,) to the counties at large. It has been said, with what justice we do not presume to decide, that these boroughs are now represented for the most part by young men of family and fashion, who, with a few bright exceptions, cannot be supposed to have much natural propensity to the due discharge of their parliamentary duties, and who, not feeling themselves responsible to their electors for their public conduct, are too apt to neglect or pervert the office they have undertaken to discharge. That they constitute, therefore, upon the whole, perhaps, the most useless and rotten part of the representative body. It has been also said, that the transfer of these seats to the counties, while it would preserve to the aristocracy a fair portion of influence, would at the same time by an association of it with the popular feeling and judgment, make the choice fall at least upon those who would feel their future success in some degree implicated in a character for an upright and strict attention to their duties.

But we will not detain our readers any longer on this part of the subject, but proceed to another, where the road does not yet appear quite so plain. Admitting, as we are much disposed to do, that the present system of elections is politically good, provided it be not found inconsistent with the moral welfare of the electors, we fear that this latter limb of the proposition will be found somewhat more defective. If, as we have just observed, money operating upon "the little boroughs" be the only mode by which many of the important interests, which have sprung up in the state within the last century or two, can be represented in parliament; and if there is no rule by which the number of competitors for such seats can be limited to the supply; it is evident not only that such money can only be bestowed in the way of bribery, but that the competitions among the candidates for these seats, which are *miscalled contested elections*, will gradually enlarge the consciences of the agents of corruption; so that no ingenious device will be omitted by which the act of bribery may be rendered more atrocious and

degrading by the association of fraud and perjury. It is equally clear that the more strict the prohibitions of the law, the more iniquitous must be the contrivances of evasion, and the more disgraceful the characters of the agents. As the case stands at present, we are willing to hope, that the greater part of the purchasers of seats are ignorant of the detail of the means by which they are procured; they leave that part of the concern to the agents of the proprietors, or of the voters; and having paid their money, are willing to flatter themselves that they have done nothing dishonest or dishonourable. But the law, which renders it infamous to be concerned in bribing electors, can only have this effect so long as the franchise continues in the hands of those, who from the necessity (almost) of the case are open to bribery; that no strictly honest man can be concerned as an election agent, and that one of the most important of the political functions is necessarily confined to those who are content to incur the risk of infamy for the sake of profit. This is the only effect of the laws against bribery and corruption.

Upon the same principle, we have formed our opinion upon a provision which we have heard recommended as an antidote to bribery; viz. that every member taking his seat, should be obliged to swear that he has neither indirectly nor directly paid money, or been guilty of bribery to procure his return. But we are well persuaded, that, under present circumstances, such a test would have no other effect than that of lowering the character of many members of the House of commons to the level of one who would unblushingly commit the crime of perjury, and would therefore exclude from the representation of "the little boroughs" every man who has any pretensions to religion, virtue, or honour. Such a law would be nearly on a par with some of the provisions of our game laws, which render it highly penal for one part of the community to do that, which it is notorious there are hundreds of persons constantly tempting them to commit by the irresistible bait of money, and without any breach of the law on their parts. With respect to bribery at elections, is it possible to suppose that while there are fifty or an hundred poor and ignorant men, in possession of that for which two rich ones find their account in paying ten thousand pounds, any laws that can be framed, will, in the present state of morals and religion, riches and ambition amongst us, prevent the money from being really given and received? or that a test such as that to which we have alluded would deserve any other title than "an expedient for filling so many seats in this house with perjured and unprincipled adventurers?" Just as some of the present laws may

fairly be entitled "acts to demoralize the character of election agents."

We apprehend that some such painful reflections as these have induced worthy men, equally inimical to the risk of reform and the atrocity of bribery and corruption, to suggest that the elective franchise in the smaller boroughs should be placed upon the same footing with any other real or personal right, with a manorial right, an advowson, or a right of fishery for instance, and openly exposed to sale at the discretion of the possessor; they have said with some shew of reason, that considering the undoubted fact, that laws to prevent the sale do now entirely fail of their effect, and only serve to degrade and demoralize the character of the sellers, and to spread the example of corruption more widely than it would otherwise extend among electors of a higher class,—this mode of remedy is infinitely to be preferred to the other—That the constitution of parliament would, practically speaking, be nearly the same, and the abominable tissue of moral evil would be completely unravelled and destroyed—That the seats thus acquired would still fall to the lot of the monied interest, which is justly entitled to its share of the representation;—and short of a complete change in the system of elections, and of an adaptation of it to the new forms which society has of late years assumed, that no scheme could be devised more likely to reconcile practical morality with the public good.

But it has appeared to others upon due consideration, that the sale of seats thus openly purchased in the market, might upon the same principle be cited to justify the barter of votes arising out of the possession of the privilege; and another plan has been hypothetically laid down, with the detail of which we will amuse our readers, without attaching any more importance to it than to those we have just stated, or than is due to every independent suggestion of a virtuous mind. We are ready to admit, however, that it is essentially different from the wild and unspecific schemes against which we raised our feeble pen in a former number.

We think then that we have seen it somewhere suggested, that a certain proportion of the most contemptible boroughs should be classed in rotation, according to the average number of electors who have exercised their franchise for a given period; that a specific sum should be affixed to the privilege in fee simple, of sending two representatives to parliament; and that the East India company, the bank proprietors, the shipping, mercantile, and manufacturing interests, the great towns and counties, including copyholders, should be permitted at their

discretion, each of them to purchase one such privilege in fee simple, to be vested in them, and exercised in such manner as shall be approved by parliament. Some such plan as this, it is said, would restore parliament as nearly as possible to what its original constitution was intended to be, namely, an immediate election of representatives, not by the population, but by the several interests in the state: and that it would produce this effect without any necessity for the moral degradation of the electors, which is asserted to be now almost absolutely necessary, in order to give to every class possessing property and the benefits of education a fair chance of being duly represented.

Whatever may be thought of any of these plans, (which we beg to repeat are inserted for the amusement of our readers), for ourselves, feeling as we most sincerely do the awful responsibility of a government which lays its very foundation in the encouragement of a systematic contempt of divine and human laws in a large proportion of its public agents; we should consider ourselves as little less responsible to God and our country, if we were not roused by the scenes which have lately been passing throughout the united kingdom, to state as strongly as the law will permit, what appear to us to be the real evils with which they have been replete,—if we did not advocate the revisal of the code with a view to moral amelioration, as strongly as we deprecate the interference of wicked and designing theorists, to place it upon a different political basis. We may now say "*liberavimus animas meas,*" and the legislature so far may say the same, when it has, by any means which may seem good to itself, secured to the several interests which now constitute the parliament of the united kingdom the power of availing themselves of their just rights, (as citizens of a representative state, upon rational principles), without forcing them to have recourse to dishonest and dishonourable acts, in order to realize those rights.

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ART. VI.—*Poetical Works of John Dryden, Esq. containing original Poems, Tales, and Translations, with Notes.*—By the late Rev. Joseph Warton, D.D. the Rev. John Warton, M.A. and others. In four volumes.

His fate of Dryden is altogether without a parallel in the history of literature. While he lived, he maintained his pre-eminence in every department of poetry; and he died in the plenitude

of his fame, his genius unimpaired, his fire unabated. His loss seemed to leave a chasm in the intellectual world; volumes were filled with mournful elegies by poets of either sex, and foreigners contemplated, with astonishment, the homage paid by the rugged natives of Britain to departed genius. Yet, after a short interim, Dryden was nearly forgotten, or remembered only to be the sport of ridicule and obloquy on the one side, or the theme of hyperbolic praise on the other. His works were left, for near a century after his decease, at the mercy of selfish or ignorant speculators. Detached parts were published with great ostentation, though with little care: and until very recent times, his reputation seemed, although generally acknowledged, to be gradually declining; his name was confidently pronounced as one of the boasts of British literature, but a perfect acquaintance with his merits was rarely obtained. Under such circumstances, it might be supposed that his sun would set for ever; but a new dawn has arisen, and Dryden again appears in all the radiance of his original glory. His works engage a renovated portion of interest and attention, while rival critics, biographers, and editors, consecrate their labours to the celebration of his merits.

For this fluctuation it is not difficult to assign reasons, arising out of the peculiar genius, station, and writings of the author; and, perhaps, the contemplation of his fortune while living, and the fate of his character since his death, may be an useful exercise to those who aspire to the rewards of genius. Dryden neglected the most probable means of establishing present and permanent fame; instead of achieving some great work, about which his inferior productions might revolve as its satellites, he essayed every species of poetry, except the epic. The multitude and variety of his admirable productions have at length established his character; but it required that much time should elapse ere disinterested industry should select from his widely diffused treasures, in verse and prose, the gems which were to decorate his shrine.

Beginning his career as an author at no very early period of life, and impelled by necessity, though not by absolute indigence, to make pecuniary advantage his immediate motive to exertion, Dryden, after a few introductory efforts in poetry, betook himself to the drama, in which, whatever at this day may be the opinion entertained of his productions, he was, in his own time, confessedly the first. Otway and Wycherley, who began long after him, have produced a few specimens of better tragedy and better comedy, but nothing could so strongly excite the eager expectation of the public as the promise of a play from the pen of Dryden. In truth, if Dryden has not equalled Otway and

Wycherley in their best plays, he stands much above their worst; he has been far from disgracing himself by such trash as may be found in "The Atheist," "Love in a Wood," or "The Gentleman Dancing Master." And who can measure his distance from Shadwell, Settle, Howard, Ravenscroft, and the rest of the writing rabble of that day? In his popular productions for the theatre, which assumed the name of heroic, he stood aloof from all who attempted that species of composition, distinguished by the splendour of his diction, the loftiness of his thoughts, and the felicity of his invention. To these, and other of his works, were prefixed on their publication prefaces replete with judicious, though desultory criticism, and with dedications in which remarks of great pertinency, and illustrations in the highest degree ingenious, were mixed with adulation as fulsome as it was elegant. While he was thus exercising dominion, and gaining emolument and applause in the most arduous and difficult department of literature, the state of public affairs drew his attention, and he assailed the adversaries of his sovereign with a satire no less keen and poignant than his flattery had been smooth and soothing, and astonished the world by an unexpected display of powers hardly excelled in English controversy;—powers which extorted from those who entered into reluctant competition with him agonizing acknowledgments of his poetic strength, and humiliating apologies for being forced to engage with such an opponent, armed only with what they represented to be the truth and justice of their cause. Pursuing the career of preferment, and in part animated by the hopes of favour, he adopted the religion of the court, and in support of a Catholic King, made one of the strongest efforts of his muse, besides several subordinate attempts both in verse and prose. On the Revolution, he was expelled from his office of laureat, which King William, who possessed a better taste for arms than for arts, bestowed on Shadwell. The enemies of Dryden triumphed, but Dryden was not depressed. During the remaining twelve years of his life, oppressed with comparative poverty, smarting under daily obloquy, and feeling the infirmities of advancing age, he continued to exercise, with undiminished force, the sovereignty of his genius; and his translations and fables proved him still capable of new and felicitous exertions.

The death of such a man was naturally felt as a national loss; but soon after his death his friends and admirers became silent, or contented themselves with general expressions of applause; while others, who envied his overwhelming pre-eminence, indulged themselves, without restraint, in casting obloquy upon his fame. His plays had been exposed to ridicule by the Duke

of Buckingham, Butler, and other writers; they were published by Congreve, to whom the poet had consigned the care of his reputation, but left to be pillaged by Cibber, or any other depredator; while every witling, who followed Buckingham in his path of humour, brought his materials for burlesque from the heroic plays of Dryden. His dedications do in truth offend us by the extravagance of their eulogy; but those, who were indebted to his prefaces for their maxims of criticism, forgot their obligations, in their ambition to raise their name upon the ruins of their benefactor's reputation;—reminding their contemporaries of the flattery, negligence, and inaccuracy of the poet, without advert- ing to the numerous excellencies by which they were excused and outweighed. Doubtless his satires had given pain and offence to many who were happy in an opportunity of retorting upon his defenceless memory. Thus while Blackmore, Collier, and all who had attacked his dramatic reputation on moral, religious, or poetical grounds, still remained to witness and enjoy his disgrace; Addison, aspiring to his chair, spoke slightly of his powers; Rowe ranged himself among his enemies; Swift attacked him with the rancour of a proud malignant man, whose early effort in poetry had been contemptuously noticed by the old bard; Prior persisted in the tone of critical ridicule, which he had assumed in writing the *Court and City Mouse*; and Fielding, at a somewhat later period, continuing the hostile system, amused himself with descanting upon Dryden's long prefaces, fulsome dedications, and bombastic rants; and in the lively burlesque called *Tom Thumb*, selected most of his scenes, characters, and instances, from the works of Dryden.

It might however be expected that the fame of this poet would have been rescued from all attack by his real disciple and immediate successor, Pope. No man of genius ever owed more to another than this poet did to his great predecessor. From the daily perusal of his works, he gained all that his numbers possessed of smoothness, strength, and beauty. From those which were least known and noticed, he culled, without hesitation, epithets, phrases, and even lines and couplets; but he was too cautious and timid to enter, for Dryden's sake, into an unprofitable contest with the wits of his own time, many of whom were also his friends and literary associates; and he was too selfishly prudent to invite, by particular observations, the attention of his contemporaries, to the man that rivalled, and, perhaps, excelled him in his own department. Hence his notices of Dryden were always complimentary, but always short and general. The greatest effort he ever made was that where, in the *Prolegomena* to the *Dunciad*, he made it appear that the same abuse under which



he himself had suffered had been previously cast upon Dryden. So obvious was this finesse of Pope, that in 1715, Dennis wrote a letter to Jacob Tonson, "on the conspiracy against the reputation of Dryden," which he afterwards printed in a collection of his letters, in 1721; but Pope having subscribed to that and another work of his, he was induced (as he tells us in his "Remarks on the Dunciad,") "to strike out several severe reflections against him, which were scattered up and down in those letters;" and Pope afterwards thanked him by letter, (May 3, 1721,) for the omissions which he had made in his favour\*.

The works of Dryden, produced and published as they were, contained no means of rescuing his fame by their immediate force. The theatre, subjected to better laws, and supplied by more happy wits, during the reigns of William, Anne, and the first two of the Brunswick kings, exhibited his pieces only occasionally; and while Rowe and Southerne, aided by what remained of Otway, gave a new taste in tragedy, comedy acquired a novel and better character from the writings of Congreve, Farquhar, Cibber, and many others. Lastly, the full return of the true English taste to the genuine English drama restored the ascendancy of Shakspeare, and dismissed, we hope for ever, all those heroical and unnatural dramas which had so long possessed the stage unworthily. Dryden's translations, that of Virgil in particular, had their due proportion of praise; but Virgil was eclipsed by the Homer of Pope, and few took the pains to read the other translations, except those whose want of acquaintance with the originals drove them thus to supply the defects of their education. Dryden's commendatory poems neither excited nor deserved extraordinary attention. His satires, although always secure of a certain degree of public attention, were but partially admired. Monmouth, Buckingham, Shaftesbury, and a few other characters, were interesting, as connected with history. Shadwell and Settle gained attention, from the exquisite skill displayed in the portraits of Og and Doeg; but several other names, mentioned in the poem of Absalom, glide from the memory without an effort at retention. General history affords no means of making acquaintance with these characters, and when they are found in books of memoirs, biography, or anecdote, they possess no sort of interest. Thus did the works of Dryden fall gradually in the public esteem. His plays collected by Congreve, and republished in various forms, kept their place in libraries, but excited little attention; and his *Tragedy of Troilus and Cressida* was generally purchased and often read; the other trans-

\* Malone's *Life of Dryden*, p. 540.

lacious less; but Ovid and the imitations of Horace were not forgotten. The ode called Alexander's Feast was (to use the common but expressive phrase) in every body's mouth, and contributed more than all he had written to sustain the reputation of the poet; but the fables, glowing and beautiful as they are, were so lightly esteemed, that Hume did not hesitate to decry the translations as the "offspring of haste and hunger," and the fables as "ill chosen tales, conveyed in an incorrect though spirited versification."

In fact, during the period which elapsed from the death of Dryden to the publication of Hume, every flutterer about Parnassus was carolling Pope's melodious song; and tickled with the harmony, and piqued by the poignancy of a strain which exposed to view the vices, follies, and scandal of their own times, they dreamt not of a day to come when the idolizers of Pope should transfer their worship to the shrine of Dryden.

Thus, for threescore years after his death, the fame of Dryden was rather declining than advancing. At length Churchill, whose fierce genius disdained to ride on the gentle tide of Pope's versification, chose to follow the more rapid and unequal course of Dryden's poetry. His angry declamation, and vigorous illustrations, could not be confined within the bounds of a single couplet to a single thought, and finding a precedent for a more expanded, and, as he considered it, a more nervous style, he celebrated the bard, whom he acknowledged as a model, in those well known lines in the Apology:

" Here let me bend, great Dryden, at thy shrine,  
Thou dearest name to all the tuneful nine.  
What if some dull lines in cold order creep,  
And with his theme the poet seems to sleep?  
Still, when his subject rises proud to view,  
With equal strength the poet rises too:  
With strong invention, noblest vigour fraught,  
Thought still springs up and rises out of thought;  
Numbers ennobling numbers in their course,  
In varied sweetness flow, in varied force;  
The pow'rs of genius and of judgment join,  
And the whole art of poetry is thine."

Johnson, at an early period of his literary life, had publicly mentioned his exalted opinion of the merits of the too much neglected poet, and intended a life of him, which at that time he did not execute. Burke expressed himself with equal warmth of Dryden's poetry and of his prose, and some have been of opinion that the style of that poetical orator was, in a considerable

degree, formed on the model of the oratorical poet. At length, although not separately, nor, perhaps, to an extent commensurate with his first plan, Johnson raised to the fame of Dryden a monument as splendid as ever taste and judgment have consecrated to poetical excellence. The controversy respecting the justice of the biographer's criticism, and the opposite dispositions that prevailed to attack and defend his impartiality, attracted increased attention to the poet, and drew forth his merits into broader daylight.

In process of time, it became known that Mr. Fox was ambitious of being his editor; and a lady of quality embellished an edition of his fables with the productions of her pencil. In 1800, Mr. Malone drew the public attention to Dryden, by an edition of his prose works, with a life and copious notes. This publication, besides rendering certain many facts which before were doubtful, and refuting many idle stories which were generally believed, gave the poet the advantage of contrast, by redeeming from oblivion many of the attacks against which he had to defend himself; and while it shewed in their proper colours the wit and character of those who opposed him, displayed, in a peculiarly strong and amiable light, the talents and the personal character of the poet himself. Mr. Malone, whose perseverance was not easily subdued, disclosed, for the benefit of future editors, and the satisfaction of curious readers, copious sources of information, from which they might select matter sufficient for an ample illustration of all Dryden's poetry, except the translations: the matter and the manner of their illustration were left to the judgment of the scholar, on whom the task should devolve. For the prose works he had done all that could be desired.

Mr. Fox having died without executing his declared intention, Mr. Walter Scott, at the desire of a bookseller, produced a complete edition of the works of the poet, being the first which had appeared, and that at the distance of more than a century from his death. Availing himself of the information afforded by Mr. Malone, and having free access to the same collections, Mr. Scott rendered his edition valuable by much illustration in biography and politics, and by a life of the poet, containing little brilliancy of diction or novelty of information, but commendable for its clearness, its judicious criticism, and the masterly arrangement of the matter. The chief faults of the edition are a great negligence of the press, especially in the dramatic part, and the want of learned illustration in the translations.

When an edition of the poetry of Dryden was announced

proceeding from the two Wartons, and others, and intended to make an uniform edition with Malone's prose, there was every reason to expect that something would be offered to the public far exceeding all they had before possessed, and leaving little or nothing to desire. They who formed such expectations will find themselves much disappointed; but it is not from thence to be concluded that the present edition has no value. If little has been done, that little is not without its utility, and the reader who does not wish to possess Dryden's plays, nor more of his prose than serves to introduce and illustrate his verse, will find this a correct, useful, and valuable edition. The printing is laudably accurate, a circumstance which seems by the notes to be, in a great measure, owing to the care of Mr. Todd. Of the annotations of Derrick, ample use has been made; others are added by the two professed editors, of less extent than might have been expected, on some of which a few observations will be offered as we proceed. But little use has been made of the critical labours of Malone and Scott; a forbearance too refined, if resulting from delicacy, and censurable if the consequence of pride.

The biographical account of Dryden, given in these volumes, is that of Doctor Johnson, unaided by the researches of Malone, or the illustrations of Scott. The notes furnished by Mr. Alexander Chalmers, in the late editions of Johnson's works, are also inserted; and at the close, in the form of a note, is added the exquisite comparison of the two great English poets from the life of Pope.

The poems are presented in no certain order. The first (the verses on the death of Lord Hastings) is Dryden's earliest attempt; but the pieces which follow are not arranged chronologically, nor are they always classed according to the subject matter. On the first poem, the notes in this edition are more copious and satisfactory than those of Mr. Scott: but as the remarks of the Wartons are almost always judicious, we have to regret that they are in general so scanty. Those of Scott on the poems, which he terms historical and political, and on the elegies and other works where biographical or temporary illustrations are required, are generally more curious, interesting, and abundantly more copious than those of the later editors. Mr. Scott may offend some readers by the evident bias of his party feeling; the Wartons have avoided this fault, and frequently delight us by acute criticism, interspersed with lively illustration, and displaying a great knowledge of books, and no slight acquaintance with mankind; but, on the whole, the fault of the edition is an evident indolence in the editors, a readiness to use

the matter with which Derrick has supplied them, and a disinclination to fatigue themselves by extracting the matter of their own minds, or displaying that which had been produced by the minds of others; for although this edition is professedly intended to comprehend, together with Mr. Malone's four volumes, the most interesting parts of Dryden's works;—and the dedications, prefaces, and epistles prefixed to the poems, which are to be found in Mr. Malone, are not omitted;—yet the excellent notes of this editor are altogether rejected; nor are the topics to which they point at all noticed, those of Derrick only being generally inserted on the prose works.

The poem called *Annus Mirabilis*, in which the editors very judiciously point out as they proceed the beauties and defects of the poetry, is followed by an essay on satire, a poem of which the greater part is undoubtedly due to the Earl of Mulgrave, and is by some assigned to him altogether. In truth, though not devoid of sprightliness, nor absolutely without vigour, it is unworthy of the pen of Dryden. Mr. Scott has, with more propriety, classed it with some others, which are doubtfully ascribed to his author. It may be worth notice, as a matter of literary curiosity, that this essay has supplied Pope with a line not detected by any of his commentators:

“A teeming widow, but a barren wife.”\*

Quitting these minor productions, we come next to that master-piece of political satire *Absalom and Ahitophel*, a poem certainly requiring considerable illustration, as the characters it describes, and the smaller circumstances it alludes to, are no longer known to every reader. The duty of an editor is first to explain and illustrate his author; and next, to prevent as far as he can, by fair and moderate observation, any corruption of the virtue or the taste of the reader, by pointing out the blemishes in thought and in style. How this task is performed in this edition, the following notes by Dr. J. Warton may serve to shew. On the first verse of the poem, as an introductory observation, he remarks,

“The application of scripture stories, in the way of allegory, as in the piece before us, to modern and political events, has been practised by more than one eminent poet. Racine is supposed to have alluded to the situation of *Madame de Maintenon* in his *Esther*. But the most striking example of this practice is the *Samson Agonistes* of Milton, throughout which noble drama there is a constant reference to the case and condition of the great poet

\* *Moral Essays*, Ep. 1, l. 72.

himself, exposed to the derision and insults of the debauched and dissolute Philistines of Charles the Second's court, and wishing to pull down the temple of Dagon on their heads. This is particularly visible in the chorus at verse 667. The very trials and the condemnations of Sir Henry Vane, his favourite, and of the other regicides, is plainly pointed out in these lines :

“ Or to th'unjust tribunals, under change of times  
And condemnation of th' ingrateful multitude.

“ And the following lines clearly relate to his own losses in the excise, and his severe fits of the gout.

“ If these they 'scape, perhaps in poverty,  
Painful diseases and deform'd;  
Tho' not disordinate, yet causeless suffering  
The punishment of dissolute days.

“ It is observed by my very ingenious friend Mr. Hayley, who has certainly given us the most candid and exact life of Milton extant, that the lot of Milton had a marvellous coincidence with that of his hero Samson, in three remarkable points: ‘ First, he had been tormented by a beautiful but disaffected and disobedient wife; secondly, he had been the great champion of his country, and as such the idol of public admiration; lastly, he had fallen from that height of unrivalled glory, and had experienced the most humiliating reverse of fortune:

“ His foes' derision, captive, poor, and blind.

“ ‘ In delineating the greater part of Samson's sensations under calamity, he had only to describe his own.’

“ I cannot forbear adding what the same candid writer has observed concerning Milton's political principles: ‘ That had his life been extended long enough to witness the revolution, he would probably have exulted as warmly as the staunchest friend of our present constitution can exult, in that temperate and happy reformation of monarchical enormities.’ ”

Dr. J. Warton notices with just reprehension the assertion that “ Priests of all religions are the same,” but he confines himself to a few observations, directed chiefly against Hume for the repetition of this senseless sarcasm in his essays. More might have been said, but considering that the doctor was himself a priest of the established church, we do not discommend his forbearance.

In a note on the character of the Duke of Buckingham, introduced under the name of Zimri, Dr. Warton observes,

“ It will be difficult to find in Horace, Boileau, or Pope, any portrait drawn with such truth and spirit as this of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Pope entered the lists with his master, but has not come up to the vigour, the variety of follies enumerated, the nice discriminations of foibles and weaknesses, the tone of pleasant

and contempt, the contrarieties and inconsistencies enumerated by Dryden."

In justice to this observation, but certainly not in kindness to Pope, his attempt is subjoined in a note of Derfick's. His description of the death and character of Buckingham occupies sixteen lines; the first six are an account of a room in a beggarly inn; the last ten occupied in such general topics as with little alteration might apply to almost any other wealthy, witty profligate in the court of Charles II. or of any other king. Widely different indeed they are from Dryden's exquisite delineation of the

Blest madman, who could every hour employ,  
With something new to wish, or to enjoy!

Of the prodigal with whom "Nothing went unrewarded—but desert;" and of the factious patriot, who always toiled and aspired to be at the head, but always found himself at the tail of his party.

"These lines," Dr. Warton observes, "were intended as a payment in full, for the bitter, but deserved satire of the *Rehearsal*, acted about nine years before. Whether Bayes or Zimri be placed in the more ridiculous light, I will not determine. But, undoubtedly, the very unnatural and forced sentiments, the fustian and bombast language, the inartificial plots, the absurd situations, and total want of decorum in our author's plays, are exposed in the *Rehearsal* with much good manly sense and sound criticism. And I cannot but be surprised that Dr. Johnson should speak of this piece in so contemptuous a manner, calling it a mere farce, and wondering it should be thought the production of several wits united in the scheme."

Without agreeing exactly in the opinion of Dr. Johnson, we differ essentially from that expressed in the above note. It would be too much to assert, as Johnson did, that a play which had kept the stage a hundred years after it's first representation, and was in that time very frequently before the public, had not salt enough to keep it sweet; but we do not agree that it exposes Dryden with manly sense and sound criticism. Burlesque is an easy and liberal mode of satire: it degrades criticism, and deprives it of its greatest advantage, that of instructing and forming the literary principles of the youthful reader. He who forms his taste by the perusal of the *Rehearsal*, the art of sinking in poetry; and other works of the same description, may astonish a coffee-room, or glitter in a newspaper, but he will never, with manly sense and sound criticism, display the beauties, and estimate the strength of a poet. From ridiculing others, he will be more afraid to venture on the exposition and illustration of

his own thoughts, like silly women who frighten children with wild and foolish fictions, till they become no less terrified themselves.

Of the line "His hand the *vare* of justice did uphold," the following explanation is given, "which we extract the more readily, because it is placed among the addenda to the first volume, and may escape observation.

"Doubts have been entertained concerning the word *VARE* in this line, which some persons have supposed an error of the press; and Derrick substituted *VASE* for it. But the text is perfectly correct, and *VARE* is the true reading; the meaning of which uncommon word is ascertained by the following passage in Howell's Letters, p. 161, edit. 1728, which has been communicated by James Boswell, of the Inner Temple, Esq. 'He [the Spaniard] is wonderfully obedient to government; for the proudest don of Spain, when he is praising upon his ginot in the street, if an alguazil (a serjeant) shew him his *VARE*, that is, a little white staffe he carrieth as a badge of his office, my don will presently off his horse, and yield himself his prisoner.' *VARA* in Spanish, signifies a wand. In a note on one of Dryden's prose pieces, Mr. Malone has observed, that he was a great reader of Spanish authors."

All the second part of Absalom and Ahitophel is given in this edition, although only two hundred lines are to be ascribed to Dryden; but they are highly worthy of the author, and would lose some portion of the effect, if the reader saw them entirely separated from the matter to which they were intended to apply.

In these two hundred lines, we meet with a most illiberal and abusive attack on Samuel Johnson, a whig clergyman, whom Dryden designates by the name of Ben-Johanah. Mr. Scott, though neither a clergyman nor a whig, has done justice to this sufferer, in a long and able note. Dr. Warton bestows on him only a very short one, ending with this cold and negative praise. "Of all the seditious writers here proscribed by Dryden, he was a man of the greatest learning and best morals." Mr. Scott's note, which contains a pathetic account of his barbarous treatment, and heroic magnanimity, concludes thus, "The reader may contrast the character which Dryden has given of Johnson, with that of Hampden, who, in an account of him to the Duchess of Marzaine, says: 'Being two years with him in the same prison, I had the opportunity to know him perfectly well; and, to speak my thoughts of him in one word, I can assure your grace, that I never knew a man of better sense, of a more innocent life, nor of greater virtue, which was proof against all temptation, than Mr. Johnson.'

"The Medal" which follows "Absalom," affords little ground



for elucidation or animadversion; but on the poem called *Religio laici*, Dr. Warton has made many judicious observations. If we object to any thing in them it is to the note on verse 214, where the creed of St. Athanasius is mentioned in terms which if they could on any score be vindicated, ought at least to be forborne by a clergyman. The advantage made by infidels, of such admissions and observations as this note contains, is such as we are sure the learned critic would not wish to afford or to sanction. On the poem itself, and its probable utility in these days, he has given a sensible opinion in a note toward the end.

"All the arguments which Dryden has here put together in defence of Revelation must appear stale and trite to us, who since his time have had the happiness of reading such treatises as Clarke on the Attributes, Butler's Analogy, Berkley's *Alciphron*, Bishop Sherlock's Sermons, Watson's Apology, Hurd on Prophecy, Soame Jenyns's Treatises, Jortin's Discourses, Paley's Evidences, and Lardner's Credibility."

\* The "*Hind and the Panther*" seemed to invite a more copious display of the peculiar knowledge of the editors than the preceding poem, but that knowledge has not been very profusely communicated, although several of their notes have great merit. Against the general structure of the poem, they quote as unanswerable the objection of Montague and Prior, prefixed to their parody called "*The City Mouse and Country Mouse*." The objection is in substance that which Johnson has urged in his *Life of Dryden*, that the fable becomes absurd by its incongruity;—that it is quite ridiculous that the Hind who is at one time afraid to drink at the common brook, because she may be worried, should, in walking home with the panther, talk by the way of the Nicene fathers, and at last declare herself to be the Catholic church. Montague and Prior contend, that the poem is improbable, and contradictory to the rules and examples of all fables, and to the very design and use of them. "All the fables of the ancients," they say, "carry a double meaning; the story is one and entire; the character the same throughout, not broken or changed, and always conformable to the nature of the creatures they introduce. They never tell you that the dog, which snapt at a shadow, lost his troop of horse:—it would be unintelligible. Mr. Scott vindicates Dryden, by asserting, that the acts he attributes to his beasts are not more improbable than that trees should assemble to choose a king; and after inviting several to accept the office, at last fix on the bramble, as in the case of Jotham; or that the lion, the ox, the sheep, and the ass should go a hunting under an agreement to share the spoil, as in *Asop*." It may be further urged in Dryden's behalf, that

the older poets whom he professed to imitate, Spenser, for example, in "Mother Hubbard's Tale," which he has actually quoted, and Chaucer, in the "Nun's Priest's Tale," have stepped beyond the simplicity of the ancient fable, and introduced a species of mixed composition, between that and downright satire. The names and characters of beasts are assumed in "Mother Hubbard's Tale," that the satirist might, under that slight cloak, say with safety, what he durst not otherwise have ventured upon; and in the tale of Chaucer, the learned dialogue about dreams is only put into the mouths of a cock and hen, to render the ridicule of such disquisitions more poignant. Had Spenser been asked, why he described the court of the lion as exactly similar to that of a human prince, and introduced the fox as composing madrigals for the courtiers? he would have bidden the querist,

— Yield his sense was all too blunt and base,  
That m'ote without a hound fine footing trace.

And if the question had been put to the bard of Woodstock, why he made his cock an astrologer, and his hen a physician, he would have answered, that his satire might become more ludicrous, by putting these grave speeches into the mouths of such animals. Dryden seems to have proposed as his model this looser kind of parable; giving his personages, indeed, the names of the Hind and Panther, but reserving to himself the privilege of making the supposed animals use the language and arguments of the communities they were intended to represent."

This poem, a master-piece of its author, exhibiting all his powers of argument, illustration and composition, in their highest degree, cannot fix attention or attract readers. That this must be owing to some radical defect is evident, and that which is pointed out by the present editors and the antecedent critics is certainly among the most prominent. Jotham's trees and Æsop's beasts, when once invested with their feigned characters, maintain consistency, but Dryden's animals are always mixing the human with the bestial nature;—consistent in nothing, expressing almost in the same couplet the doubts of school divinity, and the passions of beasts of pasture or of prey. If Spenser has made an allegory in some respects consistent with the plan of Dryden, and Chaucer has feigned a cock and a hen discussing points of astrology and medicine, still the precedent cannot justify a poet in selecting such a vehicle to convey his opinion on a subject of the highest possible interest; a subject which is degraded and profaned by the least mixture of any thing that is low or ludicrous. Besides his Hind and Panther do nothing else but talk; the brute animals of Spenser and Chaucer act in a manner con-

sistent with the natural qualities ascribed to them. Had Spenser's fox done nothing else but compose madrigals, or had Chancer, after detailing his sentiments on dreams and physic through the medium of a cock and a hen, let them go to roost without more; their poems would never have been re-edited or translated by critics and poets, but would be collected with the other rare and almost unattainable nonsense (would it were quite so!) which now-a-days produces such enormous prices at the fashionable book auctions.

Of the notes on this poem, we should particularly recommend to the reader's notice those which relate to the history of different reformers and sectaries, and to the opinions and writings of the fathers and school divines, though we have not space at present to enter into the discussion of them. The biographical notes are less perfect than those of Mr. Scott, as may be particularly observed by a comparison of their several accounts of Bishop Burnett, introduced by the poet under the name of Buzzard. Dr. Warton is never so far misled by his predilection for his author, as to permit a supposition that he admits the truth of his opinions: thus when the Panther has illustrated his case, by the fable of the Swallow and the Martin, and Dryden writes,

"The patience of the Hind did almost fail,  
For well she mark'd the malice of the tale."

"But her patience would have been still more exhausted," says Dr. Warton, in a note, "if her antagonist had told her, that in the dispute that arose betwixt the senate of Venice and the church of Rome, about the year 1615, in the time of pope Paul the Fifth, the partisans of the latter, and particularly Bellarmine, maintained that the pope is invested with all the authority of heaven and earth; that all princes are his vassals, and that he may annul their laws at pleasure; that kings may appeal to him, as he is temporal monarch of the whole earth; that he can discharge subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and make it their duty to take up arms against their sovereign; that he may depose kings without any faults committed by them, if the good of the church requires it; that the clergy are exempt from all tributes to kings, and are not accountable to them even in cases of high-treason; that the pope cannot err; that the pope is God on earth; that his sentence and that of God are the same; and that to call his power in question, is to call in question the power of God. Though Erasmus had not the resolution and vigour of Luther, yet by his incomparable ridicule he greatly promoted the reformation. What an exquisite piece of wit and satire is the dialogue, entitled Julius Exclusus, written certainly by Erasmus, though he rather denied it. See Jortin's Life, Vol. II. p. 609. See Sallengra de Pasquillio, &c. This Julius was published in 1669, and also in 1680, at Oxon. The Panther might

also have reminded her antagonist of a fact that she would not like to be told of, that there was printed and published, at Paris, 1589, a Relation of the Martyrdom of Brother Jaques-Clement, in which it is affirmed, that an angel had appeared to him, had shewn him a drawn sword, and ordered him to kill the tyrant. This paper is inserted in the Satyre Menippée.

The critic also observes, that "in this poem, full of fine versification and weak argument, our author confines his attention to some leading doctrines of popery, and makes no defence of several of its absurd tenets, purgatory, monkery, celibacy, confession, reliques, nor of two which Swift has inimitably ridiculed, holy water and the pope's bulls."

-It is but justice to the author also to observe, that the goodness of his heart is perceptible throughout. He has none of the heat of those apostates who are ever furious persecutors of the sect they have abandoned. No one of the most confirmed enemies of popery could have reproved the persecuting spirit of the church of Rome with more propriety than Dryden does in these lines.

"Of all the tyrannies on human kind,  
The worst is that which persecutes the mind.  
Let us but weigh at what offence we strike;  
'Tis but because we cannot think alike.  
In punishing of this, we overthrow  
The laws of nations and of nature too.  
Beasts are the subjects of tyrannic sway;  
Where still the stronger on the weaker prey.  
Man only of a softer mold is made,  
Not for his fellows' ruin, but their aid:  
Created kind, beneficent and free,  
The noble image of the Deity."

And Dr. J. Warton acknowledges the humanity of the poet, which even his zeal in the new faith he had adopted could not pervert, in the following spirited note on the inquisition.

"Our author's humanity would not suffer him, in his general defence of popery, to justify the abominable institution of the inquisition. In the cathedral church of Saragossa, there is a tomb of a famous inquisitor. Six very magnificent columns stand on this tomb, and to each of these columns is a Moor chained, ready to be burned. A fit model for the mausoleum of any hangman that died rich. How much are the fine tragedies of Polieucte and Athaliah blemished by strokes of the most intemperate zeal, and absurd superstition, and abhorrence of heretics. 'Does the daughter of David,' says Joab to Josabet, 'speak to this priest of Baal? Are you not afraid lest the earth should instantly open, and pour out

Names to devour you both? Or that these holy Walls should suddenly fall, and crush you together?"

The poem of Mac Flecknoe leads to the discussion of two questions; 1st, whether the *Dupciad*, avowedly derived from it, can claim the praise of superior excellence; and 2d, whether Tom Shadwell deserved all the censure which has been bestowed on him. With respect to the first point, Dryden, by limiting the scope of his satire to one object, has gained the advantage of being plain, intelligible, always vigorous, and of convincing a large portion at least of his readers, that he is always right. Pope by endeavouring to overpower every opponent, and to expose every supposed dunce who was his contemporary, has exhausted himself, rendered his attacks often feeble, his poems sometimes languid, and however eager his readers may be to concur in his opinions, they cannot avoid making frequent exceptions against satire most unjustly applied, and feeling pity for men who are evidently held up to ridicule for literary offences far too slight for such castigation. Pope's poem will always be read while wit and fancy can fix the mind and captivate the judgment. Dryden's will always charm by vigorous and polished satire, and by the unabated strength and judgment shewn in the exposure and analysis of his adversary's person, humours, manners, and understanding. The heroes of Pope are, for the most part, sunk irreclaimably in the slough of oblivion. Shadwell, too, is scarcely remembered, but by the readers of Dryden; but this poet has by his repeated and masterly attacks so effectually kept him alive for the purpose of everlasting ridicule, that were all his works swept from the earth, mankind would never forget that a profane, obscene, tavern-haunting, treasonable poetaster, who lived in the days of Charles the Second and the two succeeding sovereigns, advanced an imaginary title to intellectual affinity with Ben Jonson, and was supported by faction as the rival of Dryden in wit.

Dr. J. Warton says, and attributes the acknowledgment to a sense of candour and justice, that Shadwell did not deserve the character here given of him, because in many of his plays are characters supported with true humour and spirit, and plots skilfully enough conducted. This opinion is, we think, too favourable. Shadwell's plays certainly contain some characters in which a great portion of humour is displayed, but the absurd, and often undramatic situations in which they are placed, takes from them all claim to spirit, and nothing more childish can be conceived than the conduct of his plots; generally speaking, dramas less skilful had hardly disgraced the stage before

his time; at least since the days of Gammer Gurton. Not one of his seventeen plays now holds its place on the stage in any form; the last, and indeed the best, was the Squire of Alsatia, which does deserve a portion of the eulogy bestowed by Dr. Warton, but for that Shadwell was indebted, not to his own muse, but to the muse of Terence. We should conjecture that Dr. Warton did not bestow this applausé in consequence of his own investigation, but through a too negligent reliance on the opinion of Mr. John Nichols, who in the fifth volume of his Collection of Poems, p. 299, says, "Mr. Shadwell was far inferior to Dryden; but Shadwell did not write nonsense. Many of his comedies have fine strokes of humour, and abound in original characters strongly marked and well sustained." Mr. Nichols gives no specimen of Tom's dramatic powers, but he shews us what kind of a laureat he was by republishing a long insipid ode on Saint Cecilia's Day, 1760. For a specimen,

" If Love's gentle passion we  
Express, there must be harmony;  
We touch the soft and tender flute,  
The sprinkling and melodious lute,  
When we describe the tickling smart  
Which does invade a love-sick heart."

The epistles, elegies, and epitaphs, written by Dryden, come next into consideration.—These effusions, although not among those which are most frequently read or cited, exhibit to great advantage the facility, fluency, and copiousness of his poetry. The epistle to "his honoured kinsman John Dryden," is praised by Dr. J. Warton, as one of the most truly Horatian epistles in our language, comprehending a variety of topics and useful reflections, and gliding from subject to subject with ease and propriety. In this applausé we sincerely concur, but we cannot help thinking that a latent grudge against Dr. Johnson has produced the animadversions which we find annexed to the ode on Mrs. Anne Killigrew. It were an injustice to the reader no less than to Dr. Warton to give this opinion without citing the whole passage; it is extremely entertaining, as it relates to Johnson and his friends, and not discreditable to the critical vigour and mental sturdiness of Dr. Warton.

"At length," he says, (parodying a passage of Dr. Johnson's in the life of Gray), "at length we are arrived at the ode on the death of Mrs. Anne Killigrew, which Dr. Johnson, by an unaccountable perversity of judgment, and want of taste for true poetry, has pronounced to be *undoubtedly the noblest ode that our language ever has produced*. The first stanza, he says, flows with a torrent of enthusiasm. To a cool and candid reader, it appears absolutely unintel-

ligible. Examples of bad writing, of tumid expressions, violent metaphors, far-sought conceits, hyperbolical adulation, unnatural amplifications, interspersed, as usual, with fine lines, might be collected from this applauded ode, so very inferior in all respects to the divine ode on St. Cecilia's day. But such a paradoxical judgment cannot be wondered at in a critic that despised the Lycidas of Milton, and the Bard of Gray. I have been censured, I am informed, for contradicting some of Johnson's critical opinions. As I knew him well, I ever respected his talents, and more so his integrity; but a love of paradox and contradiction, at the bottom of which was vanity, gave an unpleasant tincture to his manners, and made his conversation boisterous and offensive. I often used to tell the mild and sensible Sir Joshua Reynolds, that he and his friends had contributed to spoil Johnson, by constantly and cowardly assenting to all he advanced on any subject. Mr. Burke only kept him in order, as did Mr. Beauclerc also sometimes by his playful wit. It was a great pleasure for Beauclerc to lay traps for him, to induce him to oppose and contradict one day what he had maintained on a former."

The superlative praise bestowed by Johnson is, if taken in its unqualified sense, above the merit of the poem; but if the words "undoubtedly the noblest" be softened into "among the noblest," there is no part of the great critic's opinion from which the most timid and anxious of his friends ought to recede; and the censure of the present editor is too evidently a splenetic effusion to claim implicit confidence. On such a question we gladly resort to the arbitration of Dryden's other editor, himself a poet, and in no mean degree qualified to exercise the functions of a critic.

"This ode," says Mr. Scott, "which singularly exhibits the strong grasp and comprehensive range of Dryden's fancy, as well as the harmony of his numbers, seems to have been a great favourite of Dr. Johnson, who, in one place, does not hesitate to compare it to the famous ode on St. Cecilia; and, in another, calls it undoubtedly the noblest ode that our language ever has produced. Although it is probable that few will subscribe to the judgment of that great critic in the present instance, yet the verses can never be read with indifference by any admirer of poetry. We are, it is true, sometimes affronted by a pun, or chilled by a conceit; but the general power of thought and expression resumes its sway, in despite of the interruption given by such instances of bad taste. In its arrangement, the ode is what the seventeenth century called *Pindaric*; freed, namely, from the usual rules of order and arrangement. This licence, which led most poets, who exercised it, to extravagance and absurdity, only gave Dryden a wider scope for the exercise of his wonderful power of combining and uniting the most dissimilar ideas, in a manner as ingenious as his numbers are

harmonious. Images and scenes, the richest, though most inconsistent with each other, are swept together by the flood of song; we neither see whence they arise, nor whither they are going; but are contented to admire the richness and luxuriance in which the poet has arrayed them. The opening of the poem has been highly praised by Dr. Johnson. "The first part," says that critic, "flows with a torrent of enthusiasm,—*Fervet immensusque ruit*. All the stanzas, indeed, are not equal. An imperial crown cannot be one continued diamond, the gems must be held together by some less valuable matter."

The songs of Dryden collected from his plays, and from the miscellanies in which they first appeared, are next given, and with them are classed the two celebrated odes on "St. Cecilia's Day," and the "Secular Masque," written to inaugurate, as its author believed, the eighteenth century. The smallest of these compositions is not unworthy of notice; the greatest, that which is commonly called Alexander's Feast, requires no additional praise from the editors or from us. The prologues and epilogues, with many faults, and a considerable share of good writing, exhibit an amusing, shifting, picture of the fashions, follies, politics, and characteristics, of the day. They have been much extolled, and not without justice, but it is remarkable that not one of them attempts the grave and lofty style which has been assumed by Pope in the prologue to Cato. Johnson, in his celebrated address on the opening of Drury Lane, has most successfully imitated Dryden's manner: the dignified praise of the parents of the drama, and the view of its decline in more modern times, are equal to the best lines that can be selected from any composition of Dryden's on a similar occasion; but the lighter parts want Dryden's happy negligence and sportive facility.

In the translations from the ancients we found ourselves most wofully disappointed. It appeared to us that Mr. Scott, pressed by other avocations, and perhaps, in some degree, diffident of his own powers, had omitted to make those critical observations and comparisons which these productions of the poet most particularly called for; but from the classical erudition of the Wartons much was to have been expected, and we had hoped to find in this portion of the work a rich and abundant compensation for the carelessness with which some parts of it have been conducted. Proportioned to the justness of the hope was the weight of the disappointment when we found that the learned editors, although apparently sensible of their duty, had in no one instance applied themselves to the performance of it. The poetry of the ancients is a standard by which to measure



the progress of poetic power, among those at least who have laboured to translate or aspired to imitate them. A good scholar, such as Dr. Warton, might, with moderate diligence, have furnished a most valuable and interesting essay, by comparing the attempts which had been made before Dryden's days to translate or imitate the ancients, and those which have been exhibited since, with the efforts of the author under consideration; and with the ancient poet himself. Such a review, whether the subject of a separate dissertation, or dispersed in occasional notes, would have been a valuable gift to the public, and in general highly creditable to Dryden himself. The admirable freedom and force with which he has translated and imitated some odes of Horace; the softness and elegance which he has infused into some of his versions of Ovid, and the fiery force which he displays on some passages of Juvenal, well deserved the pains of indication and comparison. Nor has the editor done well to omit all notice of the frequent puerilities and vulgarities which disfigure these pieces; the haste which overlooks, or the ignorance which perverts the real meaning of the author: while on the other hand, a sort of inspired congeniality of mind and sentiment frequently places him, not only above all previous and all subsequent translators, but often in highly advantageous comparison with the poets themselves. In such a review, Virgil would not, of course, have been mentioned, since, most unaccountably, he is not included in the present edition. These observations do not extend to the tales from Chaucer and Boccaccio; they are not illustrated, and they require no illustration; their beauties are evident, and their sense never obscure; they stand a wonderful monument of fancy ever blooming, and vigour undecayed, amid the frost of poverty, and in the advanced season of old age.

This article, according to the miscellaneous nature of its subject, has necessarily been diffuse and desultory. On particular parts, both of the author and editor, sufficient observation has been made, and it remains only to offer a few general remarks on each.

That Dr. Warton and his brother, aided by Mr. Todd, could have produced an edition of any poet which would have done honour to the literature of the age, no one can doubt; that the Wartons intended to have furnished such an edition of Dryden we firmly believe; but it appears to us that they have satisfied themselves too easily, and that far from satisfying the critical reader, they have left to the most careless much to regret. In what they have done there is little to censure, and much to approve; but they have omitted, as we have taken occasion to

regret, many necessary elucidations and remarks, without which their work must remain imperfect. A characteristic negligence prevails in many parts, and leads us to believe, that the editing of Dryden's poetry was never embraced as a serious occupation, but that a desultory note was now and then written in a copy of Derrick's edition, wherein much was undoubtedly supplied by good learning and sound criticism, but some portion was also lightly surmised or taken for granted, and some was written under a total forgetfulness both of the previous commentator and of the author. Of the two former species of notes, we have already given sufficient specimens; of the latter, two instances will suffice. In Vol. II. p. 185, is a note by Derrick, giving some account of the writings and character of Sir Robert Howard; in the next page, Dr. J. Warton has a note, repeating the same facts without addition, except that of an introductory line, and without variation, except what arises from compression and transposition. In Vol. III. p. 211, speaking of the vision called "The Flower and the Leaf," the same editor says, "It is singularly strange that our author, enumerating the different pieces of Chaucer that he has versified, should not say a syllable of this exquisite and elegant vision, which of all his compositions is perhaps the most perfectly melodious." It is, indeed, singularly strange that Dr. Warton should have made this remark, when in the same volume, p. 41, we find, in the preface to the poems in question, that Dryden concludes his enumeration of the works derived from Chaucer with these words, "Besides this tale, there is another of his own invention, after the manner of the Provençals, called the Flower and the Leaf; with which I was so particularly pleased, both for the invention and the moral, that I cannot hinder myself from recommending it to the reader." We do not cite these instances as in themselves detracting materially from the value of the work, but merely as specimens of a degree of negligence which ought not to pass unproved.

A great fault in our judgment is, that this is not a complete edition of "The Poetical Works of John Dryden." If any translations were inserted, there can be no apology for the omission of Virgil, the most distinguished of his translators. In our humble opinion, the rhyming plays of the poet ought also to have been published in this edition of his poems. Besides the actual pleasure of reading the pieces of which a collection is composed, the purchaser reasonably expects to be enabled to judge of the scope, powers, beauties, and defects, of the author. Now no reader can know the heights and the depths of Dryden's poetic mind, no man can judge of his vigour and his weak-

ness, his inconceivable grandeur and his inexpressible absurdity, without a careful perusal of the *Indian Queen* and the *Indian Emperor*; *Almanzor* and *Almahide*; *Auregzebe* and *Tyrannic Love*. If precedent were law in the art of compilation, we might observe in favour of our present opinion, that *Cato* and *Rosamond* are always given with the poems of Addison, and that *Edmund Smith's* scanty contribution to the treasury of the muses is always eked out by *Phædra* and *Hippolitus*.

But when we speak of omissions which render this edition incomplete, we should not forget our obligation to the editors for avoiding the insertion of some few pieces both original and translated, which, as friends of virtue, they could not have introduced. Their care in this respect has rendered this edition, as nearly as the works of any poet of those times can be, unexceptionable.

So much has been written of late, and that so well, on the poetry of Dryden, that it cannot be necessary to review it here in detail. His great and astonishing beauties have been contrasted with his gross and surprising defects; but only the ignorant, the malicious, and the superficial, can permit their admiration of the former to be extinguished by the recollection of the latter. We are by no means of the opinion expressed by some, that before Dryden's time, the English language presented no specimens of pure, sonorous, and exact metrical composition; but the effect of these examples was so slight, that up to Dryden's time, and even to the end of his days, the writings of the most approved poets, himself excepted, abounded with examples of false and careless composition;—that even his superior melody was envied, ridiculed, and calumniated, much more than it was imitated or practised. Had Dryden never been, the English language, both in verse and prose, would have wanted one of its best models. Addison, scorning the jargon of *L'Estrange*, might have shewn his refinement by the adoption of a stiff learned style; and Pope, wanting the clear and polished mirror before which he adjusted himself, might have retained many of the slovenly forms toward which in his earlier writings he shewed no small propensity.

The characteristic cause of Dryden's defects is an inability to sever himself from the society of which he forms a part, and from the passions, occupations, and amusements of the day. Thus, in the midst of a paraphrase on the 29th ode of the first book of Horace, during a strain of the most flowing and dignified poetry, he begins,

Thou, what befits the new Lord Mayor,  
 And what the city factions dare,  
 And what the Gallic arms will do :

and in like manner in his translation of Juvenal,

If nature could not, anger would indite  
 Such woeful stuff as for Shadwell write.

These instances are taken almost at random. From their frequent occurrence many have wantonly depreciated the general talent of Dryden, and forgotten, or refused to advert to the numerous sublime and exquisite passages in which no such disgraceful bathos occurs.

As his own individual character and feelings entered so much into his compositions, it is not surprising that the particular constitution of his mind should have been much discussed. His change of religion, or rather his assuming a decided form of belief, is a topic on which the abuse of nearly a century seems now to have been exhausted in vain, and candour has acquiesced in the compromise which liberality first suggested. In the days in which he lived, Congreve did not venture to vindicate his friend, for fear of being suspected of a similar predilection; but when his conduct came to be explained, little appears in it that is worthy of censure. In a profligate age he thought of religion as little as those with whom he lived, and seems to have considered priests of all religions as fit only to be despised and detested. When matters of faith began to be more seriously regarded, he began also to think attentively. It would be too much to say that interest had no share in deciding his choice; but every election which concurs with a man's interest is not necessarily dishonest. His firmness in retaining the faith he had chosen, in spite of calumny, insult, and privation, proves at least his sincerity; and the large portion of his time and exertion which was devoted to the promotion of the religion to which he was become a convert, demonstrates the solemn feeling of his mind, that the waste of his youth required, according to the doctrine of his sect, constant and resolute *acts of atonement* in his age.

Another great reproach against this author is the flattery he is ever ready to bestow on his patrons. On this head he has been abused beyond measure, and, in our judgment, but feebly vindicated. Had his compliments been bestowed *only* where his interest invited, he might more justly have been censured; but considering the universal admission that he was most benevolent and liberal to all who wanted his countenance and assistance, considering the many passages in his works where he

extols those who could make him no return in money, and whose tribute of applause could be of no value, the disposition to praise cannot be ascribed to sordid motives alone. If another example were wanting; his generous and spontaneous notice of Milton, whom it was almost dangerous for a man that wished to be well received at court to admire, would speak no less in favour of his freedom and liberality, than of his good taste and discernment. But, in fact, the great in those days expected the homage of the learned and the witty, and Dryden paid the required tribute in larger measure, and better quality, than any one who preceded or followed him. This was not owing to any baseness in his own character, or to a forgetfulness of what was due to himself. His temper was sanguine, his genius inexhaustible. He expected from every new patron the attainment of that honourable provision or employment, which would keep him above the daily drudgery of writing for the players and the booksellers, and hope kindling into extacy, he poured out in advance all that gratitude should have dictated after his expectations had been realized. Indeed it is well for mankind, who are taught by examples, that the character of Dryden was not so constituted as to escape this censure. Had he made satire his delight, and used it as for recreation instead of necessity, the picture he would have exhibited of his times must have been hideous, and we must have turned from his pages with loathing: but his inclination to praise adds to the force and effect of his animadversion when reluctantly he betakes himself to satire; and we listen with greater attention to his voice in reproof, when we have been so much delighted to hear it uttering the most animated expressions of good-will and admiration. That he was free from great and conspicuous faults we do not deny; but in his life, as in his writings, they were balanced by extraordinary and distinguished excellencies.

In conclusion, looking at the whole composition of the man as a writer, as a reasoner, and as a moral agent, we find so much to admire, that we feel the strongest disposition to forgive.

ART. VII.—*The Resources of Russia, in the Event of a War with France; and an Examination of the prevailing Opinion relative to the political and military Conduct of the Court of St. Petersburg; with a short Description of the Cozaks.*  
By M. Eustaphievé, Russian Consul at Boston. America printed—London re-printed, by John Stockdale, Piccadilly, octavo Pamphlet, 1812.

“HOWEVER painful it may be to Russians to hear that the original capital of the empire is in the hands of the enemy of their country; yet it is consolatory to reflect that he is possessed merely of bare walls, containing within their circuit neither inhabitants nor provisions. The haughty conqueror imagined, that on his entrance into Moscow, he would become the arbiter of the whole Russian empire, when he might prescribe to it such a peace as he might think proper; but he is deceived in his expectations. He will neither have acquired the power of dictating, nor the means of subsistence\*.” “*Novissimè maximâ duce oppressa civitas, nullum de se gaudium hosti reliquit. Unus enim vir Numantinus non fuit qui in catenis duceretur. Præda ut de pauperibus nulla; arma ipsi cremaverant. Triumphus fuit tantum de nomine†.*”

Such is the affecting analogy between two of the most horrid catastrophes that have stained the annals of ancient and modern history; and we may further assert of the Russians, as well as of the Numantines, “*Macte esse fortissimam & meo judicio beatissimam in ipsis malis civitatem asseruit, quum fide socios, populum orbis terrarum viribus fultum, sua manu, ætate tam longâ sustinuit.†*” For we do not envy the moral constitution of that mind which would not eagerly have preferred the loss of property, or of life, at Moscow, to the degrading office even of first satellite in the train of the usurper.

We have selected the pamphlet before us, because it appears to give from competent authority a clear and fair statement of the resources of the Russian empire for a defensive warfare on its own territory: it may, therefore, afford to those who feel an interest in the struggle now going on there (and who does not feel the deepest interest in it?) reasonable grounds of calculation as to its ultimate result. The principal object of M. Eustaphievé appears to have been to exonerate his country from the imputations generally cast upon her, 1st, as to the insufficiency of her resources; 2d, as to the vacillation of her policy; 3d, as to

\* Vide address of the Emperor Alexander to his subjects on the fall of Moscow.

† L. A. Florin, cap. 16, lib. 11. *Bellum Numantinum.* ‡ Ibid.

foreign influence and corruption; and, 4th, as to the defects of her military system. The first is that on which it is our present object principally to dwell, though we shall not, certainly, omit the others.

On this point he begins with an historical statement of the population of Russia. It appears that the first computation, made by the order of Peter the Great in 1719, afforded a return of fourteen millions of both sexes, including the Ukraine, and the newly conquered countries of Estonia, Livonia, and part of Finland. By the second enumeration, in 1743, there appeared to be an increase of two millions, and in 1761 of four millions more. In 1781, a fourth report gave an increase of eight millions; and the fifth and last census, which took place in 1794, by an accession of four millions, afforded a general total of thirty-two millions. The annexation of Courland and Lithuania brought in five millions more; and as the tables of births, marriages, and deaths, annually presented to the synod from the parishes of the empire, shew a regular increase of 500,000 for each year, we may, by adding the tract of country acquired by the treaty of Tilsit, fairly estimate the present population of Russia at between 45 and 46 millions.

Estimating this population in connection with the Russian territory, which is calculated to contain about 340,000 geographical square miles, we have only 129 souls to a square mile, which, compared with the density of population in the well cultivated countries of Europe, appears, as M. Eustaphiee well expresses it, "like a few solitary shrubs scattered over a vast desert, to remind the traveller of helpless weakness, rather than of energetic grandeur." But this reasoning, like most arguments founded upon mere political returns, unverified by actual observation, would, upon inquiry, prove erroneous. For, in point of fact, it appears that no less than three-fourths of the immense territory of Russia contain only one fifteenth part of her population, and, consequently, that no less than fourteen-fifteenths of her population are concentrated on one-fourth only of her territory: i. e. to the 258,000 square miles in Siberia, there are only three millions of inhabitants, while, to the 82,000 square miles of Russia in Europe, there remain 43 millions, giving twelve persons in Siberia, and more than 700 in European Russia to each square mile. But even this calculation does not do justice to the capabilities of the state; for many parts even of European Russia, especially towards the north, are very thinly inhabited. Its densest population is between 48° and 55° of latitude, and from 42° to 68° of longitude;—comparatively a small space, many districts of which contain from 1300 to 2400 souls

in a square mile. Our readers, by inspecting the map, will perceive that the French, at Moscow, have just arrived at the north-western extremity of these populous regions, whose resources are, therefore, still open to the Russian government.

M. Eustaphieue also well observes, that the population of France, and her tributary states, from the enormous drafts that have been made upon it for military service, is more numerical than effective; while that of Russia is not only much better supplied with youths of from 20 to 30 years of age, but that its peculiar character obviously renders it more effective in defence on Russian territory, than its invaders can possibly be in offence. From this view of the population of Russia, and of its distribution over her territory, combined with the knowledge which we possess of the hardy nature, and firm and loyal minds of the natives, this conclusion presses itself upon our minds;—that although from the rapidity with which the French ruler can, at all times, assemble from the different quarters of his immense territory an effective and well appointed army, it was to be expected that the first blow would fall like a thunderbolt on any given point to which the arm of the destroyer might direct it; yet that supposing the first alarm not to be fatal to the confidence of the government, the effect would be not more permanent than that of the storm which passes over the forest;—which, it is true, may scath a venerable oak or two, but whose permitted powers are incompetent to scatter and destroy the vigorous mass that has bloomed for ages before the eyes of its Creator. In a word, we believe that although Buonaparte would not have entered Russia without knowing that he had in his hands an engine to wield strong enough to secure immediate success;—we believe also, that his experience of the past did not lead him to expect a protracted resistance in an ungenial climate, and a depopulated country, for which neither his temper, nor the state of his affairs, nor the materials of his army are suited.

We shall not follow M. Eustaphieue in the detail which he has given of the ordinary revenue of Russia. The nature of the present contest is such, that the whole income, nay the capital of the country, may be calculated upon as a public resource; and we have no doubt that every rouble, and every article of necessity, will be cheerfully placed at the disposal of the government.

We shall, therefore, proceed to the next heads of resource, detailed by M. Eustaphieue, viz. the amount and constitution of the Russian army. In 1712, the whole military force of the Russian empire amounted to 107,930 men. At the death of Peter the Great, in 1725, he left a well appointed army of 200,000 men, which, in 1794, had gradually increased to



512,785 men. At present it amounts to nearly 700,000, the component parts of which are as follow :

" REGULAR TROOPS.		Rank and file.
1. Life Guards (horse) consisting of five regiments		3316
2. Ditto foot, six regiments		9305
3. Field cavalry, 46 regiments		49,788
4. Ditto infantry, 130 ditto		210,125
5. Garrisons, 19 ditto		70,884
6. Artillery		42,963
		<hr/> 395,381
Officers		12,709
	Total	<hr/> 408,090
IRREGULAR.		
Different regiments of Cossacks, Tartars, Don Cozaks, &c. &c.		98,211
Officers		2189
	Total	<hr/> 100,400
Invalids, including officers		24,600
	Grand total	<hr/> 533,150

" The provinces, which were mentioned before as the most populous in the Russian empire, and which contain about 15 millions of male population, by a new levy in 1806 of one in a hundred, furnished an additional number of 150,000 men, which makes the present force of Russia amount to 683,150 men. By deducting 70,884 for garrisons, and 24,600 invalids, there remain 587,666 effective men; or 487,206 regulars, and 100,400 irregulars.—a force which, if assisted by local advantages, can defy the united efforts of all the invaders Europe can send against her.

" It is a consoling and pleasing consideration, that the population of Russia has not since been drained by fresh levies, as it has been in France by the system of conscription, enforced and executed, with such rigour, in anticipation. Moreover, a militia was raised in the same year (1806), of no less than 600,000 men, who were already in motion, and in condition to take the field. In consequence of the peace of Tilsit, this force was dismissed, with the exception of those who wished to enlist in the regular army; and with the reservation of 200,000 men for any future emergency; so that even this ample reserve, and in consequence of the natural increase of population in five years, or the great number of those who have attained the proper age for service, Russia bids fair to maintain the contest without resorting to any extraordinary measure, and exhausting those regular and main sources of strength, which, in the last extremity, must still prove her safeguard. She

may still present—what imperial France cannot—the cheerful countenance of man. From St. Petersburg to Moscow, and from Moscow to the Euxine, the traveller may still see that active and smiling industry, which neither fears nor feels the hostile sword—but which, in the regions of France, shrinks with the chill blast of war, and withers in the meretricious embraces of a hollow peace. The tearful eye, the mournful visage, the wide-spreading desolation\*, and the melancholy spectacle of helpless infancy, and tottering age, torn from their natural prop of manhood; all the calamities which France, in the fulness of her pride and the wanton exertion of her power, has brought upon herself, while wishing to afflict others,—are yet unknown, unfelt, and unseen in Russia. and may remain so, though hosts of foes should conspire her ruin.” (P. 13, &c.)

It adds not a little to the efficiency of this formidable array that Russia contains within herself all the means of supplying the appointments of an army to any extent. Food, clothing, and ammunition of every kind, are amply supplied to her by art and nature. The manufactory of Tula, the Birmingham of Russia, is capable of affording arms to almost any extent; but we have for some time trembled when we recollected, that this town lies only from two to three degrees south of Moscow. Cloth, leather, and gunpowder, are also to be had to the necessary extent, and the pay of the regular army does not amount to more than a tenth of the revenue, though the soldier is satisfied and well maintained. With respect to the facility with which the losses of the army in action may be recruited, on its own territory at least, we have the following consolatory statement from M. Eustaphie, in which we are strongly disposed to acquiesce.

“ During the last war, no sooner had the government proclaimed the project of raising militia, than 600,000 men were immediately enlisted and equipped for the field. The nobles set the first example, and the ardour thereby excited in all the ranks was incredible. The spirit of emulation removed all distinction between the prince and the peasant, and conferred it only on those who made the greatest sacrifices. For two or three years afterwards, the public papers teemed with the names of those patriots who had contributed their mite to the common stock. Some gave all their personal effects, and some disposed of their houses, in order to enlist and maintain themselves; while others parted with all they possessed, in order to bring the produce into the public fund, which was raising for the support of this new race of warriors. Instances occurred of gentlemen selling their whole estates, that they might

\* The author's personal experience, and all recent accounts of France, confirm the description of roads even in the vicinity of Paris; and the difficulty of meeting, not of the army, young persons from 16 to 30 years of age. Boys, women, and old men, are the only beings that present themselves to the sight of a traveller.

raise whole regiments at their own expense, and, at the head of them, present themselves to the delighted eye of their monarch. After this, it would be an insult to suspect among the nobles, or any other class of the Russian people, the existence of foreign influence and corruption." (P. 39.)

The admirable bravery and complete devotion of the Russian soldier has always been proverbial, and their enemies in the late campaigns have borne ample testimony that the spirit has not declined since Peter the Great put it to the following whimsical test.

"The following anecdote will further convince us of the loyalty and discipline of the Russian soldier. Peter the Great, at an interview with the kings of Denmark and Poland, hearing them boast of the superiority of their soldiers, instead of disputing the point with them, proposed an experiment which was immediately assented to, and which was, to order a grenadier to jump out of a third floor window. The king of Denmark tried the experiment on one of his bravest and most loyal soldiers, who on his knee refused compliance. The king of Poland waved the trial altogether, conceiving it to be hopeless; when Peter ordered one of his soldiers, the least promising that could be picked out, to descend the window. The soldier merely crossed himself, touched his hat according to form, boldly marched to the window, and had already one of his legs out, when the emperor stopped him, and told him he was satisfied. The kings were astonished, and each made the soldier a present of 100 ducats, requesting Peter to promote him to the rank of officer. The czar answered, that he would do so to oblige them, but not to reward the soldier; for all his soldiers would do as much, and by rewarding them in the same way he would have no soldiers at all." (P. 43.)

With such an army thus constituted, with the means of recruiting and re-equipment still unimpaired, with a moral character in the population that has been always known to rouse itself in proportion to the impending danger, and to acquire energy from despair, our hearts should not sink were the prospects darker than upon a fair review of them they can be pronounced. For our own consolation, and in anticipation of the fate of the intruder, we could dwell with extasy on the following interesting story.

"During the period of terror and desolation, which terminated in the election of Michael, ancestor of Peter the Great, to the Russian throne, the reins of government were abandoned to the uncontrolled rage of anarchy and lawless faction, and Russia, torn by internal and external wars, was neither able to crush the domestic monster that fed upon her vitals, nor resist the insolence and wanton cruelty of the foreign invader. Impostors multiplying fast, and springing up on all sides, harassed her provinces and preyed upon her towns; while the ferocious Tartar ravaged her fields, and

spread, far and wide, the torrent of destruction over her dominions. The rapacious Pole found way to Moskow, and held it firmly in his grasp; and the Swede, in the seeming garb of a deliverer, periodically seized on Novgorod, and upblushingly extended his usurpations to other cities. The empire was assailed in all its points at once. Serpents nestled in its bosom, and its extremities were lacerated with the edge of the enemy's steel. No arm was uplifted in its defence; for the few that were faithful to its cause had been dispersed and exterminated. National spirit was subdued, national efforts were paralyzed; and the country was sinking apparently to rise no more. The whole space of Russia was within the city-walls of Nijney Novgorod; and there was also her final deliverance.

"Kuzma Minin, a person of mean condition, by trade a butcher, in spirit a patriot, and indeed a hero, suddenly appears in the market-place with all his property at his feet. He calls on his townsmen, he paints in true colours the miseries of their country, points to his bare arms, and swears to exert them for its deliverance or lose them; he points to his property, swears to sacrifice it in the common cause; and his manly appeal thrills like an electrical shock through every heart, and in a thousand breasts at once kindles the noble flame of patriotism. The citizens hear him, and vow to conquer or to die. They follow his example, they bring all their property to the common stock, they seize their arms, they raise a number of warriors from the sale of their effects, they enlist their children and servants, they place the gallant *Pojarsky*, a noble veteran, at their head, they march against the enemy, they drive him as the rising tempest does the autumn leaves; and in a few weeks the impostors, the rebels, the Tartars, the Poles, and the Swedes, were seen no more. Russia, astonished and rejoiced, could only observe by the bloody track left behind which way her enemies had disappeared. She looked back with the assured eye of experience, respired with conscious gratitude under the protecting shadow of the family of Romanow, and with prophetic delight contemplated her future greatness.

"So small were the means, and so great was the event; yet nothing in all this was extraordinary or miraculous. The whole was the natural result of the inherent energies of Russia, which did not break forth only for want of proper excitement. Russia was not prostrated or undone; she slept, and had only to wake in order to shake off her ignominious fetters." (P. 19.)

We ought perhaps to apologize to our readers for the sanguine view which we have now taken of the Russian resources. We are nevertheless well aware of the feverish peril of the crisis, and that all our speculations may at once be falsified by a single stroke from the arm of Providence, or by one vacillating moment in the councils of the Russian government; and that, even before what a new storm from our pen can appear before our readers. But we are anxious to show that Providence has still left to

Russia, as it will to every brave and independent country that is true to itself, the means of resisting the subjugation contemplated by the invader: and although the discussion is rather more connected with party politics at home than could be wished, we cannot in justice altogether omit the consideration of the probabilities that Russia will be true to herself, which are to be found in M. Eustaphie's reflections on the *supposed* vacillating character of his government.

The conclusion of the peace of Tilsit is the principal ground upon which this charge of vacillation is supposed to rest; and M. Eustaphie fairly enough observes, that Russia entered into that war only in the character of an ally, ready, in conjunction with England, to assist the weaker powers threatened by France; but the sudden dispersion of the Prussian forces, the apathy of Austria, and the change of policy in the British cabinet, consequent upon the death of Mr. Pitt and the accession to office of Lord Grenville's and Mr. Fox's administration, at length reduced the emperor Alexander to the absolute necessity of consulting his own interests and safety by a separate peace. The patience of the emperor under his multiplied disappointments from the British cabinet is thus pourtrayed by M. Eustaphie, with the indignant feelings of a true Russian, though in language somewhat more coarse than the occasion called for, or than is exhibited in the general style of his pamphlet.

"One battle followed another; yet not a jot of the promised supplies was obtained by the emperor. Even when the chief object of his being so urgent was understood to be the relief of a distressed ally, the same niggardly economy, the same ungenerous, penny-wise policy, was still pursued on the part of the British administration; as if to exhibit a striking contrast between his disinterestedness and their meanness, between his noble perseverance and their sordid obstinacy.

"They left nothing undone to probe his feelings to the utmost, and bring his magnanimity to the most desperate trial, *still he remained faithful to their cause.*

"Scorning the idea of subsidy, he, at length, applied for a loan of five millions sterling, offering ample securities for the payment of interest and principal; and though he was refused, he *still remained faithful to their cause.*

"To the injury of refusal they added insult, by pretending to grant the loan, but declining to be security to the British stockholders, who, of course, could not, without such security from their own government, gratify their own wishes by complying with those of the emperor: *still he remained faithful to their cause.*

"By the attempt to relieve Dantzick, they prevented him from selling his ships, by promising to send their own; which, not being performed, Dantzick, so important to future opera-

tions, fell into the hands of the French: *still he remained faithful to the cause.*

“ Instead of making a descent on the coast of the Baltic, they thought of conquests for themselves; and sent out their puny expeditions to Egypt and Constantinople, as if to convince the world, by a succession of ill luck, of their eagerness for political depravity, and of their want of ability to execute even their own schemes: *still the emperor remained faithful to their cause.*

“ They suffered him to be lampooned, and laughed at his simplicity in fighting for no object at all: *still he remained faithful to their cause.*

“ In face of the world, in the august presence of parliament, they dared to plead the necessities of Russia in defence of their deserting her; and to assume as the ground of such desertion, her being forced to fight in consequence of their ‘bringing war to her door:’ *still he remained faithful to their cause.*

“ By their withholding all assistance, and thereby extinguishing all hopes, till then indulged, of effectual co-operation from England, Prussia was not able to collect even the wrecks of her army; and Austria, who, by interposing her forces between France and Buonaparte, might have decided the fate of Europe, remained irresolute, and lost the only opportunity she ever had of recovering her independence. In consequence of this, the emperor of Russia found himself alone, and deserted by the very powers for whose particular interest he entered the lists with France: *still he remained faithful to the cause.*

“ While he was shedding the dearest blood of his subjects, the ruling party in England had the cruelty of pretending to doubt the sincerity of his professions, and the hardihood to disregard the strongest proofs that can be given by a sovereign loving his people: *still he remained faithful to their cause.*

“ Buonaparte, possessing all the wisdom they wanted, and much more, perceived at once the situation of Alexander; and finding his own invincibles sufficiently feasted on hard blows, professed his friendship for Russia, disclaimed every purpose of hostility, sought every opportunity of reconciliation, urged the criminal duplicity and selfishness of the British administration, and the self-immolating indifference of Austria; offered even a share of his conquests, and, in short, exerted all his means, and they were great, to detach Russia from a cause so unprofitable and hopeless: still the Russian emperor hesitated to comply, still he would have persisted in his sacrifices; but at this time he had arrived at a point beyond which patience was a crime, and perseverance nothing less than treason against his people. He therefore yielded; and at Tilsit concluded that peace, which in justice to his own interests ought to have been made much sooner.” (P. 28.)

\* It is certain that Buonaparte offered to Russia all the country eastward of the Vistula, but Alexander declined it, and accepted a small portion merely for the sake of a more regular boundary.

It is with regret that a necessary act of justice to the Russian nation obliges us thus to renew recollections of so painful and degrading a nature, and we shall now dismiss them with the full admission, that Russia could not justly incur the imputation of a vacillating policy by concluding a separate peace, when she found herself (her hopes and expectations being disappointed) engaged unprepared as a principal in a war, which she had only undertaken as an auxiliary.

We should consider it as an absolute insult to the Russian nobles and people, if after what has passed we could condescend to enter into any justification of them against the third charge noticed by M. Eustaphieue, that of being open to the effects of foreign influence and corruption. We cordially agree in the position, that not only the Russian nobles and gentry, but even "the peasantry *would laugh* at the French rhapsodies which have misled and ruined so many nations. It may well be said *they would laugh*, because they have actually done so whenever a few partial attempts have been made to seduce them from their allegiance. The point of the sword is the only weapon that can be used in penetrating into Russia." We shall be glad to find that even Count Romanzoff constitutes no exception to this general observation.

With respect to the fourth head of accusation concerning the deficiency of military skill and energy in the Russian officers and troops, we freely confess, that if the battles of Cassauo, Novi, Trebia, Pultusk, and Eylau, in which the Russians were victorious against the French, when contrasted with those of Zurich, Austerlitz, and Friedland, where victory was on the side of the French, are not, upon the whole, sufficient to establish the competency of the Russian army, at least to defend its own territory, nothing that we can add is capable of overcoming scepticism upon these subjects.

We cannot close this article without making some allusion to a circumstance which adds a tenfold interest to every incident materially affecting the ultimate success of the contest; we mean the personal character of the Emperor Alexander.

This prince, if we may judge from late events, appears to have imbibed a spirit of enlightened piety and benevolence far beyond the age and country in which he lives. M. Eustaphieue informs us in a note, that

"It was reserved for this truly benevolent prince to complete the happiness of Russia by devising a plan which, in a short time, will emancipate every portion of its population. He has caused a considerable fund to be laid apart, and augmented every year, from the general revenue, for the sole purpose of taking on, mortgaging, and redeeming the estates with peasantry; and of purchas-

ing such as are offered for sale, by means of agents established for that end in every province of the empire. The success has answered the most sanguine expectations; and several hundreds of thousands have already been emancipated, and restored to their proper ranks in society." (P. 38.)

After the long night of moral and political darkness which has lowered upon the population of Russia, it makes the heart sick to reflect upon the interruption which this sanguinary contest must interpose in the way of so promising a system of improvement; and it would be almost more than human nature can bear, should the light which is now beginning to dawn upon fifty millions of men, under the auspices of a mild and legitimate christian sovereign, be suddenly quenched in the vortex of cruel and unprincipled ambition. But let us hope better things; let us exclaim in the language of Alexander\*, which, we trust, will not be the less affecting, because it breathes a spirit of devout bravery,—

"In the present disastrous state of human affairs, will not that country acquire eternal fame, which, after encountering all the inevitable desolations of war, shall, at last, by its patience and intrepidity, succeed in procuring an equitable and permanent peace, not only for itself but also for other powers; nay, even for those who are unwillingly fighting against us? It is gratifying and natural for a generous nation to render good for evil.

"Almighty God! turn thy merciful eye to thy supplicating Russian church! Vouchsafe courage and patience to thy people struggling in a just cause, so that they may thereby overcome the enemy; and in saving themselves may also defend the freedom of kings and nations."

Later events have shewn that the prayer was heard!—have established a glorious truth, which the nations in general, and the higher ranks of Spain in particular, cannot too religiously embrace;—viz. that entire and practical devotion to God and their country is *all-sufficient*, and that nothing else is competent, to rescue them from the gripe of the destroyer.

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ART. VIII.—1. *Thoughts on the Utility and Expediency of the Plans proposed by the British and Foreign Bible Society.*  
By Edward Maltby, D. D. Prebendary of Leighton Buzzard,  
in the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, &c. Cadell. London,  
1812.

2. *Observations, designed as a Reply to the "Thoughts" of Dr.*

\* See the conclusion of the Emperor of Russia's address to his subjects on the fall of Moscow.



*Maltby, on the Dangers of circulating the Whole of the Scriptures among the lower Orders.* By J. W. Cunningham, A. M. Vicar of Harrow on the Hill, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London. Hatchard. 1812.

FROM the time of that Roman emperor, who valued himself for no imperial virtue, save that of playing on the fiddle, down to this very hour, half the mischief, and more than half the nonsense with which the world has been oppressed, may be ascribed to the same preposterous vanity, which prompts men to contemn the talents bestowed upon them by nature, habit, and education; and to aim at distinction, precisely in that department for which they are the least qualified. That the author of the first of these pamphlets, a gentleman, a scholar, a good classical tutor, a politician, and an active magistrate, should have undertaken to discuss points connected with any of those offices, would neither have surprised us, nor, perhaps, disgraced himself. But that a reverend person, who in every page exhibits strong indications of ignorance concerning the religious state and capacities of the poor, must needs discuss the extent to which, by the grace of God, they can understand the scriptures; that he must wantonly throw his gauntlet upon the floor, and offer to maintain against all gainsayers, that it is expedient to shut out from the poor and ignorant Gentiles the writings of that very Apostle, who was specially commissioned by the founder of our religion, to instruct them and *them only*; and was, moreover, directed as to the peculiar doctrines which he should teach;—does appear to us to be a crime no less against the dictates of common sense and common prudence, than against the religion which the learned author has faithfully promised, and which he is moreover paid, to uphold and to defend. It is as though the king's guards should turn their bayonets against the prince whom they have sworn to protect. Indeed, when we perceive any attempt to withhold the Scriptures either entire or in part from any description of our fellow-creatures, particularly from that class to whom our Redeemer emphatically declared, that the gospel should be preached, we are filled with grief; and we earnestly deprecate all such attempts, which, we think, we are not colouring too strongly in stigmatising them as a species of spiritual treason. In the same proportion then, as we have been pained by the perusal of Doctor Maltby's pamphlet, we have felt pleasure in reading Mr. Cunningham's answer, which appears to us to be fraught with sound sense, and written in a truly Christian spirit. We shall by and by produce some extracts from it; but must first take a short survey of that to which it professes to reply.

We think it an uncandid mode of proceeding to impute to any

author, without very strong proof, principles which he does not avow; and we should be sorry to incur the charge of want of candour towards Dr. Maltby; yet we must be allowed to remark, that upon comparing his sentiments with those of our modern Socinians, we cannot but say we perceive a very striking resemblance between them. Among others, for example, Dr. Maltby says, p. 12, "It may perhaps be asserted without the smallest perversion of truth, that *each of the gospels* contain every thing necessary to salvation." Now, whether the reverend author was so far deceived as to think that he was hereby stating an original opinion, we do not profess to know; yet we do know, that nearly the same words, and precisely the same opinion (except that many of the Socinians are not quite so niggardly in their allowance), have been stated by the principal Socinian writers. Mr. Fellowes, in his "*Guide to Immortality*," (modest title!) asserts, "that in the gospels alone are to be found every useful truth, and every religious duty; that the precepts of Christ, as they are contained in the four Evangelists, contain all the instruction necessary to our improvement in righteousness; include, in short, every essential principle of genuine Christianity."

Mr. Evanson truly ventures to go the whole length of Dr. Maltby, and is for retaining one gospel only as necessary for the instruction of mankind, from which, indeed, he is also disposed to cut out some peculiar passages that do not altogether meet his approbation. Of the views which the apostles of Socinianism entertained when they expressed these opinions, we shall have some proofs to adduce, when we come to shew the mortifying similarity of views and objects, exhibited in some future passages, by the reverend Prebendary of Leighton Bussard.

But, setting this aside for the present, it appears to us that the grand deficiency in Doctor Maltby's system, and that from which all his mistakes proceed, is a total exclusion of the operation of the Holy Spirit, in guiding the minds of men to the knowledge and understanding of the scriptures. In the pamphlet now under review, the following passages occur on the question, whether the unlearned should be allowed free access to the whole of the Bible. "Readers of ordinary capacity and attainments are left to make their own comments and draw their own conclusions, unassisted by previous study, and *destitute of present help*." "The unlearned, it is evident, can have no other guide than the interpretation given by some one class of those learned men, who, after all, may have taken the most probable signification, without any certainty that they have chosen the right." "They (the common people) ought no more to expect to understand the prophecies of Ezekiel, and the Epistles of St. Paul, than they should expect to understand the tragedies of Æschylus;

or the letters of Cicero and Pliny, even in the excellent translations we have of those ancient authors."—With other passages repeating the same ideas.

Now for argument's sake, we will suppose for an instant with Doctor Maltby, that the assistance of the Holy Spirit was confined to extraordinary occasions, instead of being freely offered to all who earnestly seek it. Upon this supposition, we should be much inclined to agree with him, that it would not be safe to put any parts of the scriptures into the hands of the poor and unlearned, excepting those which are purely practical and not liable to misinterpretation; and that the doctrinal parts should only be dealt out to them through the medium of human learning. We think also, on the other hand, that if Doctor Maltby admits our hypothesis, that the guidance of the Holy Spirit in its ordinary operations will be granted to all who earnestly seek its direction by prayer; he will also agree with us, that the poor are quite as well qualified as the learned to understand the grand and simple doctrines of the gospel, however mysterious, or even in some instances contradictory to human reason these doctrines may appear.

Not to accumulate quotations from scripture, which, we trust, are familiar to our readers, to prove that the latter hypothesis is that which is warranted by the express promises of God;—let us see what the great and learned Bishop Horsley thought upon this subject. Discussing the expediency of imparting to the common people the knowledge of the more difficult parts of scripture, he asserts, "that it would much more readily secure them against the poison of modern corruptions, than the practice dictated by a false discretion, of avoiding the mention of every doctrine that may be combated, and of burying every text of doubtful meaning." "The corrupters of Christian doctrine," he proceeds, "have no such reserve. The doctrines of the divinity of the Son—the incarnation—the satisfaction of the cross as a sacrifice in the literal meaning of the word—the mediatorial intercession—the influences of the spirit—the eternity of future punishment—are topics of popular discussion with those who would deny or pervert these doctrines: and we may judge by their success what *our own* might be, if we would but meet our antagonists on their own ground. The common people, we find, enter into the *force*, though they do not perceive the *sophistry* of their arguments. The same people would much more enter into the *internal evidence* of the genuine doctrine of the gospel, if holden out to them, *not* in parts, studiously divested of whatever may seem mysterious, not with accommodations to the prevailing fashion of opinions, but entire and undisguised." "EVERY SENTENCE OF THE BIBLE IS FROM GOD, and every man is interested in the meaning of it." (Horsley's Sermons, Vol. I.

p. 7.) As a practical illustration of the truth and knowledge of the world displayed in these admirable passages, we would refer Dr. Maltby, and those who reason and preach under the impressions which he has thought fit to avow, to a comparison of the deserted churches and full meeting-houses of their own parishes, with the thronged churches and empty conventicles of those where Bishop Horsley's advice is followed. It is in these latter situations indeed, as the Bishop strongly expressed himself, that the enthusiastic ranters may "bellow unregarded in the wilderness." Such were the opinions of Bishop Horsley, upon the mere expediency of stating to the common people the more difficult parts of scripture. For ourselves, indeed, we must even go so far as to declare our belief, that highly cultivated human intellect, with the pride often attendant upon it, is sometimes a great obstacle to the reception of the truth, and to the right understanding of the Bible, or rather to its true effect upon the heart. Of course, we do not mean to depreciate the usefulness of human learning in the interpretation of scripture, still less of parochial instruction among the poor by enlightened ministers, which, doubtless, is a powerful mean of leading the ignorant to seek the fountain of light and knowledge on those points which concern their immortal souls; and we agree in some part of the following quotation, heartily wishing that things were in this respect a little more as they "ought to be."

"I may now be asked, if such really are the difficulties attending the study of the Scriptures among the poor, whether arising from the contents of the books themselves, or the incapacity of the poor to comprehend them, where are the lower classes of mankind to gain their knowledge of religion? I do conceive that this is one of the great ends proposed by an established religion, such as exists in this country. An establishment provides, or ought to provide, for the instruction of the poor, by an explanation every week of the truths of our holy religion; an elucidation of its doctrines, and a serious and animating exhortation to obey its moral precepts. Nor is the duty of the public instructors confined to the labours of the Sunday, but the minister of each parish is, or ought to be, at hand, for the comfort and information of his parishioners, whensoever they require it. He is to 'preach the word,' to be 'instant in season, and out of season; to reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine.'" (P. 26.)

Yet, we believe, that even without instruction, but with the Bible alone, the poor and humble-minded christian, though unfurnished with human learning, is not only upon a par with the greatest philosopher with respect to the stupendous mysteries of our holy religion, but often has an actual advantage over him, from having less to unlearn, and from his heart being in a more recipient state.

And we apprehend this to be the meaning of the following expressions of our Saviour, "Blessed be ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God." Luke vi. "Suffer the little children to come to me and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven." "I thank thee, O father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes," with others of the same kind.

We are indeed surprised, that even the experience which Dr. Maltby must have had, (or, "ought to have had,") of the poor, during his parochial visits to their cottages, has not convinced him that the Bible is often most correctly appreciated, and best understood by those who have the least assistance from human commentaries. That this is the fact we cannot doubt, and we believe that all those who are conversant with the poor (not those who "ought to be") will join in our sentiments, which are consonant with the opinion of all the most active and sober-minded parish priests with whom we have had the opportunity of conversing. In short, we do positively deny "the strict analogy," asserted by Dr. Maltby, "to exist between the talents and means necessary for acquiring classical and philosophical learning, and those which lead to a knowledge and understanding of the scriptures and of pure religion. It may be very true, as he observes, that "the sun rises upon all classes of mankind, nor does he give less light and heat to those who never heard of the Copernican system. That the improvements suggested by mechanics and chemistry facilitate labour, and contribute to the comfort of the lower orders, although they never heard of the laws of motion, nor of the difference between alkalis and acids." But we positively deny, that it is any just inference from this reasoning that the epistles of St. Paul, which contain fundamental doctrines of christianity, to be found in no other parts of scripture, will not be made intelligible to the poor by the operation of the Holy Spirit, because to the literary man, or the mere man of the world, they appear to contain difficult doctrines. If the knowledge of the fundamental doctrines of christianity be necessary to the salvation of all men in a christian country, we may be very sure that means will be found of making them plain to an humble inquirer: and, at once, to destroy the analogy on which Dr. Maltby plumes himself so triumphantly; it is only necessary to state, that the knowledge of the Copernican system—of the laws of motion, and of the difference between alkalis and acids—is not necessary to save the souls of men. This, however, brings us to some of the most important passages in Dr. Maltby's pamphlet, where, speaking of the New Testament, the Articles, and the Liturgy,—He uses the following words:

"In regard to the Books of the New Testament, as we here

enter upon topics exclusively belonging to all Christians, I agree that the Gospels and the Acts should be diffused universally, though I contend that there are various matters even in them, which may occasion error, without a critical and judicious exposition. But I cannot think that the Epistles were designed, because they are evidently not calculated, for general diffusion. Every thing that Jesus did, and said, and taught, must be equally interesting to every one of his followers, and ought to be to all mankind. But it does not follow that every thing his apostles wrote, even with the pen of inspiration, is to be equally applicable to the devout meditations of a Christian at the present day. The apostles were engaged in many weighty matters, referable only to the places in which they were acting, or the times in which they lived. They were occupied with temporary questions and with local controversies: and although they might have (might have!!!) the aid of the Holy Spirit in guiding their judgment and regulating their conduct, in matters important at that time; it by no means follows that their decision upon such subjects can be necessary or interesting, or in all respects even intelligible to us, who live in such different times, and under such different circumstances. Valuable indeed they are, when considered as mere matters of record, connected with the introduction of our religion. But by far the greater part of the apostolical epistles relate to controversies, agitated at the time, about the partial or total rejection of the Jews, the introduction of Gentiles into the church, the necessity of circumcision, the permanence of the Mosaic law, with allusions to the situation of particular congregations, or the conduct of individuals; some the useful teachers, and others the mischievous disturbers of the church." (P. 9.)

"I have, perhaps, obviated the charge of dealing in general and obscure intimations, respecting the improvement of our establishment, by stating points in which I conceive such improvement might be made. But I have no hesitation in submitting most respectfully to the serious and dispassionate consideration of our ecclesiastical rulers, whether it might not be desirable also to revise the articles, and some parts, perhaps, of the Liturgy, after a lapse of 250 years since their first promulgation. It should always be kept in mind, that by not insisting upon any particular article as a condition of subscription, we by no means give up our opinion of its truth; although, in the true spirit of christianity, and for the sake of promoting christian concord, we may not always expect that all men should think alike upon texts, obviously susceptible of different interpretations.

"Such a revision, wisely and temperately conducted, would, I am persuaded, contribute essentially to the peace and security of the established religion; and would, at the same time, more tend to promote a good understanding and cordial union among Christians of different denominations than all the reports of the Bible Society, all the speeches even of its most enlightened advocates, and all the contributions of its members." (P. 29.)

Now, against these most extraordinary passages we must immediately enter our protest; our space will not allow us to attempt to say one-tenth part of what is suggested to our minds from almost every line, beginning from that which doubts the inspiration of the apostles, down to the very singular scheme of chronological religion, which implies, that a lapse of 250 years can alter the essential meaning and import of the fundamental doctrines of christianity. For we can hardly suspect Dr. Maltby of holding, that these last are to be altered and lacerated, to patch up the broken consistency of those who, having taken the pay of the church upon solemn engagement made (or "*which ought*" to have been made) upon due consideration, begin to occupy themselves when admitted within the fortress in pulling down her bulwarks.

But it is from these passages, joined to those formerly quoted, that we think ourselves fully justified in inferring the Socinian propensities of Dr. Maltby. We trust that he has not, as Mar-montel said of Rousseau, "*l'ambition de faire secte*;" for, truly, whether he knows it or not, he has done little else than retail some of the flattest of the trite and worn down doctrines of the Socinian leaders. He has *gently insinuated* that the apostles *might* be inspired, and that the apostolical epistles are useless as to any practical inference to the mass of the people. This is merely betraying the trust; but the Socinians *having also sworn to defend it*, drive at the same point by more open and manly attacks.

Mr. Fellowes, in his *Guide to Immortality*, Vol. III. p. 291, says in plain terms, "Those who prefer religious speculation to the practice of religion, or who wish to keep alive the memory and to rekindle the heat of controversies, whose lustre and whose interest have long since been lost in the night of ages, may dedicate the best portion of their days to the *fruitless study of that imperviously dark and inextricably bewildering polemical matter, which is still preserved in the apostolical epistles.*" And again, in his "*Religion without Cant*," which has been well denominated by Dr. Magee (see his admirable work on the Atonement\*), "*Cant without Religion*," he would have the articles and canons so altered, that "the ministers of the establishment should be *compelled* to teach nothing but that pure morality, which Christ taught without cant or mystery." In his "*Picture of Christian Philosophy*," he talks of the "*puerile conceits of St. Paul*, who labours with mysterious meanings, which he fails in

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\* We acknowledge with gratitude our obligations to Dr. Magee's work on the Atonement for many of the extracts and arguments concerning the Socinians used and cited in this article.

developing with sufficient perspicuity." "His epistles relate to questions which are at present of *more curiosity than importance*. A *modern believer* has very little concern with any of them." The other Socinian writers are full of passages of the same import; and we may fairly ask, whether in point of practical result there is any essential difference between these sentiments and opinions and those of Dr. Maltby;—and whether we are not justified in concluding the common opinion of them all to be, that St. Paul, and most of the writers of the apostolical epistles, were guided in those compositions by merely human and fallible fancies; that the hitherto received doctrines of christianity, which rest on their authority, are to be discarded as idle dreams, and "the gospel to be regarded *merely and exclusively* as a moral system, or *rule of life*;"—"that the essential parts of the christian religion contain no doctrine that is mysterious,"—and "that in the gospels alone are to be found every useful truth, and every religious duty." "This," as has been well observed, "is, undoubtedly, making brief work with the writings of the New Testament, and may with as much propriety be entitled, a *short cut*, as a safe guide to immortality." That Dr. Maltby really participates in these opinions may be further inferred from the nature of the excision he would wish to make from the Bible, in order to fit it for the use of the poor, i. e. for the common use of the people,—for all but the high-priests of the temple. He proposes to take out all the epistles of St. Paul, except the first of Timothy, and those to Titus and Philemon, and his proposed *improvement* of the liturgy and articles is, of course, to adapt them to this *improved* construction of the Bible.

We do certainly feel obliged to the learned doctor for kindly allowing us to retain 1 Tim. and Titus, which relate principally to the conduct necessary to be held by ecclesiastical dignitaries, and as he announces himself in his title-page to be one of those dignitaries, we think it highly liberal that he should be so strong an advocate for enabling the people to judge of the competence of their spiritual superiors. Nevertheless we really cannot but consider this as a very sorry consolation for the exclusion of the epistle to the Romans, the two epistles to the Corinthians, those to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Galatians, Thessalonians, Hebrews, and all the practical and fundamental doctrines they contain! And we really think, that after the preceding extracts, we are justified in concluding that Dr. Maltby's real opinion is, not merely that the common people should be excluded from access to the apostolical epistles, but that those writings, and the doctrines they contain, should be generally depreciated as mere matter of polemical divinity.



We can scarcely bring ourselves to take any further notice of the almost incredible doubt implied by the reverend minister of the gospel in one passage of the above quotations, whether the apostles had indeed the aid of the Holy Spirit in guiding their judgment, than simply to refer to the articles of the church, which are founded throughout upon the doctrines promulgated in the apostolical epistles. We are not surprised that Dr. Maltby wishes to alter these articles, for certainly "no man of a sane understanding can reconcile to himself subscription to the articles of the church, and the rejection of the doctrines which those articles define." But doubtless he had better have made up his mind on this subject before he ventured upon the indispensable form of subscription, "*I do willingly and ex animo subscribe to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England;*"—and the work of his relation the Bishop of Lincoln, (see Elements, vol. ii. p. 567.), would have afforded him much light on this point. But we must leave it to Dr. Maltby to settle with his own conscience, and shall simply declare our opinion, that such doubts strike at the very root of the Christian religion, and we may just as well doubt whether any part of the scripture was inspired. The light in which we consider the epistles generally, is as commentaries on the gospels, without which the gospel cannot be well understood either by the learned or unlearned. Our Saviour expressly declared, "I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now;" and in another part he says, "When the spirit of truth is come, he shall guide you into all truth." With various declarations implying that till the Holy Ghost was sent, the full meaning of his words could not be comprehended. "In truth," says Dr. Magee, "the object of our Saviour's life was to *supply the subject*, not to promulgate the doctrines of the gospel. The evangelists, therefore, confine themselves to the simple duty of narration; and the doctrines which altogether depend upon what our Lord had done and suffered, particularly upon his death, resurrection, and ascension into heaven, were, after this groundwork was fairly laid, to be fully set forth by those to whom our blessed Saviour solemnly promised the unerring aid of the Holy Spirit, and who were especially designated by him for that very purpose." On the day of Pentecost the Holy Ghost was sent down on the apostles to enlighten their minds, and to enable them to explain and comment on the mysterious parts of the gospels. For if Dr. Maltby will examine the gospels, that of St. John in particular, he will find numerous passages more obscure and more inaccessible to mere human reason than any part of St. Paul's epistles. Should he venture to remark

that St. Paul was not one of the apostles at the day of Pentecost, we must refer him to the miraculous conversion of that apostle, which emphatically stamps him as under the immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit from that time forward.

By lowering or rejecting the inspired authority of the apostles, and the doctrines of the apostolical epistles, Dr. Maltby flatters himself that he may promote "a good understanding among Christians of all denominations." Really this is now become the most despicable cant. It is abundantly clear that by discarding one after another the doctrines of any religion, the different sects of infidelity may be nominally and apparently reconciled; but it is more than abundantly absurd to suppose, that by discarding the doctrines of christianity, the Christian religion can be really fortified. No! that will certainly not be effected;—but this will be accomplished;—christianity will be rendered very little different from what the advocates of infidelity have already embraced. Concerning the heavy responsibility and fearful risk incurred by this mode of proceeding, we would submit the following passages from Scripture to Dr. Maltby's serious consideration. "Ye shall not add to the word which I command you, nor diminish ought from it." (Deut. iv. 2.) "What thing soever I command you, observe to do it. Thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it." (Ibid. xii. 52.) Also nearly the last words in the New Testament. "If any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life." (Rev. chap. xxii. ver. 19.) And finally this passage from 2 Tim. which epistle Dr. Maltby was certainly right in excluding from his garbled Bible, as it flatly contradicts his positions; "*From a child* thou hast known the holy scriptures which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus. *All scripture* is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." (2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, 17.)

We dismiss Dr. Maltby's evident misinterpretation of the Psalms, (p. 9.) with recommending him to read Bishop Horne. And we trust he will receive our advice in charity, when we assure him, that being yet but a child in the knowledge of christianity as promulgated by the fathers of the English church, it behoves him to consult those fathers, and with earnest prayer to search the scriptures, before he next launches into spiritual controversy; and we are persuaded that we shall then welcome his return to theological discussion with far other sentiments

than those, which, with much pain to ourselves, we have thought it right to express on the present occasion.

We must confess that we always feel so strong a disgust at seeing party politics mixed up with the clerical character, and forced into religious discussions, that we think the following vulgar and unfounded insinuations call for peculiar animadversion from us.

“Certainly, however, it does seem a most remarkable circumstance, that,—when war is carried on to an unprecedented extent, and with a spirit so peculiarly harsh and unrelenting; when the slightest approach to intercourse is forbidden under the severest penalties; when the courtesies, formerly usual even amongst hostile nations, are completely at an end;—at such a crisis, a pure philanthropic feeling bursts out for the purpose of sending Bibles to the continent. We refuse cotton to the clothing of these nations;—articles of nourishment to their support, or, perhaps, their innocent gratification;—we even refuse bark to their diseases. Still that spirit, which professes itself to be the genuine spirit of the gospel among us, deals forth a profusion of Bibles for the relief of their spiritual necessities. They may shiver in the pitiless storm, destitute of that raiment, which we have sternly refused to supply; they may linger in hopeless pining, and gasp for that refreshment, of which we endeavour to abridge them; they may even die in the hospitals and in the streets, from the want of that indispensable medicine, which a rigorous policy confines to our own coasts: but in their dying hours they are supplied with the books of holy writ,” &c. &c.

Our readers may probably have some faint recollection of a controversy in the house of commons about bark and cotton, in which the violent oppositionists persevered in imputing to the virtuous and able minister of (alas!) *that* day, the design with malice aforethought to perpetuate the fevers and nakedness of the French people; notwithstanding it was made to appear as clear as the sun at noon, that the object was not to deprive that nation of bark and cotton, which they might have procured in any quantity at an advanced price through the circuitous medium of the neutral or hostile navies; but simply to prevent the insolent and unheard of practice which the French government attempted to establish against us, that it would take directly from our merchants precisely those few articles of prime necessity which could not elsewhere be procured but with greater difficulty and expence, while at the same time it would exercise the most rigorous hostility against their general commerce. Surely, under such circumstances, we had a right to insist upon that which is essential in all-commercial transactions, the mutual

advantage of the two parties; and surely it is of the very essence of French or jacobinical misrepresentation, and the very acme of bad taste, to distort so fair a principle of action into a deliberate intention to make our enemies "shiver in the pitiless storm, destitute of *that* raiment, &c." "to make them linger in hopeless pining," "gasp for refreshment," "die in the hospitals and in the streets," and suffer the various other torments, with which the lively imagination of Dr. Maltby has loaded their bodies, to counterbalance the blessing of the Bibles which we have exported for the comfort and refreshment of their souls.

The passage is alone sufficient to make quite clear to us the spirit in which the whole pamphlet is written, and really gives us no very exalted idea of the author's talents as a politician, to qualify himself for which office he seems so much to have neglected the objects of clerical attainment. For, admitting that the unheard of barbarity, which the enemy has introduced into the conduct of this war, makes it necessary for our government to deviate from the ordinary courtesies of ordinary wars, does that constitute the shadow of a ground for an imputation of inconsistency on those *individuals* whose Christian philanthropy induces them at their own expence to supply their enemies with the pure word of God? And this when learned societies are exchanging their medals and their prize essays without any fear of, or regard to, the hostilities between their respective countries! We are sure that Dr. Maltby, upon consideration, will be ashamed of this passage, even without any extraordinary change in his religious sentiments; we shall therefore repress the severer observations which are ready to rise up in our minds against it.

We have been irresistibly led into such a prolixity of observation on this extraordinary pamphlet, that we fear we have left but scanty space for the notice of Mr. Cunningham's argumentative reply to it's sophistry.

We shall attempt, however, to do some little justice to it, at least by extracting one or two of the most striking passages.

Mr. Cunningham begins by arranging Dr. Maltby's objections against the circulation of the whole scriptures under two heads, first, that they *are not intended*, and secondly, that they *are not calculated for general circulation*. Upon the first point he very forcibly observes that *God himself gave these scriptures to us without any restriction upon their general use*; and he very safely defies Dr. Maltby to produce a single passage which tends to appropriate them to a few, which would authorize us to enshrine any portion of them for the sole inspection of the learned. He also infers that *they were actually intended by God for*

general circulation from the manner of using them in the Jewish church, where they were appointed to be read without any regular comment or exposition, and as none were excluded from the synagogue, the scriptures were obviously published to all. "Could the Bible then," he asks, "be safe to them without expositors, and is it dangerous to us with them? Are the clergy of the church of England to be degraded into a sort of dead weight, which is merely to turn the scale against the free circulation of the scriptures?" We answer emphatically, "God forbid!"

Mr. Cunningham also successfully shews both by the example of "the use made of the scriptures by Christ himself," and by "the express declaration of God," that the scriptures were intended to go forth in their integrity to the people.

The second objection, that the scriptures are not *calculated* for universal distribution, is very justly answered by Mr. Cunningham, by shewing first, that some of the *mysteries* of religion will elude the amplest as well as the most feeble grasp of human intellect. "God is a spirit," and his religion never proclaimed itself to be free from mystery to our dull and material capacities. But he also strenuously contends that its mysteries are mysteries to all; that religion is no respecter of persons, and never intended to assign knowledge to the high, and mere practice to the low. "Under the Christian scheme, all distinctions are merged in the consideration that men are all equally immortal;—lost by the same offences;—redeemed by the same blood;" and saved or condemned by the same rule. To suppose, therefore, that any difference in the natural capacity for understanding that rule will not be made up to the humble sinner by supernatural means, is a crime no less against the justice than against the goodness of God.

To the objection "that all which it is indispensable for man to know is contained in a very small part of the Bible," Mr. Cunningham ventures to reply, first, by demanding "whether there is no presumption in venturing to pronounce that a *part* will accomplish that for which God appears to have appointed the whole?" Next by referring to the fact that "God in a variety of known instances, does not always work by the simple means we might anticipate;" and lastly, he makes this general and conclusive objection to the narrowing or disparagement of the value of any part of scripture, "that the work once begun, it is impossible to say where it will stop." Of this we think that we have given conclusive proof in a former part of this article, where we exhibited the absurd and profane lengths to which the Socinians have proceeded from beginnings somewhat

smaller than Dr. Maltby has ventured upon in the pamphlet before us.

Upon the general expediency of imparting the whole of the scriptures to the poor, we shall now lay before our readers the following eloquent passage.

“ Without reverting to the strong language of Dr. Horsley (p. 17), I should venture to say, that the purity of religious sentiment is scarcely less indebted to the simplicity of the unlearned, than to the curiosity and refinement of the literary. If the illiterate sometimes do not see far enough, the learned often see too far. If the first debase scripture through ignorance, it suffers no less injury from the prejudice and love of system in the last. Above all, whatever benefit the learned may render to scripture by the light they shed upon its obscurities, the poor often no less befriend it, by rescuing the plain passages from the rack of presumptuous and innovating criticism. The learned man may perhaps be satisfied to speculate, whilst the poor man feels. The one is not unapt to look at christianity as a sort of remote eleemosynary system, of which, in the fulness of his prosperity, he does not feel the need; the other, as a religion precisely and mercifully adapted to his sufferings and his wants; as a lamp to his feet, and a medicine to his soul. In consequence of this, whilst the one is too apt to linger about the porch, or coldly measure the mere ornaments of the temple, the other penetrates to the altar, catches a ray of its sacred flame, seizes upon the vital parts of religion, and bears them forth as his consolation through all the pilgrimage of life. Agreeably to this reasoning, it will be seen that religion has often found its best, and even its most intelligent, friends among the multitude; that when the vessel of its fundamental doctrines has been well nigh wrecked under the pilotage of a false philosophy, it has been brought to shore by the hand of the common ‘fisherman.’ At the time, for instance, when it was asked, ‘have any of the rulers believed in Christ? the common people heard him gladly.’ The disciples themselves, also, were found among the lower part of the community. And although christianity never made such a gigantic nominal and geographical progress as when it mounted the throne of the empire, it is to be remembered that its corruptions kept pace with its aggrandisement. Its period of greatest deterioration commenced when it exchanged the imperial sceptre for its ‘crown of thorns.’—When, in like manner, the great father of the reformation appeared, he found the advocates of religious reform chiefly amidst the inferior ranks of the people. He presented the Bible to the crowded congregations of Wittenberg, and published his theses to the listening cities of the empire. They ‘received the report;’ conveyed it, like an electric shock, from man to man; till some of the princes of Germany felt they must either support the reformation, or endanger their thrones. In the revival of religion, also, which has within fifty years taken place in our own country, the

lower and middle ranks of people have acted an important part. The increased precision in doctrine, and energy in practice; the decay of Socinianism, and what may be almost called the resuscitation of the fundamental doctrines of Christ; are in a considerable degree to be attributed, under Divine grace, to plain men putting plain constructions upon plain passages of the Bible. And so far is it, I conceive, from being the fact, that the poor universally enter little into the real meaning and spirit of the doctrinal parts of scripture, that there are to be found multitudes who both comprehend the principles, and bring them to bear upon their lives and tempers." (P. 29.)

Our own opinion upon this interesting subject is already before our readers; we shall therefore proceed without further delay to fortify the judgment we have given on another point by the following extract upon the relative value of the gospels and apostolical epistles.

"The *third* proposition of Dr. Maltby, that (what he calls) the *practical part of the epistles is substantially the same with the proverbs or the gospels*, is not less remarkable. Not to dwell upon the inaccurate assumption of equality between the practical lessons of the gospels and the proverbs, is it the fact that the epistles did not enlarge the code of practical instruction presented to us by Christ himself? If even the word 'practical' be confined to morality (which possibly the author designs), many moral duties are distinctly treated in the epistles alone; as, for instance, the duties of husbands and wives, of fathers and children, of masters and servants, of citizens and subjects, of the members of a church and their spiritual governors. And if the import of the word be extended, as it ought to be, to *every* branch of active duty, the epistles may be considered as making still larger additions to our practical lessons; for what may be called the *practical part of religion* is taught chiefly in the epistles. Nor is this fuller development of duties in the writings of the first followers of Christ any disparagement of the gospels. It was in religion as it is in nature; the sin did not reach its meridian at once, but adapted itself to the eye of the spectators. The gospels, and the gospels alone, probably were suited to the actual exigences of the moment; and our Lord himself intimated, that in happier periods a fuller revelation would be granted: 'I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now:'—'When He, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth:'—'he shall teach you all things:'—'he shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you.' Such being the fact, it is no depreciation of the gospels to say, that, alone, they less perfectly exhibit the scheme of christianity; to affirm of a part, that it does not accomplish the object of the whole. The religious creed and taste of that man are indeed suspicious, who, in the smallest degree, overlooks or undervalues the books of the evangelists. They present us religion as taught, and more

especially as practised, by Christ himself. They release it from its abstract form, and give it a shape and character which we may comprehend and imitate. They release us from the risk of transcribing into our own character the blemishes of any human model, by displaying God himself employed in the duties of man. Their sublime simplicity, their exquisite pathos, their devout as well as practical spirit, their appeal to the best feelings, their condescension to the weakest understanding; all constitute them a choice part of the dowry presented by Christ to his church. Such being their intrinsic worth, it is not less unnecessary than unsafe to exalt them at the expense of any other portion of the sacred volume. Nothing is gained to religion by dashing together the tables on which its lessons are inscribed. He will best fill up the doctrinal outline of christianity, who studies the gospels by the strong light of the epistles; and he best reduce its doctrines to practice, who illustrates the apostolic doctrines in the one, by the life of Christ in the other. Whether it is that God is pleased signally to mark his abhorrence of any attempt to separate the study of these divine books; or that a tendency to such errors has suggested this very separation; the exclusive study of either has been often found to land men in the opposite errors of Socinianism or Antinomianism. Thus favouritism in religion has betrayed the cause it was perhaps designed to serve. The books of scripture have, as it were, refused to act alone; and men who have begun by despising a part of the sacred writings, have ended by mistaking or abusing the whole." (P. 46.)

If it were worth while after the preceding observations to bring further proof of Dr. Maltby's Socinian propensities, we should stop to notice his proposition to substitute for the entire copy of the scriptures, a volume judiciously selected from *Cappe's Life of Christ*, that is from a life of Christ *written by a known Socinian*; but we pass this by in order to leave space for one or two considerations, which awfully press upon our minds on the review of the episodal controversy before us: considerations which we could wish to press upon those in whose hands resides the power of ecclesiastical preferment, with all the energy with which they will permit us to approach them. The first reflection which occurs is, whether a church founded on scriptural articles, but fostering in its lap a horde of Pelagian or Socinian ministers, can possibly support itself, even when not opposed by any extraordinary zeal on the part of sectaries and dissenters. And secondly, if this question must be answered in the negative, what is the peril of that crisis when a church so supported is violently attacked by swarms of opponents, many of whom have clothed their naked deformity with the armour so injudiciously cast aside by her natural and sworn defenders. While the church was sinking into latitudinarianism, the Method-



ists have been sedulously ingrafting her orthodox doctrines on the dangerous stock of their enthusiasm, and have drawn without the pale many of those who would have been its best defenders. By the good which this medication of their own opinions by orthodoxy has enabled them to perform, they have salved many of the sores which the red-hot weapons of their armoury had inflicted. But still the good is mixed up with a tremendous portion of evil to the people, and of danger to the church. It may be worth while then to inquire from what quarter effectual opposition to them may be expected, or a sincere reconciliation with the church eventually brought about among the most respectable of the Methodists and dissenters. On this interesting subject we cannot forbear quoting the following passage from Mr. Cunningham's pamphlet, to which we attach the greater value, because we are given to understand that the conduct he has pursued in his own parish has enabled him to verify the truth of the picture which he has drawn for the instruction of his brethren.

“Such being the actual state of the followers of Wesley and Whitefield, if it be asked, whether this once small cloud is likely to overspread the face of our hemisphere, and, by its deluge, to displace the now-established fabric of religion; the reply will vary according to the precise circumstances of the case.—Where the cure is too large, or the church too small; where the parochial clergy are non-resident, or preach but a part of christianity, or preach the whole coldly; where they put off their function with their cassocks, and do not continue in the cottage the lesson they taught in the congregation; there Methodism is likely to increase. But, on the contrary, where the conveniences for public worship are secured: where the clergy are resident; where they endeavour to preach and to live as becomes the disciples of Christ; where they are the domestic friends, as well as the public lecturers, of their people; there, I do not hesitate to say, that under the Divine blessing, our peculiar advantages will ultimately prevail, and the establishment will even do more than maintain her ground. The success of the clergy, indeed, under such circumstances, is no longer a mere hypothesis. Already the church of England has experienced a great religious ‘restoration;’ already that species of cold philosophy, which had usurped the throne of scriptural doctrine, has made way for the rightful sovereign; already the lessons of the reformation echo on many of her walls. And already the consequences are felt, in the increase of our congregations, in the new respect shewn to us by the dissenters, and in the revival of the somewhat slumbering attachment of the mass of the people. Tacitus says, ‘Haud errat populus;’ and perhaps the people, in the long run, however betrayed into temporary excesses, seldom bestow their favour permanently upon the least deserving. The most fa-

rious enemies of David were the first to bring him back. Let the establishment, therefore, only more extensively substantiate her claims to the affections of the people, and they will return to their allegiance. Good men will fear to desert our hosts, when they see the 'pillar of the cloud' going before us.—Among the Methodist leaders especially, and even among the more thinking and orthodox dissenters, there are many individuals, who, though valuing their systems as *supplementary* aids to religion, believe that the cause of christianity is deeply involved in the maintenance of the establishment. Some of them are even now educating their children as ministers of the establishment; some, exhausted by divisions among themselves, begin to discover the value of that standard of appeal supplied by the formularies of the church; some, harassed by the continual struggles for ascendancy amidst the members of their congregation, begin to covet the ministerial independency secured by our ecclesiastical constitution; some, astonished by the power of revivescence recently displayed by the church, begin to suspect, at least, that the hand of God is with us; others, standing mournfully over the ruins of their ancient vigour and orthodoxy, acknowledge the comparatively fleeting nature of a religion which is not embodied in creeds and forms. Let but the devout spirit, which animates a part of the clergy, pervade the mass, and large multitudes, who have deserted her services, will once more rally round the banner of the establishment." (P. 62.)

In conclusion, we recommend these considerations to the sound sense and sober judgment of the government, of the episcopacy, of the patrons of livings, and of all who have the power and the wish to preserve the established church and the orthodox religion of their country. We would say to them, as the late Lord Thurlow said to our gracious sovereign, "If your majesty means to have an established church, you must prefer those who can defend its tenets, and uphold its doctrines;" and we will add, who will shew by their zeal and their conduct that they are themselves practically influenced by the doctrines which they uphold. If an episcopal throne is occupied by a Pelagian or a neutral; if a prebendal stall is filled by a Socinian or a gamester; if a rectory is rioted in by a drunkard or a sportsman, to that extent is the church endangered; the sectarist triumphant; and in the same degree is a weight of responsibility incurred by those who have suffered the wasps or the drones to creep into the hive. This responsibility has hitherto, we fear, been too little considered. But the light seems gradually dawning. Such a bishop, such a prebendary, such a rector, severally constitute exceptions to the general rule; some of them very rare exceptions; and God be thanked, such pamphlets as the "Thoughts" of Dr. Maltby do not nowadays cross the threshold of a reviewer's door above once in a *lustrum*; and even then they come ac-

accompanied by such an antidote, as the "Observations" of Mr. Cunningham.

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**ART. IX.**—*Asiatic Researches; or Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia.* Volume the tenth. Calcutta. 4to.

THE unusual press of more interesting matter from India has thrown us a little behindhand in our notice of Indian literature; and it is with peculiar pleasure that we begin to atone for our deficiency by the present article.

Our countrymen in the East, during the last half century, have surpassed the achievements of other warriors, and attracted our admiration by their military exploits; nor are we less gratified by the contemplation of a vast empire thus won by our arms, now raised by the wisdom of our councils to a pitch of temporal prosperity and happiness rarely surpassed, and we trust and hope to a progressive state of moral improvement. But in addition to these legitimate sources of national satisfaction, we have farther and more particularly now to notice the copious stream of intellectual wealth poured into the mother-country through the channel of the Indian press; and although the most important of the literary productions of our countrymen in that quarter are not within the scope of the publication which we have now undertaken to review, we may yet safely affirm, that however auspicious may have been the commencement of the *Asiatic Researches*, no reasonable mind could have indulged an expectation of their attaining the eminent station on which they now stand in the estimation of the literary society of Europe.

There are few parts of the world, we believe none, in which there are so small a number of sinecures as in British India. Gentlemen of active and available talent are selected, and very frequently on that account only, for the most important and laborious offices, which demand and occupy so much of their time, as superadded to the enervating tendency of the climate, would seem to leave them but little literary leisure. Amidst the short intermissions thus afforded, have, nevertheless, been produced works of great magnitude and importance. We may, after, call the attention of our readers to some of these works, hitherto but little noticed in this country; but shall at

present confine ourselves to the publication more immediately before us, of the tenth volume of which we shall now attempt to give some account. Presuming our readers to be acquainted with the preceding volumes, we shall indulge in no retrospect, nor anticipate farther than to state generally, that we perceive no declension in value; but gratefully recognize the same ardour of research, the same vigour of intellect, and an equal diversity of talent, which have been so conspicuous in its nine interesting precursors.

*Art. I.—Remarks on the State of Agriculture in the District of Dinajpur. By W. Carey.*

This article is, we presume, by that industrious missionary to whom literature is already so much indebted for his valuable researches into eastern languages, and for his Sanskrit and other grammars and vocabularies. To him also must be ascribed the principal share in the translation of the Ramayana, the first volume of which curious work has been for some time in our possession, and to which, on the arrival of a second, we propose to draw the attention of our readers.

In an article on Indian agriculture, much cannot be expected of a nature calculated to excite particular interest in this country; it is not, however, wholly devoid of it. The simplicity of the agricultural implements used in Bengal exhibit a curious contrast with the complicated machinery of an English farm-yard. A plate is given of these rude utensils, and we gather from it, and its explanations, that not a head of stock (save, perhaps, draught bullocks), nor a wheeled carriage of any sort, is to be observed on a Bengal farm. A pair of oxen may be purchased for six or eight rupees (12 or 16 shillings), and a plough for about seven-pence. The sickle, though "a very useful instrument in the hands of a Hindù, would scarcely be picked up by an European labourer, if he saw it lie in the road." Earth, or manure, is removed in a sort of sieve or net, composed of bamboo or twine, extended on a hoop of a foot and a half diameter, and suspended at each end of a yoke, resting on the shoulders of the workman.

A very easy process for raising water is described, and represented in the plate; the machine is called *jânt*, and it is suggested that this may be "the watering with the foot," mentioned in Deut. xi. 10. There are, however, several other methods of raising water with the foot in use in India, and other eastern countries, where the feet are used almost as much as the hands in many of the processes of labour and art. In

the Chinese pump, for instance, they are more so, and equally in the small Persian wheel. Where the water is raised by the last-named very useful machine from any considerable depth, oxen are necessarily used. With respect to the *jant*, we would recommend its introduction into some of our Cyclopedias, or works on agriculture; for although it cannot with effect lift water more than two and a half feet, it is of such easy construction and application, and so portable, that it might, we think, be of use in England, more particularly in water meadows, and in clearing ponds or ditches; and we hope that some experimentalist will try its efficacy.

Our agricultural readers, if not much instructed, will at least be diverted at the description of reaping corn, whose roots are 10 or even 15 feet under water. In such a harvest, the absence of wheeled carriages is certainly not to be regretted. The plates in this article are particularly useful: without such assistance it is impossible, even for the best description, to convey a competent idea either of the construction or comparative utility of mechanical implements.

*Art. II.—An Essay on the Sacred Isles in the West, with other Essays connected with that Work. By Captain F. Wilford. Essay V. Origin and Decline of the Christian Religion in India.*

This ingenious writer here continues the disquisition in which he has been several years engaged. Four essays on the same comprehensive subject have already appeared in the earlier volumes of the Transactions: this circumstance, together with the difficulty of connecting this with the preceding essays, the miscellaneous nature of the topics treated, and the desultory manner in which they are handled and arranged, will oblige us to confine our remarks within a smaller compass than the importance of the subject may seem to require; and to be less particular than is altogether consistent with our own wishes on such a subject. We shall trust, however, to some more connected work for an opportunity of supplying this deficiency.

Without attempting any thing like an analysis of this very interesting article, we will take the liberty of saying generally, that valuable as it is in common with all the lucubrations of its learned and indefatigable author, it would, in our estimation, be much more so, if, instead of an essay combining with the author's own connecting comment, an inseparable and undistinguishable mixture of matter from the Puranas and other Indian and European books and manuscripts, its learned author had favoured us with a faithful and plain translation of works esteemed

sacred by the Hindûs, without any interpolation whatever, but with a sufficiency of notes and unmixed illustration. So much has been promised, or, rather, perhaps, expected from the supposed copious stores of Sanskrit history, and, with some qualification, so little has been thence produced, that it would be most desirable to be possessed of faithful specimens of their contents. As to the Brahmanical works of science, we fear that, notwithstanding the magnificent prepossessions of Baillie and others, they will but furnish another exemplification of the *mons parturiens* of the fable. The asserted unfathomable antiquity of their tables and calculations are, by the proper application of rational and critical examination, brought to within a few centuries of our own times. We do not deny that the practical application of astronomical science has been at a very respectable height in India. The curious and stupendous instruments in the observatory at Varanâsi (Benares), described by Sir Robert Barker in the Philosophical Transactions of the year 1777, would alone go far to prove this fact; but it receives farther confirmation from the more recent communications furnished through the Asiatic Society. On the whole, however, we do not think we risk much in stating our opinion, that the further research of a few years, carried on with the same ardour and ingenuity with which it is now characterized, will put an end to the popular belief that profound mathematical theories have ever, in remote times, existed among the Brahmans.

Disappointed, then, as we feel on the subject of astronomy, and convinced that but little of instruction or profit can be derived from the scientific store of India, we turn with great expectation to its literature, and more especially to what may be termed its polite literature.

The Hindû theatre is extensive and various. Dramas bearing internal and almost indubitable evidence of being at least 500 years old (if not twice that age), could be adduced in proof of the early excellence of the Hindûs in that species of composition. Their heroic poetry is replete with invention and magnificent imagery—both this and the drama abound with theology, mythology, and ethics; and we may at least be incidentally instructed and amused by the combination of eastern morality with Hindû poetry.

“Whatever way,” says Sir William Jones, “we turn our eyes on Indian literature, the notion of infinity presents itself.”

More than 20 years have now elapsed since the publication of the *Bhagavat Gît* excited just surprise among the literary so-

cieties of Europe, who could not but direct their eager gaze toward the source that had produced so much more than was expected. To receive, at once, a work deeply metaphysical from a country whither we looked merely for worldly wealth, was equally gratifying and surprising; and the hope was indulged that the whole work, of which the Gīta is but a part, might be made known to us through the same channel. Perhaps the hope was scarcely reasonable. But a faithful translation of the whole of the Mahabhārat would, doubtless, if executed with the same spirit as the Gīta, be extremely valuable; and if free from all interpolation, we should receive it with additional pleasure. We have heard, with great satisfaction, that Dr. Wilkins has already translated a very considerable portion of the Mahabhārat, and we cannot but think that the publication of such a work would meet with its deserved encouragement.

While condemning (if so severe a term can be applied to our stricture) the desultory manner of Captain Wilford, we cannot but feel how open we have here laid ourselves to retort. We will, therefore, return to the article more especially under our notice, and extract its first introductory paragraph:

“It appears that long before Christ, a renovator of the universe was expected all over the world, with a saviour, a king of peace and justice. This expectation is frequently mentioned in the Purānas: the earth is often complaining that she is ready to sink back into Pātāla, under the accumulated load of human iniquity; the gods also complain of the iniquity of the giants. Vishnu comforts the earth, his consort, and the gods, assuring them that a saviour would come to redress their grievances, and put an end to the tyranny of the Daityas or Demons; that, for this purpose, he would be incarnated in the house of a shepherd, and be brought up among shepherds. The followers of Budd'ha unanimously declare that his incarnation, in the womb of a virgin, was foretold several thousand years, though some say one thousand only, before it came to pass.

“A short time before the birth of Christ, not only the Jews, but the Romans, on the authority of the Sibylline books, and the decision of the sacred college of the Etrurian augurs, were all of opinion that this momentous event was at hand. This was equally the case in the east, and a miraculous star directed the holy men, who were living in anxious expectation, where to find this heavenly child. At that time the Emperor of India, uneasy at these prophecies, which he conceived portended his ruin and the loss of his empire, sent emissaries to inquire whether such a child was really born, in order to destroy him; and this happened exactly in the 3101st year of the Kaliyuga, which was the first year of the Christian era. This traditional account is known all over India, and

is equally current among the learned and the ignorant. But the Hindûs fancy that these old prophecies were fulfilled in the person of Krishna."

The Hindû traditions concerning this wonderful child are collected in a treatise entitled the History of Vikramaditya. A faithful translation of this tract, with a commentary or notes, such as Mr. Wilford could easily furnish, would be very curious and valuable.

In another work, named Vansâvali, this wonderful person is called Samudra-pala, or fostered by the sea, and is thus noticed:

"His conception was miraculous, and in the womb of a virgin: he was the son of the great artist, and the virtue of his mother was at first suspected, but choirs of angels came down to worship her. His birth was equally wonderful; choirs of angels, with the celestial minstrels, attended on the occasion; showers of flowers fell from on high. The king of the country, hearing of these prodigies, was alarmed, and sought in vain to destroy him. He is made absolute master of the three worlds, heaven, earth, and hell; good and bad spirits acknowledge him for their lord and master. He used to play with snakes, and tread upon the adder, without receiving the least injury from them; he soon surpassed his teachers, and when five years of age, he stood before a most respectable assembly of the doctors of the land and explained several difficult cases, to their admiration and utmost astonishment, and his words were like ambrosia."

Similar descriptions occur in other Hindû books, and he is frequently said to have been the son of a carpenter. Many particulars are given by Captain Wilford, as related of Indian avatâras, that can refer only to a person infinitely superior: the coincidences are very striking, although sometimes obscured by the endless embellishments of the Hindû records, or degraded by their puerility.

That Christianity made its way to India at a very early period there can be no doubt. The gospel by St. Matthew was found in the Hebrew tongue among some christians in India in the second century. At the council of Nice, in 325, the primate of India was present, and signed his name. This indicates a considerable extension of Christianity at that period, and its progress through almost every part of India is traced in a clear and able manner by Captain Wilford, as are the causes of its decline, in the sequel of the essay under review. Many curious anecdotes are interspersed, that will amply repay the labour of perusal, but for which we cannot afford space, any more than for the interesting relation of the early communication be-



tween Europe and India, which, as may be clearly proved, subsisted some centuries anterior to the birth of Christ. The unhappy state of the east, especially of the intermediate countries between India and Europe, incident to the bloody introduction of Mahommedanism, interrupted the intercourse by means of ambassadors, or visitors of rank; and the alteration in manners diverted pilgrims from their accustomed pious journeys. Between the Greeks, Romans, Carthaginians, and Hindus, Captain Wilford shows a constant intercourse during the twelve centuries preceding the time of Mahommed. This intercourse was stopped by the overwhelming power of the adherents of that sanguinary impostor.

Some curious notices of the reverence in which the cross is held in India, with varieties of this mystical symbol engraved from Hindu books, conclude this erudite and interesting article, which we again recommend to the attention of all classes of our readers, European as well as Oriental.

*Art. III.—On the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations. By J. Leyden, M.D.*

In this comprehensive essay, Dr. Leyden has displayed considerable industry and research. He has here arranged a mass of facts and observations on the subjects of his essay, the materials for which were, he says, "chiefly collected in the course of a voyage which the state of his health caused him to take to the eastern isles, in 1805." They would have been very creditable to his industry, even had they been obtained under circumstances offering every facility of acquisition.

The languages of the inhabitants of the regions between India and China, Dr. Leyden distinguishes by the designation of polysyllabic and monosyllabic, and arranges them under fourteen denominations, offering on each a series of instructive observations, which, pre-supposing them to be well grounded (and we have not the means of detecting any inaccuracies that may exist), cannot but be very useful to those who may be engaged in similar researches. The first of these fourteen languages, the Malayan, is, Dr. Leyden asserts, obviously indebted to two foreign languages for the majority of the vocables which compose it;—these are the Sanskrit and Arabic. On this point Dr. Leyden agrees with the historians of Sumatra, from whom, however, in several other instances, he decidedly differs.

The Malayan language was among the first cultivated by Europeans in the east. The number of grammars and dictionaries that have been published of it in different parts of Europe is very great; and although we have not many translations from

it (it appears, indeed, to have few, or rather no original works), yet almost every nation of Europe has made efforts towards rendering our scriptures, in particular, accessible to the Malayan student. A list of popular works, in most of the languages that Dr. Leyden undertakes to discuss, is given, and several comparative vocabularies. He considers the Batta to be the most ancient language of Sumatra. The singularity of manners of this extraordinary race, more especially the horrid custom of anthropophagy, practised by a nation in other respects more civilized than the Malays, by whom they are surrounded, has attracted the attention of Europeans from the time of the earliest voyagers to the present, but no very satisfactory account of the Battas, as a nation, has yet been given. The best, Dr. Leyden says, is unquestionably by Marsden, in his history of Sumatra.

However difficult it may be to give full credit to such relations, it is not to be denied that the practice of eating human flesh still exists in the East Indies, as well as in other parts of the world. The Battas, just mentioned, eat their own parents! even killing them for that purpose when they become infirm. This Dr. Leyden relates on the authority of the Battas themselves, and of their neighbours; and he finds a similar custom recorded by Herodotus, of an Indian people, of nearly the same name,—probably the very race in question. A class of mendicants in Bengal, and other parts of India, are known to eat human flesh.

Of the Tagala language, the sixth that passes under the review of Dr. Leyden, it has been said by a Spanish missionary who had a minute knowledge of it, “that it possesses the combined advantages of the four principal languages in the world. It is mysterious as the Hebrew; it has articles for nouns, both appellative and proper, like the Greek; it is as elegant and copious as the Latin, and equal to the Italian as the language of compliment or business.” That such a language should be found in the Phillipines as the radical of the various tongues of that archipelago, may excite some surprise; as may also the circumstance of Dr. Leyden’s having, in so short a time, acquired a critical knowledge of so great a variety of dialects as are discussed in this essay. He points out, for instance, “the greatest defects in the Tagala grammar of Fra. Gaspar de San Augustin,” which, he says, “proceed from his not having comprehended sufficiently the original simplicity of the dialect, and from having composed his grammar on European principles, without attending uniformly to the peculiar character of the language.” Such a general assertion is, to be sure,

easily made. We do not presume to say that Dr. Leyden is wrong; the modesty with which he expresses his opinions may have some tendency, indeed, to make us infer the contrary.

We will not take leave of this learned and industrious gentleman without again expressing our admiration of the happy application of his talents in the essay before us. Eastern philology cannot but be greatly elucidated by the continuance of his critical investigations; and we notice with pleasure their promised extension; more especially in reference to the affinity between the Prakrit and Zend, which will, we have no doubt, be found close. Dr. Leyden will, we hope, excuse us for hinting that the acerbity which he has exhibited toward P. Paulinus is rather unbecoming between scholars and gentlemen. The example was, we will admit, set by the irascible Carmelite, upon whose defence we are by no means disposed to enter:—on the contrary, our indignation has been frequently excited by the monkish petulance, originating probably in envy at successful competition, which he has often shown toward some of our most distinguished orientalists. But we are indeed shocked when we see one of our own countrymen following so undignified an example. Let Ennius, let Paulinus sarcastically say,

“*Simia quam similis turpissima bestia vobis,*”—

but let not Dr. Leyden apply it even in retort.

ART. IV.—*An Account of the trigonometrical Operations in crossing the Peninsula of India, and connecting Fort St. George with Mangalore. By Captain William Lambton.*

We should content ourselves with merely extracting the title of this article, but are unwilling to pass wholly unnoticed so considerable an instance of scientific labour. In addition to a minute description of the method of carrying on this extensive trigonometrical operation, Captain Lambton has given, among other things of practical utility, an alphabetical list of the most remarkable places within the extent of the survey, with their latitudes, and longitudes from the observatories of Greenwich and Madras,—also tables of the apparent elevations and depressions, terrestrial refraction, and height above the level of the sea, of all the principal places of observation. In short, he seems to have conducted this national work in a manner highly creditable to himself and to the government which patronized it.

ART. V.—*An Account of the Male Plant which furnishes the Medicine generally called Columbo, or Columbo root. By*

*Dr. Andrew Berry, Member of the Medical Board of Fort St. George.*

It is now ascertained that this valuable plant is indigenous on the coast, extending fifteen or twenty miles inland, in the neighbourhood of Mozambique. The root is perennial, but offsets from its base are dug up in the dry season, and are held in high estimation among the Africans, for the cure of the dysentery, venereal ulcers, and indeed of almost every disorder to which they are subject. A coloured plate of the plant is given. Through the attention of Dr. Anderson of Madras, it appears to have been propagated in that settlement; but though on its introduction he was inclined to consider it as a great acquisition to India, we do not learn from this imperfect account whether it promises to fulfil such expectations. The plant seems to belong to the order Samentaceæ of Linn. or Menisperma of Jussieu.

*Art. VI.—On Sanskrit and Prakrit Poetry. By Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq.*

The design of the present essay is not to afford an enumeration of the poetical compositions current among the Hindûs, nor to examine their poetry by maxims of criticism recognised in Europe, or by rules of composition taught in their own treatises of rhetoric; but to exhibit the laws of versification, together with brief notices of the most celebrated poems in which they have been exemplified.

“An enquiry into the prosody of the ancient and learned language of India will not be deemed an unnecessary introduction to the extracts from Indian poems, which may be occasionally inserted in the supplementary volumes of the *Asiatic Researches*: and our transactions record more than one instance of the aid derived from a knowledge of Sanskrit prosody, in decyphering passages rendered obscure by the obsolescence of the character, or by the inaccuracy of the transcriber. It will be found equally useful by every person who may study that language; since manuscripts are in general grossly incorrect; and a familiarity with the metre will frequently assist the reader in restoring the text where it has been corrupted. Even to those who are unacquainted with the language, a concise explanation of the Indian system of prosody may be curious, since the artifice of its construction is peculiar, and not devoid of ingenuity: and the prosody of the Sanskrit will be found richer than that of any other known language, in variations of metre, regulated either by quantity or number of syllables, both with and without rhyme, and subject to laws imposing in some instances rigid restrictions, in others allowing ample latitude. I am prompted by these considerations to undertake the explanation of that system,

premising a few remarks on the original works in which it is taught, and adding notices of the poems from which examples are selected."

In execution of the design disclosed in these introductory paragraphs, Mr. Colebrooke presents us with an admirable essay on Sanskrit literature; on such branches of it, at least, as come within the scope of his undertaking. In the performance of this task he has evinced a degree of critical knowledge of the Sanskrit, which we may perhaps in vain look for in any other living writer.

Our limits will not admit of entering on a complete analysis of this interesting paper, which we recommend to the attentive perusal of our oriental readers; we shall however indulge ourselves with a few remarks ere we quit the subject, and with some farther extracts in elucidation of it.

We cannot but admire the peculiar brevity with which the rules of Sanskrit prosody are expressed by the adoption of single letters to denote the feet of the syllables: an artifice attributed to Pingala, an author eminently celebrated and honoured by his various and useful works; and still more honoured in Hindù estimation by deification, being mythologically represented as a serpent, and thence called Pingalanaga, in allusion possibly to the immortality insured him by his writings. The artifice introduced by him for measuring syllables is this—he puts *l*, the initial of *laghu* signifying *short*, to indicate a short syllable, and *g* the initial of *guru*, *long*, for a long one. The different combinations of these two letters denote the several dissyllables—*lg* signifying an *iambic*; *gl* a *trocheus* or *choreus*; *gg* a *spondee*; *ll* a *pyrrichius*. The letters *M*, *Y*, *R*, *S*, *T*, *I*, *Bh*, and *N*, mark all the trisyllabical feet, from three long syllables to as many short. A Sanskrit verse is generally scanned by these last mentioned feet, with the addition of either a dissyllable or a monosyllable at the close of the verse, if necessary. This may be rendered plain by an example taken from the Greek and Latin prosody.

“Scanned in the Indian manner, a *phaleucian* verse, instead of a *spondee*, a *dactyl*, and three *trochees*, would be measured by a *molossus*, an *anapest*, an *amphibrachys*, and a *trochee*; expressed thus, m. s. j. g. l. A *sapphic* verse would be similarly measured by a *cretic*, an *antibacchius*, an *amphibrachys*, and a *trochee*; written r. t. j. g. l.”

Mr. Colebrooke has annexed synoptical tables of Indian prosody, exhibiting great research and intimacy with the intricacies of the subject; and his essay is accompanied by metrical examples in the original character, translations of which enliven the usual dress of grammatical disquisition. Although not selected for

their elegance, but as specimens of metrical variety, they are nevertheless very pleasing. The first, for instance, is in the usual amusing style of playful oriental vanity.

“Thirsty and touching water to be sipped from the palms of my hands, I swear by the loves of sprightly damsels, that I will carry water in a broken pitcher for any poet by whom I am surpassed in rhymes.”

Again,—a poet describing Krishna, otherwise named Gopala, sporting with Radha and the Gopis, elegantly alludes to his amorous disposition, as well as to his being almost identified with Kama, the Hindu Cupid, whose emblem is the marine monster Makara, here rendered dolphin.

“The dolphin-shaped ring, which glitters in Gopala’s ear, may be taken for the symbol of Cupid suspended at the gate; while the god is lodged in his heart.”

This will serve farther to shew how unceasingly mythological allusions are introduced into every description of Hindu composition, and how essential the study of that branch of their learning is to a comprehension of any of their works. In that just quoted such allusions may well be expected; but they occur also in their gravest disquisitions; even in mathematical works, which are sometimes written in poeticks. The well known treatise on arithmetic and geometry entitled *Lilavati*, by the learned poetical astronomer Bhaskara, is, with others of his mathematical works, composed in highly polished metre. “If,” says Mr. Colebrooke in a note, “the reader figure to himself Euclid in alcaick measure, Diaphanes in anapæst, or the *Almagest* versified with all the variety of Horatian metre, he will form an adequate notion of this incongruity.” We wish it had suited Mr. Colebrooke to have favoured us with a specimen of this whimsical medley. His account reminds us strongly of the Loves of the Triangles.

Another example is taken from an elegant little poem attributed to Kalidasa, wherein a yaksha, or attendant of Kuvera (the Indian Plutus), is separated from a beloved wife by the imprecation of his god-master, irritated at the neglect of his servant in suffering the celestial garden to be trodden down by Indra’s elephant. The distracted demigod, banished from heaven, takes up his abode on Ramagiri (a hill so named from Rama having once sojourned on it) and entreats a passing cloud to convey an affectionate message to his wife—

“I knew thee sprung from the celebrated race of diluvian clouds, a minister of Indra, who dost assume any shape at pleasure; to thee I become an humble suitor, being separated by the power of fate from my beloved spouse—a request preferred in vain to the

noble, is better than successful solicitation to the vile. Thou art the refuge of the inflamed: therefore do thou, O cloud, convey to my beloved a message from me who am banished by the wrath of the god of riches. Thou must repair to Aluka, the abode of the lord of Yakshas, a palace whitened by the moonbeam from the crescent on the head of Siva!"

Making the air a messenger of love is almost coeval with the passion. Beseeching a cloud to mitigate the pang of absence caused primarily by Indra's elephant, contains an allegorical allusion to a series of firmamental personification, wherein Iruvat, the vehicle or elephant of the "god of showers," is himself a cloud. So we are informed in Moor's Hindu Pantheon, where (p. 261.) the name is said to mean watery. The mythological allusions of the above passage we cannot here explain: the work just referred to does it sufficiently.

"Her person is weary like bruised threads of a lotos: scarcely can the earnest intreaties of her attendants incite her to any exertion; her cheek, pale as new wrought ivory, emulates the beauty of a spotless moon."

This description of a love-sick maiden is very expressive and affecting. It is taken from a drama by Bhavaruti, entitled Mâlâti Mâdhava, of which Mr. Colebrooke has given the argument and translated some pages: they afford a gratifying specimen of the Hindû theatre, which he affirms to be the most pleasing part of their polite literature, and the best suited to the European taste. From the specimen given we are strongly impressed with the desire of perusing the whole of this "unrivalled drama," as Mr. C. terms it. The pleasing piece translated by Sir W. Jones, so well known by the name of its interesting heroine, Sakuuntala, could not but excite the desire of the learned in Europe, who are disappointed that in the lapse of so many years no other of the Hindû dramas has been published. For our own parts we certainly seek gratification in this line of literature rather than from the science or mythology of the Hindûs. Sufficient has been published of the latter; or at least, more than its due proportion compared with other branches of Indian learning. Moreover on whatever subjects our oriental scholars may favour us with their researches in Hindû literature or science, we are certain of encountering interspersed mythology sufficient, superadded to what we already possess, to prevent that all-pervading subject from falling in arrear.

The principal incident in the drama now more immediately under our notice, is a human sacrifice. On this we shall offer no remarks. It consists of ten acts, and abounds in theatrical situation and effect, concluding with a double wedding. The

general subject, Mr. Colebrooke shows, is not ill suited to the stage,—“the play, is certainly conducted with art, and notwithstanding some defects in the fable, the interest on the whole is well preserved—the incidents are striking—the intrigue is well managed. As to the style, it is of the highest order of Sanskrit composition: and the poetry, according to the Indian taste, is beautiful.”

We must now, however reluctantly, take leave of this elegant specimen of Mr. Colebrooke's taste and attainments; and we shall always be glad to meet with some of his essays in the succeeding volumes of the *Asiatic Researches*. On his judgment the British public may confidently rely concerning every branch of oriental literature.

*Art. VII.—Remarks upon the Authorities of Mosulman Law.*  
By J. H. Harrington, Esq.

Were we not restricted by obvious considerations, we could very profitably dilate on this instructive comment on Mahomedan law authorities. These “Remarks,” form part of an analysis of the laws and regulations for the civil government of Bengal, intended for the use of the students in the college of Fort William; and cannot fail of being very useful to the future, as well, indeed, as to the present conservators of the public weal of British India. Mr. Harrington is engaged in a very praiseworthy labour, interesting to the civilians of every country; but we are forced to substitute our strong commendation in lieu of the lengthened attention which, under other circumstances, we should be disposed to bestow on this article.

*Art. VIII.—An Account of Astronomical Observations taken at the Observatory at Madras; to which are added some Remarks on the Declination of certain Stars, and of the Sun, when near the Zenith of that Place.* By Captain John Warren.

Our brief notice of Art. IV. of this volume is applicable here. We must, however, add our regret to that of Captain Warren that there should be “no instruments in the Madras observatory wherewith to take accurately great zenith distances;” and we must express our confident hope that such insufficiency will soon cease to be a subject of complaint and reproach. The surmise of Captain Warren, in his last paragraph, as to the unequal effects of refraction at different periods of the night and day, is deserving of the serious consideration of astronomers; and, as he observes, “strongly suggests the expediency of farther ex-



periments for ascertaining a point, which, if established, would be highly conducive to important discoveries in an interesting but imperfectly known branch of natural philosophy."

- *Art. IX.—Translations of two Letters of Nadir Shah; with introductory Observations in a Letter to the President. By Brigadier-General John Malcolm.*

In the first of these letters Nadir gives an account of his subjugation of Herat.—The second, to his son, relates to the conquest of Dehli. Both, together with the introductory letter of the gallant Brigadier, are curious, and illustrative of the character of Nadir Shah (the Napoleon of the East), and of the history of the period to which they relate. A collection is extant of letters and original state papers of this enterprising and, for a time, successful villain, made by his favourite secretary; which is held in high estimation in Persia, not only on account of the light it throws on the history of that empire, but from the excellence of its style. From this source General Malcolm has elected these two letters; and we are glad to see a notification of his intention of communicating others through the same channel. We had marked some passages that we intended to extract for the amusement of our readers, but must be now content to refer them to the volume.

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- ART. X.—Travels in various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa. By Edward Daniel Clarke, L.L.D. Part the Second. Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land. Section the First. Cadell and Davies, Strand, London. 1812.*

THIS ponderous quarto, of seven hundred and thirteen pages, which constitutes only the first section of the second part of Dr. Clarke's Travels, is one of the most entertaining books of its size that has lately fallen under our notice. In aspect, however, it reminds us of the form and substance in which the lucubrations of Ainsworth, Littleton, Boyer, Chambaud, and other useful writers of that class have, from time immemorial, been presented to our view; but the adventurous reader, who is bold enough to attack the monster, will find him not altogether so formidable as might have been expected. To drop the metaphors, the reader will find in this book a great variety of very pleasant stories, and desperate adventures, some curious and interesting pictures, a few discussions sufficiently correct, and not too

learned for the modern taste, and in short, may be conducted with pleasure over rather a hackneyed road, by the liveliness and novelty of Dr. Clarke's remarks and information.

We do certainly think that a less expensive and majestic form would have been more appropriate to the nature of the information conveyed: for after-dinner use in an easy chair, the octavo is a much more convenient substance both in shape and weight. But when we consider the reasonable and cogent arguments which both authors and booksellers have to allege in favour of the system of quartos, we check our pen, and are almost satisfied to admit that like servants, beards, clothes, and other articles of that nature, they are a necessary though a somewhat troublesome evil.

Dr. Clarke, in a previous quarto, which it is neither our duty nor inclination to review, conveyed himself and his readers to the most ancient capital of the christian world, where we find him, at the opening of this volume, occupied in the means of gaining access, with safety and secrecy, to the recesses of the seraglio,—the vain object of the hopes and wishes of former travellers. The times were propitious for such an enterprize. “The harmony existing between England and the Porte, at the critical juncture, when Egypt was to be restored to the Turks by British valour,” gave great facilities to the execution of any project which an Englishman, *with money*, might choose to undertake. Having obtained entrance, the imperial armoury was the first object of his attention, where, to his “great gratification, he beheld the weapons, shields, and military engines of the Greek emperors, exactly corresponding with those represented on the medals and bas reliefs of the ancients, suspended as trophies of the capture of the city by the Turks.” He was, however, allowed but a transient view of these curiosities. The appearance of a boslanghy (one of the guards of the seraglio), obliged him to retreat; but the view was sufficient, as he justly observes, “to excite a belief that other interesting remains of the palace of the Cæsars might also be similarly preserved.” This conjecture, indeed, he had an immediate opportunity of verifying, for some pages of the seraglio brought him several fragments of a magnificent vase of jasper agate, which the sultan had dashed to pieces in a moment of rage, and which exhibited one of the most beautiful specimens of the Grecian art. These fragments had been sold to a poor lapidary of the city, from whom Dr. Clarke purchased them, and they are now reserved for annual exhibition during a course of public lectures at Cambridge. The vase consisted of one entire piece of green jasper agate, beautifully variegated. “The handle,” says Dr. Clarke, “is formed to represent the

head of a griffin (carved in all the perfection of the finest caméo), whose extended wings and claws cover the entire surface. The difficulty of working a siliceous concretion of such extraordinary hardness needs not to be specified; it may be presumed that the entire life of the ancient lapidary, by whom it was wrought, could have been scarcely adequate to such a performance; nor do we at all know in what manner the work was effected. Yet there are parts of it in which the sides of the vase are as thin as the finest porcelain." (P. 12.)

Dr. Clarke's next enterprize in the seraglio was of a more hazardous nature, no less than that of penetrating within the "charem itself, or apartments of the women," and the most secluded haunts of the Turkish sovereign. To this he seems to have been encouraged by the account given him by a Swedish gentleman, secretary and chaplain to his country's mission, and a friend of the principal gardener of the seraglio, who was at that time a German. The gardener and the Swede were sitting together one morning,

"When the cries of the black eunuchs, opening the door of the charem, which communicated with the seraglio gardens, announced that these ladies were going to take the air. In order to do this, it was necessary to pass the gates adjoining the gardener's lodge; where an *arabat*\* was stationed to receive them, in which it was usual for them to drive round the walks of the seraglio, within the walls of the palace. Upon these occasions, the black eunuchs examine every part of the garden, and run before the women, calling out to all persons to avoid approaching or beholding them, under pain of death. The gardener, and his friend the Swede, instantly closed all the shutters, and locked the doors. The black eunuchs, arriving soon after, and finding the lodge shut, supposed the gardener to be absent. Presently followed the sultan mother, with the four principal sultanas, who were in high glee, romping and laughing with each other. A small scullery window of the gardener's lodge looked directly towards the gate through which these ladies were to pass, and were separated from it only by a few yards. Here, through two small gimlet holes, bored for the purpose, they beheld very distinctly the features of the women, whom they described as possessing extraordinary beauty. Three of the four were Georgians, having dark complexions and very long dark hair; but the fourth was remarkably fair; and her hair, also of singular length and thickness, was of a flaxen colour: neither were their teeth dyed black, as those of Turkish women generally are. The Swedish gentleman said, he was

\* A covered waggon upon four wheels, with latticed windows at the sides, formed to conceal those who are within. It is almost the only species of carriage in use among the Turks.

almost sure they suspected they were seen, from the address they manifested, in displaying their charms, and in loitering at the gate. This gave him and his friend no small degree of terror, as they would have paid for their curiosity with their lives, if any such suspicion had entered the minds of the black eunuchs. He described their dresses as rich beyond all that can be imagined. Long spangled robes, open in front, with pantaloons embroidered in gold and silver, and covered by a profusion of pearls and precious stones, displayed their persons to great advantage; but were so heavy, as actually to encumber their motion, and almost to impede their walking. Their hair hung in loose and very thick tresses, on each side their cheeks; falling quite down to the waist, and covering their shoulders behind. Those tresses were quite powdered with diamonds, not displayed according to any studied arrangement, but as if carelessly scattered, by handfuls, among their flowing locks. On the top of their heads, and rather leaning to one side, they wore, each of them, a small circular patch or diadem. Their faces, necks, and even their breasts, were quite exposed; not one of them having any veil." (P. 13.)

This same German gardener (who, we trust, will not be in the grand seignor's service when the work before us reaches Constantinople) offered to shew Dr. Clarke the interior of the seraglio, and of the charem, provided he would come during the season of Ramadan, when the guards, being up all night, would be stupified during the day by sleep and intoxication. This offer was accepted, and the result is, in truth, of no very interesting nature; at least it has no other interest than that of originality, being the description of scenes hitherto impervious to the eyes of Europeans. Kiosks, trellis-work, lustres, arbours, ottomanes, embroidered sofas, and artificial fountains, disposed in bad taste, distinguished the sultan's gardens and apartments, to which the whole magnificence of the seraglio is confined; for we were almost shocked to find that the fabulous splendour of the charem sinks, upon ocular demonstration, into a suite of cumbrous and shabby apartments, which seem to prognosticate that their pleasures are secluded from the public eye through a niggardly, no less than a jealous spirit. The minds of the intruders were by no means at ease during the progress of this examination—a French painter, who accompanied Dr. Clarke for the purpose of drawing any curious scene that might present itself, was so oppressed by his fears that he could only take one hasty sketch, which by the way he afterwards secreted; and we have no doubt that the catastrophe related by *Le Brun*, where the detection of the curiosity of an intruder cost him his life on the spot, recurred more than once on the unwelcome appearance of the boatmen.

After these general observations we shall not be expected to follow Dr. Clarke through the bowers, palaces, and arcades of the seraglio, nor to recount his hair breadth escapes from the clutches of the eunuchs. We shall therefore proceed to the next curiosities which fell under his observation at Constantinople: These were sets of dancing and howling dervishes—conjurers who, under the pretence of religion, extract money from the pockets of the curious or the credulous, in return for tricks of the most contemptible legerdemain. Of the veneration in which they are held by persons of education, the following *Retort courtoise* upon one of them by a Swiss gentleman may give a competent idea.

“A Swiss gentleman, acting as goldsmith and jeweller to the Grand Signior, invited us, with a large party of English, to dine at his house in Constantinople. When dinner was ended, one of the Howling Dervishes, the most renowned for miraculous powers, was brought in, to amuse the company as a common conjuror. Taking his seat on a divân at the upper end of the room, he practised all the tricks we had seen at the mosque, with the exception of the hot irons, for which he confessed he was not prepared. He affected to stab himself, in the eyes and cheeks, with large poignards; but, upon examination, we soon discovered that the blades of the weapons were admitted by springs into their handles, like those used upon the stage in our theatres. A trick which he practised with extraordinary skill and address, was that of drawing a sabre across his naked body, after having caused the skin of the abdomen to lapse over it.

“As soon as his exhibition ended, we were told by our host that the Dervish should now bear testimony to a miracle on our part: and, as he had no conception of the manner in which it was brought about, it was probably never afterwards forgotten by him. A large electrical apparatus stood within an adjoining apartment; the conductors from which, passing into the room, as common bell-wires, had been continued along the seat occupied by the Dervish, reaching the whole length of the divân. As soon as he began to take breath, and repose himself from the fatigue of his tricks, a shock from the electrical machine was communicated, that made him leap higher than ever he had done for the name of Mohammed. Seeing no person near, and every individual of the company affecting the utmost tranquillity and unconcern, he was perfectly panic-struck. Ashamed, however, that an inspired priest, and one of the guardians of the miracles of Islamism, should betray causeless alarm, he ventured once more to resume his seat: whence, as he sat trembling, a second shock sent him fairly out of the house; nor could any persuasions of our's, accompanied by a promise of explaining the source of his apprehension, prevail upon him to return, even for the payment which was due to him.” (P. 47.)

We recollect that Mr. Tournefort gives a plate and a concise

description of the dancing dervishes of Constantinople, and the neighbourhood.

During the remainder of his stay at Constantinople Dr. Clarke collected some valuable information concerning the research of Greek manuscripts, many of which he himself purchased—and he has published in an appendix lists of those which are to be procured in the principal towns of the Levant. In a learned note on the modern Greek he gives an account of a dictionary of that language, published under the patronage of the Mavrocordato family, opulent Greeks of the Phanar, the part of Constantinople allotted for the residence of that nation;—of a Voyage D'Anacharsis translated into Greek—and a Virgil's Æneid, rendered into Greek Hexameters, by Bulgari, a bishop in Russia.

The following morsel is also given as a specimen of the original compositions of the present descendants of the historians of the "Bas Empire."

“ΕΙΔΗΣΙΣ.

“Ο Κύριος Καμπιόνης λαμβάνει τὴν τιμὴν τῶν εἰδοποίησιν τῶν εὐγενεστάτων κοινότητων, ὅτι ἤλθεν εἰς μὲν ἓνα μέγα σύλλογον τεσσαράκοντα καὶ περισσοτέρων ἀγαλλματων. τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῶν Μοναρχῶν τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων περικειμένων, ἐν οἷς εὕρισκται καὶ μία Ἀφροδίτη. Ὅλα αὐτὰ εἰς μέγεθος φυσικόν, καὶ ἐνδεδυμένα ἕκαστον κατὰ τὸν βαθμὸν τῆς ἀξίας τοῦ

“Αὐτὰ τὰ ἀγαλλματα παρρησιάζονται καθ' ἑκάστην ἀπὸ τὸ πουργὸ ἕως εἰς τὰς πέντε τῆς νυκτός, εἰς τὸ σταυροδρόμι, ἔνδον τοῦ ὀσπητηίου τῆς Κυρίας Τομαζίνας, ἔπανω εἰς τὸ Ἔργαστηρι ἐνὸς Κουφετιέρη. Τὰ εὐγενῆ ὑποκείμενα θέλει πληρώσῃ κατὰ τὴν πλουσιπάρουχον αὐτῶν προαίρεσιν. Ἡ δὲ συνήθης τιμὴ εἶναι γρόσι ἓνα εἰς καθὲ ἀνθρώπων.”

“ Translation.

“ NOTICE.

“ Mr. Campioni has the honour to inform the Nobility and Gentry, that he is arrived here, with a large collection of forty and more Figures; the greater part, of the Kings of Europe, and many other illustrious personages. Among them is a Venus. All these are of the size of nature; and dressed, each according to the quality of the person.

“ These Figures are exhibited every day, from the morning to eleven at night, in the Staurodromo, in the house of Mrs. Thomazina, above a Confectioner's shop. The Nobility and Gentry will pay according to their liberal dispositions; but the customary price is a piastre a head.” (P. 53.)

Dr. Clarke quitted Constantinople on the 2d March,—was wafted by prosperous gales to the Hellespont, and of course

visited the two castles of the Dardanelles. Notwithstanding the objection which M. Tournesfort makes to the story of Leander's enterprize, on the ground of the impossibility of a man's swimming so far, Dr. Clarke records a rival to Lord Byron, (who as our readers will recollect performed the feat), in the person of the imperial consul's servant, who frequently swam across in a wider part of the straits. Of the term Πλατος Ἑλλησποντος— which Homer could scarcely have applied to the straits, in its usual acceptation of the "broad Hellespont," an ingenious elucidation is offered by Mr. Walpole, and given in a note. This gentleman observes, that the proper translation is the "salt Hellespont," Πλατος, being used three times in that sense; also by Hesychius.

From the Hellespont, Dr. Clarke proceeded to the investigation of the plain of Troy, and the district of Troas, of which he has given some views and plans, that will be interesting to those who have entered, or are disposed to enter into the controversies upon the position of the spots immortalized by the first of poets. We suppose that we ought to be ashamed to confess that no speculation is less interesting to us. With all our efforts we really cannot work up our minds into a state of enthusiasm for a controversy which has no reasonable connection with the excellence of the poem it is designed to illustrate; and we trust that it is very possible, and not inconsistent with good taste, to feel the strongest admiration for the one, and the utmost indifference for the other. But perhaps after all, our predilection for pursuits connected with practical utility, although we trust they have not deprived us of our taste for works of imagination, have obtained such a preference in our minds, that we cannot enjoy speculations so entirely terminating in themselves,—and that we have as little right to question the pleasure which an Homeric traveller may feel in wandering over the Troas, as a philosopher has to doubt of the reality of the extacy of a country gentleman in following the hounds. Be this as it may, we trust our readers will accept this plea as an apology for abstaining from the discussion. And we shall proceed to render an account of a most adventurous expedition of the party to climb the snowy ridges and summit of Mount Gargarus, in the district of Troas.

During the greatest part of the year this mountain, like *Ætna*, is marked by a triple zone, one of cultivated land, two of forest, and three of snow and ice. Through the former division, and one half of the latter, the travellers proceeded without difficulty, on horseback, when they were obliged to alight and struggle with difficulty through alpine forest scenery, stones intermingled with half congealed snow, and were occasionally greeted with

the traces of wild boars, leopards, and tigers, whose skins, when taken, are a perquisite of the Pacha of the Dardanelles.

“ At length we cleared the zone of forests: all above was icy, bleak, and fearful. Our little party, by the number of stragglers, was soon reduced to a small band. Neither the Jewish interpreter, whom we had brought from the Dardanelles, nor the artist, would go a step farther. One of the guides, with Mr. Cripps, and our Greek servant, remained with me. We were reduced to the necessity of advancing upon our hands and feet, neither of which made the smallest impression upon the icy surface of the snow. Soon afterwards we found ourselves hanging over the brink of a precipice so tremendous, that the slightest slip of one of our feet would, we perceived, afford a speedy passage to eternity. Here our servant refused to proceed, and the guide was only prevented from leaving me by brandy. I therefore prevailed on Mr. Cripps, much against his inclination, to remain behind; and, by making holes for our hands and feet, advanced with the guide. The mountain has four points of eminence toward the summit, each of which is higher than the other. Our progress led us to the third of these; the lowest, except one; and this point we attained in the manner I have described. From hence the transition to the base of the second point, over the frozen snow, along the ridge of the mountain, was made without difficulty; although the slope on each side presented a frightful precipice of above a thousand feet. At the base of the second point, viewing the sheet of ice before him, my guide positively refused to proceed; and finding me determined to make the trial, he began to scream with all his might, breaking off with his feet some nodules of the frozen snow, in order to intimidate me, by shewing how the smallest fragment set in motion was carried into the gulph on either side below us. The ascent was, to be sure, somewhat critical, and could only be effected by a ladder of ice. I cut holes for my hands and feet, my face touching the surface of the steep as I continued climbing. The north wind blew with a degree of violence that made the undertaking more difficult; for my fingers, almost frozen, lost their feeling. A tiger, when the snow was fresher, had left the impression of his feet; and these marks proved a valuable guidance to me, in shewing the direction I was to pursue. In this manner I reached the second point. Still a long and laborious track was before me; but the greatest difficulty was over. I advanced with eagerness over an aerial ridge, toward the highest point of all, where no vestige of any living being could be discerned. Here the ascent was easier than before; and in a few minutes I stood upon the summit. What a spectacle! All European Turkey, and the whole of Asia Minor, seemed as it were modelled before me on a vast surface of glass. The great objects drew my attention first; afterwards I examined each particular place with minute observation. The eye, roaming to Constantinople, beheld all the Sea of Marmora, the mountains of Prusa, with Asiatic Olympus, and all the surrounding territory; compre-



hending, in one wide survey, all Propontis and the Hellespont, with the shores of Thrace and Chersonesus, all the north of the Ægean, Mount Athos, the Islands of Imbrus, Samothrace, Lemnos, Tenedos, and all beyond, even to Eubœa; the Gulph of Smyrna, almost all Mysia and Bithynia, with part of Lydia and Ionia. Looking down upon Troas, it appeared spread as a lawn before me. I distinctly saw the course of the Scamander through the Trojan Plain to the sea. The visible appearance of the river, like a silver thread, offered a clue to other objects. I could discern the tomb of Æsycetes, and even Bonarbashy. At the base of the mountain, and immediately below my eyes, stood the conical hill of Kuchunlu Têpe, on whose sides and summit are the ruins before described." (P. 134.)

Unless, as in the judgment of the Chamois hunters of the Alps, (among whom about one generation in three dies a natural death) the pleasure of an exploit is really proportionate with its danger; it must have been rather provoking to Dr. Clarke, to find, as he did by a subsequent communication with the Earl of Aberdeen, that, had he selected a more favourable time of the year, he might have visited the summit of this mountain without difficulty.

It is not to be supposed that Mount Ida, and the source of the Scamander, would be left unexplored by Dr. Clarke. He has given an animated description and an interesting engraving of this stupendous and romantic scene, where

"Xanthus immortal progeny of Jove,"

impetuously bursts in several cascades from chasms on the naked face of a perpendicular rock, surmounted by enormous plane trees, and every variety of evergreen shrub, and wild flowers.

The following reflection on the scene does credit to his heart and to his judgment. "The early Christians who retired or fled from the haunts of society to the wilderness of Gargarus, seem to have been fully sensible of the effect produced by grand objects, in selecting as the place of their abode the scenery near the source of the Scamander; where the voice of nature speaks in her most awful tone; where amidst roaring waters, waving forests, and broken precipices, the mind of man becomes impressed as by the influence of a present deity." (P. 144).

Having satisfied his curiosity in the district of Troas, Dr. Clarke re-embarked, and proceeded along the coast of Asia Minor, passing within Tenedos, Scio, Patmos, Cos, &c. to Rhodes. Having himself had no opportunity of exploring the interior of Asia Minor, he gives, in copious notes on this chapter, some observations of the Rev. Mr. Walpole, made during that gentleman's travels in the country: they are the remarks of a scholar and a man of taste; but do not appear to contain much

important or peculiarly interesting matter. Of the channel between Scio and the Erythræan promontory, which forms the western and southern sides of the gulf of Smyrna, Dr. Clarke gives the following description.

“The scenery is perhaps unequalled by any thing in the Archipelago, not only from the grandeur, height, and magnitude of the gigantic masses presented on the coast, but from the extreme richness and fertility of the island filled with flowery, luxuriant, and odoriferous plants, and presenting a magnificent slope, covered with gardens from the water's edge. Trees bending with fruit; the citron, the orange, the lemon, the mulberry, and the lentiscus, or mastice-tree, are seen forming extensive groves: and in the midst of these appears the town of Scio.

“Upon first entering the straits, small objects interfere not with the stupendous grandeur of the view. Mountains, high, undulating, sweeping, precipitous, inclose the sea on all sides; so as to give it the appearance of a vast lake, surrounded by that sort of Alpine territory, where the eye, from the immensity of objects, roams with facility over the sides and summits it beholds; surveying valleys, precipices, chasms, crags, and bays; and, losing all attention to minuter features, is occupied only in viewing the bolder outlines of nature. As we advanced, however, and drew near to Chios, the gorgeous picture presented by that beautiful island drew all our attention, and engrossed it from daylight until noon. It is the paradise of modern Greece; more productive than any other island, and yielding to none in grandeur. We passed close beneath the town, sailing pleasantly along its vineyards and plantations, and inhaling spicy odours, wafted from cliffs and groves. The houses being all white, with flat roofs, presented a lively contrast to the evergreens which overshadowed them; seeming like little palaces in the midst of bowers of citron, lime, olive, and pomegranate trees. This chosen spot was for many years the residence of an Englishman of the name of Baimbridge, who had searched all Europe for a healthy place wherein to end his days; and, although his arm was fractured at the advanced age of seventy-four, he lived in Scio until he was ninety-three. The captain of our vessel well remembered him, when he was himself only the mate of a merchantman, and his master's ship was laid up in the island during a twelvemonth. He pointed out the house where he lived, and the tree beneath which he was buried; and spoke of his residence in Scio as the happiest remembrance of his life. Indeed, the praises of this favoured island are universal in the country; and its delights constitute the burden of many a tale, and many a song, among the modern Greeks.” (P. 185).

The straits of Samos, a few leagues south of this picturesque passage, are represented as very dangerous to mariners. The Samians are directed by the Turks to erect lights for the guidance of vessels navigating the straight, and if we may be-

lieve the following story, are subjected also to a still heavier responsibility. A Turkish admiral, one of whose frigates was cast away on the rocks, insisted upon being paid the value by the inhabitants. The poor Greek islanders maintained their innocence as to the loss of the frigate, but were soon silenced by this conclusive argument; "Would the wreck have happened, if your island had not been in the way?"

At Cos, Dr. Clarke discovered a large and beautiful piece of sculpture, in bas relief, in the purest Grecian style, representing the nuptials of Neptune and Amphitrite. It had been used by the Genoese, in common with other materials, in the construction of the castle, and did not appear to be at all valued by the natives; our traveller insinuates that had it not been for a strict monopoly in the avulsion of antiques, which seems to have been established by our ambassador at the Porte in his own favour, this precious relique might have been brought home to enrich our national collections. And he utters a pious wish, that the rich and scientific travellers who are now exploring the Levant may have influence enough to obtain possession of it.

"Rhodes," says Dr. Clarke, "is a most delightful spot: the air is healthy, and the gardens are filled with delicious fruit. Here, as in Cos, every gale is scented with powerful fragrance wafted from groves of orange and citron trees. Numberless aromatic herbs exhale at the same time such profuse odour, that the whole atmosphere seems impregnated with a spicy perfume."

The party, however, "were hastening to the coast of Egypt," and therefore took but a cursory view of the antiquities of the island. Of the neighbouring island of Syme, famous for its divers, (who were successful in raising part of the cargo of the frigate which even the freight of Lord Elgin's spoils of Athens could not save from sinking) the following singular custom is related, instituted probably with a view to keep up among the islanders the excellence of the art by which they are distinguished. When a man of property intends to marry his daughter, he appoints a day when all the unmarried young men repair to the sea side, strip themselves, and begin diving in the presence of the father and the daughter: he who goes deepest, and remains longest under water, obtains the lady.

The gulf of Glaucus or Macri Bay, on the coast of Asia Minor, north-east of Rhodes, in which are seated the ruins of Telmessus, appears both from the views and the description given by Dr. Clarke to be magnificent by nature, and curious for the remains of art, which are still to be found there. "A certain vastness of proportion, it is observed, as in the walls of Delphos or Crotona, may be said to characterise the traces

of the Dorian colonies all over the coast of Asia Minor," and among them the remains of the enormous amphitheatre of Telmessus now attest the ancient grandeur of the people, and the sublime conceptions of their artists. The height of the corridor, of the portals, of the benches, and the enormous masses of stone which have withstood for so many ages the attacks of time and of barbarians, form altogether a most interesting subject of contemplation. "Before the front of this fine theatre extended a noble terrace, to which a magnificent flight of steps conducted to the sea. The beautiful harbour of Telmessus, with the precipices, and snow clad summits around it, was the prospect surveyed by the spectators from within; and behind towered the heights of that mountain, to whose shelving sides the edifice was in itself accommodated: nor can imagination picture a sublimer scene than, under so many circumstances of the grandest association, was presented to the stranger, who landing from his bark beneath the façade of this magnificent building, ascended to the terrace from the strand, and entering the portals of the theatre, beheld thousands seated within its spacious area."

Telmessus was renowned for the art of divination. Cræsus king of Lydia, and Alexander the Great, both procured their domestic soothsayers from this town; but the confidence in their auguries would have been somewhat diminished, could they have explored a cave carved out of the solid rock on the sea-shore, which Dr. Clarke discovered near the amphitheatre. The sides are of natural stone, but the back consists of masonry, stuccoed with so much art, that it presents a close imitation of the rock itself. The intention of this contrivance is too obvious to need explanation. Some of those curious sepulchres, whose mouths are closed by square slabs of stone exactly adapted, and so nicely adjusted, that the place of entrance could not be observed, and which are mentioned by Maundrel and other writers to be common in Palestine, are also found at Telmessus, with the remains of Greek and Phœnician inscriptions; but it does not appear that much information can be gleaned from them.

From Macri Bay the party sailed to Egypt. When we perceived in the title-page of this volume, that the author's researches had extended to Africa and Egypt, we did certainly expect to find something more than a mere visit to the British army on that coast, and the details of the affecting circumstances which passed there in the early part of the celebrated campaign in that country. We did not think that history wanted any fresh elucidations on that subject, and it is really very little interesting to us at this time of day, what portion of the adventurous story fell under the

personal observation of Dr. Clarke. Nor can the detail concerning "our gallant officers, mutilated, hacked, or wounded by shot in different parts of their bodies," which presented so "revolting a picture" to our fair weather adventurer, reconcile us more to the draft made upon our patience in these chapters, than the very bad taste of the terrific passages, which immediately follow. "Nor was this all. One day leaning out of the cabin window, by the side of an officer, who was employed in fishing, the corpse of a man, newly sewed in a hammock, started half out of the water, and slowly continued its course with the current towards the shore. Nothing could be more horrible; its head and shoulders were visible, turning first to one side, then to the other, with a solemn and awful movement, as if impressed with some dreadful secret of the deep, which from its watery grave it came upwards to reveal." "The shores of Egypt may in truth be described as washed with blood." "The bones of thousands yet whiten in the scorching sun on the sands of Aboukir," &c. When such scenes as these are studiously enlarged upon by persons not in the service, who voluntarily place themselves within view of the horrors of war, we cannot but consider it as a species of breach of confidence. Our soldiers and sailors are no less alive to the feelings and the decencies due to their dead companions in arms, than the professors of our universities, although dire necessity may often prevent them from being fully called into action. Surely there is nothing so extraordinary in such a sight as this on the heel of a great naval engagement, as to render it necessary for Dr. Clarke to make the ladies shudder, and the gentlemen stare, by dwelling with such a parade of feeling on so disgusting a detail. If we are justified in raking among charnel houses for subjects on which to harrow up the feelings, and to build a pompous sentence, we may fulfil this object at home, without going to the scene of a glorious engagement and associating the disgusting relics of carnage with the blooming wreaths of the warrior.

But to make some amends to Dr. Clarke for this strain of vituperation, from which we confess that we could not refrain, we will quote a passage in much better taste, and where he has done more justice to his subject; although we believe that the landing of our troops in Egypt has been before described nearly in the same words.

"Never was any thing conducted with greater regularity. The French, to their astonishment, as they afterwards often related, inste-  
 ad of beholding a number of men landed pell-mell, saw the British troops preserving a regular line, as they advanced in their boats, although the wind was directly in their teeth; and, finally,

standing in regular order of battle, under the heaviest fire perhaps ever experienced. Shells, cannon-balls, and grape-shot, coming with the wind, fell like a storm of hail about them; yet not a soldier quitted his seat nor moved, nor did a single sailor shrink from the hard labour of his oar. Not a musket was suffered to be charged, until the troops could form upon the strand. They were commanded to sit still in the boats: and this command, with inconceivable firmness, did these men obey; with the exception only of returning for each volley of shot from their enemies three general cheers, an effect of ardour in which their officers found it impossible to restrain them. The feelings of those who remained in the ships were not proof against such a sight. Several of our brave seamen wept like children; and many of those upon the quarter-decks, who attempted to use telescopes, suffered the glasses to fall from their hands, and gave vent to their tears." (P. 277.)

After penetrating into the interior of Egypt *as far as Rosetta*, Dr. Clarke re-embarked and proceeded to the Island of Cyprus. Of the moral and political state of this once earthly paradise he gives a very lamentable description. It appears that "Cyprus opima," whose plunder filled the Roman treasury; albeit well gorged with the plunder of conquered nations) more than any country over which they triumphed,—Cyprus, the birth-place of Venus, and the residence of Ceres, once replete with corn and wine and oil, and with all the perfumes of Arabia, is now justly described by Dr. Clarke in these few words. "Agriculture neglected, inhabitants oppressed, population destroyed, pestiferous air, contagion, poverty, indolence, desolation." Our countryman Moryson gives a very different account of the state of this island when he visited it at the latter end of the 16th century, about 20 or 30 years after its conquest by the Turks from the Venetians. "This island," says he "yieldeth to no place in fruitfulness or pleasure, being enriched with corne, oile, cheese, most sweete porkes, sheepe (having tails that weigh more than twenty pounds), capers (growing upon pricking bushes), pomegranates, oranges, and the like fruites. Cones or reedes of sugar (which they beat in mills, drawing out a water which they seeth to make sugar), with rich wines (but gnawing or burning the stomach), odoriferous cipres trees (whereof they make fires) store of cotton and many other blessings of nature." (*Moryson's Itin. part I. cap. 1.*) Oh! Mahomet, what a responsibility is thine!

It is at present however rich in antiquities. "The inhabitants of Larneca rarely dig near their town without discovering either the traces of antient buildings, subterranean chambers or sepulchres. Not long before our arrival the English consul, Signior Peristiani, a Venetian, dug up in one place above thirty idols belonging to the most antient mythology of the heathen world.

Their origin refers to a period long anterior to the conquest of Cyprus by the Ptolemies, and may relate to the earliest establishment of the Phœnician colonies." (P. 316.) Besides these, ancient gems, intaglios, and signet stones are frequently found and sold in some parts of the island for a few paras. Dr. Clarke has given fac similes of some of the most curious. The stones he considers as evidently of Phœnician engraving, and from the similarity of many of the letters with the Etruscan, he concludes the Etruscans and Phœnicians to have had one common origin. Dr. Clarke also enters upon this occasion into a learned dissertation on the origin of Caméos, and subjoins a curious MS. Greek Commentary upon Gregory Nazianzen, relating to a picture by Zeuxis, who, though a very famous painter, does not appear from the MS. to have possessed the true principles of good taste. This commentary was discovered by the late professor Porson, in a MS. copy of Gregory Nazianzen, brought by Dr. Clarke from the monastery of the apocalypse at Patmos; and we regret that we have not space to give it at length. The observations of Dr. Clarke upon this island are among the most amusing of the volume. He travelled over a large portion of it—explored its botanical resources, paid a visit of ceremony to the Turkish governor, and collected many gems, silver and bronze medals, &c. and some of the stones, for the production of which the island is famous, and which Moryson calls "adamants; reputed by skilful jewellers almost as precious as the Orientall." We shall be satisfied with quoting for the amusement of our readers the following description of the women of Cyprus.

"The interesting costume presented in the dress of the Cyprian ladies ought not to pass without notice. Their head apparel was precisely modelled after the kind of Calathus represented upon the Phœnician idols of the country, and upon Egyptian statues. This was worn by women of all ranks, from the wives of the consuls to their slaves. Their hair, dyed of a fine brown colour, by means of a plant called henna, hung behind, in numerous long straight braids; and, in some ringlets disposed near the face, were fastened blossoms of the jasmine, strung together, upon slips from leaves of the palm-tree, in a very curious and pleasing manner. Next to the Calmuck women, the Grecian are of all others best versed in cosmetic arts. They possess the valuable secret of giving a brown colour to the whitest locks, and also tinge their eyebrows with the same hue; an art that would be highly prized by the hoary courtizans of London and of Paris. The most splendid colours are displayed in their habits; and these are very becoming to the girls of the island. The upper robe is always of scarlet, or saffron, or green silk, embroidered with gold. Like other Greek women, they wear long scarlet pantaloons, fastened round the

ankle; and yellow boots, with slippers of the same colour. Around the neck, and from the head, were suspended a profusion of gold coins, chains, and other trinkets. About their waists they have a large belt or zone, fastened in front by two large and heavy polished brass plates. They endeavour to make the waist appear as long as possible, and the legs, consequently, short. Naturally corpulent, they take no pains to diminish the size of their bodies by lacing, but seem rather vain of their bulk; exposing their bosoms, at the same time, in a manner highly unbecoming." (P. 338.)

We would wish to recommend to the ladies of another nation where we have observed a good deal of the same bad taste, and too great a similarity with many of these pernicious habits, a consideration of the consequences naturally resulting from them, as exemplified in the following passage.

"As we rode into the town, we met a long train of women, dressed in white robes, the beautiful costume of the capital, filling the air with their lamentations. Some of these were of the middle age, but all were handsome: as they came on, they exposed their faces and breasts to public view, tearing their hair, and weeping piteously. In the midst of the procession rode a Turk upon an ass, smoking his pipe in the most tranquil manner, and wholly indifferent to their cries. Upon inquiring the cause of this tumult, we were told that these women were all prostitutes, whom the governor had banished the city, and whom they were therefore conducting beyond the gates. Their dress was modelled after a very antient form, and highly elegant: it consisted entirely of fine white linen, so disposed as to veil at once the whole figure, unless when purposely cast aside; and it fell to the ground in long graceful folds." (P. 344.)

From Cyprus Dr. Clarke returned to the coast of Egypt, and after remaining two days on board the fleet sailed in the *Romulus* frigate to Acre, with an intention of visiting the Holy Land. The remainder of the volume, consisting of 300 pages, relates exclusively to this most interesting portion of the world.

But before we enter upon any of its details, we must really present our readers with the following curious account of Djezzar Pacha of Acre, or as Dr. Clarke asserts, more correctly of Seide or Sidon. Our readers will recollect that this is the person whose fort was defended by Sir Sidney Smith, and his little band of British sailors, against all the power of Buonaparte and the French army; and that it was even after an extensive breach was effected in the main defences of the place, that the French leader was obliged to retire disgraced and discomfited from his apparently easy enterprize. It will afford some illustration to the following passage to relate a fact which we have good reason to think founded;—that even while the British officer



and the Turkish Pacha were fighting side by side against the French, Sir Sidney entertained such well grounded suspicion of the fidelity of his companion in arms, that he did not think it prudent to *drink his coffee to the bottom* during the siege. We now insert the portrait of this tyrant drawn from actual observation, and illustrated by some original information obtained by Dr. Clarke at Acre.

“His mere name carried terror with it over the Holy Land, the most lawless tribes of Arabs expressing their awe and obeisance, whensoever it was uttered. As for his appellation Djezzar, as explained by himself, it signified *butcher*; but of this name, notwithstanding its avowed allusion to the slaughters committed by him, he was evidently vain. He was his own minister, chancellor, treasurer, and secretary; often his own cook and gardener; and not unfrequently both judge and executioner in the same instant. Yet there were persons who had acted, and still occasionally officiated, in these several capacities, standing by the door of his apartment; some without a nose, others without an arm, with one ear only, or one eye; ‘marked men,’ as he termed them; persons bearing signs of their having been instructed to serve their master with fidelity. Through such an assemblage we were conducted to the door of a small chamber, in a lofty part of his castle, over-looking the port. A Jew who had been his private secretary met us, and desired us to wait in an open court or garden before this door, until Djezzar was informed of our coming. This man, for some breach of trust, had been deprived of an ear and an eye at the same time. At one period of the pacha's life, having reason to suspect the fidelity of his wives, he put seven of them to death with his own hands. It was after his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca; the janissaries, during his absence, having obtained access to the charem. If his history be ever written, it will have all the air of a romance. His real name is Achmed. He was a native of Bosnia, and speaks the Slavonian language better than any other. It is impossible to give even a detail of his numerous adventures here. At an early period of his life, he sold himself to a slave-merchant in Constantinople; and being purchased by Ali Bey, in Egypt, he rose from the humble situation of a Mamluke slave, to the post of governor of Cairo. In this situation, he distinguished himself by the most rigorous execution of justice, and realized the stories related of Oriental Caliphs, by mingling, in disguise, with the inhabitants of the city, and thus making himself master of all that was said concerning himself, or transacted by his officers. The interior of his mysterious palace, inhabited by his women, or to use the Oriental mode of expression, the charem of his seraglio, is accessible only by himself. Early in every evening he regularly retired to this place, through three massive doors, every one of which he closed and barred with his own hands. To have knocked at the outer door after he had retired, or even to enter the seraglio,

was an offence that would have been punished with death. No person in Acre knew the number of his women, but from the circumstance of a certain number of covers being daily placed in a kind of wheel or turning cylinder, so contrived as to convey dishes to the interior, without any possibility of observing the person who received them. He had from time to time received presents of female slaves; these had been sent into his charem; but, afterwards, whether they were alive or dead, no one knew except himself. They entered never to go out again; and, thus immured, were cut off from all knowledge of the world, except what he thought proper to communicate. If any of them were ill, he brought a physician to a hole in the wall of the charem, through which the sick person was allowed to thrust her arm; the Pacha himself holding the hand of the physician during the time her pulse was examined. If any of them died, the event was kept as secret as when he massacred them with his own hands; and this, it was said, he had done in more than one instance. Such stories are easily propagated, and as readily believed; and it is probable that many of them are without foundation. We must, however, admit the truth of the terrible examples he made after his return from Mecca, in consequence of the infidelity of his women. From all the information we could obtain, he considered the female tenants of his charem as the children of his family. When he retired, he carried with him a number of watch-papers he had amused himself by cutting with scissars during the day, as toys to distribute among them; neither could there be any possible motive of cruelty, even in the worst of tyrants, towards such defenceless victims. He was above sixty years old at the time of our arrival, but vain of the vigour he still retained at that advanced age. He frequently boasted of his extraordinary strength; and used to bare his arm, in order to exhibit his brawny muscles. Sometimes, in conversation with strangers, he would suddenly leap upright from his seat, to shew his activity." (P. 362.)

It is gratifying to recollect that the people of Syria have been released by his death from the iron rule of such a tyrant. Some amusing interviews took place between Dr. Clarke and this Turk, which are related in a lively manner, and a well executed engraving of the port of Acre adorns the chapter.

We now proceed to accompany Dr. Clarke to the Holy Land—the scene where the particulars of the holy and unspotted life of our blessed Saviour were transacted, and out of the bounds of which he never passed during his abode on earth, except in his infancy, during the temporary flight of his parents into Egypt; the real scene of the crusades, and the imaginary canvas on which the ravings of that noble delirium have been traced by the poetical pencil of romance. It is not surprising that a region replete with so many sources of interest should have been fro-

quently traversed and described. And the veneration for its ruined and desolated remains seems to be one of the few pious impressions which have descended unimpaired from our ancestors. As protestants we have of course ceased to pay any adoration to the holy places, but we still feel with the honest traveller to whom we have more than once referred, who "thought no place more worthie to be viewed in the whole world than this citie, (Jerusalem) where howsoever I gave all divine worship to God, and thought none to be given to the places; yet I confesse, that (through the grace of God) the very places strucke me with a religious horror, and filled my minde, prepared to devotion with holie motions."

Dr. Clarke assures us that he has "ventured to see this country with other eyes than those of monks, and to make the Scriptures rather than Bede or Adamnanus his guide in visiting the holy places; to attend more to a single chapter, nay a single verse of the gospel, than to all the legends and traditions of the fathers of the church." Now we certainly think that it was a very laudable precaution to refer constantly to the gospel in travelling over the scenes where the events of that sacred history were transacted. But surely it is reasonable to conclude that the "fathers of the church," and even that "old lady of good intentions, the Empress Helena" were not unmiudful of this obvious precaution;—and as they had the advantage of verifying the locality of the holy places by this test so many centuries nearer to the performance of the acts by which they were distinguished.—and as the interests and even the emulations of the various sects of Christians who have resided at Jerusalem, with very few exceptions, since the death of our Saviour, must have tended to preserve the knowledge of that locality unimpaired;—we cannot help demurring to the supposed advantages, which even very superior ingenuity can afford to a traveller of the 19th century, who, upon comparing the present face of the country with the account in the gospels, should presume, in important matters, to contradict the continued tradition of the preceding 18 centuries, which have wrought their changes on the objects of research. These observations are not, of course, intended to apply to the degrading mummery practised by some of the mendicant monks of the convents in the Holy Land.

On the second day's journey from Acre, Dr. Clarke and his companions passed over the plain of Zabulon, "every where covered with spontaneous vegetation flourishing with the wildest exuberance;" but entirely neglected and uncultivated through the tyranny and bad policy of the tyrant Djezzar. In the centre of this plain lies the ancient acropolis of Sapphura, or Zaph

(Joshua xv. 55.), once "the chief city and bulwark of Galilee." In the ruins of a stately Gothic edifice, called the house of St. Anne, some ancient pictures, part of the former decorations of the church, had been lately discovered; but from the account and engraving given by Dr. Clarke, they do not appear to be essentially different from the oldest of the sacred paintings, which are occasionally discovered in the ancient European cathedrals. From Scephoury, notwithstanding the rumours of plague, the party proceeded to Nazareth, a small town or village situated upon the side of a barren rocky elevation facing the east, and commanding a long valley. An engraving of this nursing place of our Saviour is given: it appears to stand in a desolate situation surmounted by romantic hills. The plague, the tyrannical government of Djezzar, and the natural barrenness of the soil, had conspired to reduce the few inhabitants that remained to the most wretched state of indigence; and to provoke a repetition of the taunting question, whether "any good thing could come out of Nazareth?" The objects of curiosity at Nazareth are, 1. A cave, the supposed residence of Joseph and the Virgin Mary; for building a handsome church over this retreat the empress Helena, mother of Constantine, has incurred the violent anger of Dr. Clarke, who even goes the length of asserting, that this good old lady would have desiccated and paved the sea of Tiberias, had not nature opposed itself to her wishes. 2. The workshop of Joseph. 3. The synagogue, where Christ is said to have read the scriptures to the Jews; and lastly, a precipice without the town, which accords with the words of the Evangelist, and proves the present site of the village to be the same with that occupied by the ancient town. The following singular scenes presented themselves during the day, which the party spent at Nazareth.

"As we passed through the streets, loud screams, as of a person frantic with rage and grief, drew our attention towards a miserable hovel, whence we perceived a woman issuing hastily, with a cradle, containing an infant. Having placed the child upon the area before her dwelling, she as quickly ran back again; we then perceived her beating something violently, all the while filling the air with the most piercing shrieks. Running to see what was the cause of her cries, we observed an enormous serpent, which she had found near her infant, and had completely dispatched before our arrival. Never were maternal feelings more strikingly portrayed than in the countenance of this woman. Not satisfied with having killed the animal, she continued her blows until she had reduced it to atoms, unheeding any thing that was said to her, and only abstracting her attention from its mangled body to cast, occasionally, a wild and momentary glance towards her child.

"In the evening we visited the environs, and, walking to the

brow of a hill above the town, were gratified by an interesting prospect of the long valley of Nazareth, and some hills between which a road leads to the neighbouring plain of Esdraelon, and to Jerusalem. Some of the Arabs came to converse with us. We were surprised to hear them speaking Italian: they said they had been early instructed in this language, by the friars of the convent. Their conversation was full of complaints, against the rapacious tyranny of their governors. One of them said, 'Beggars in England are happier and better than we poor Arabs.' 'Why better?' said one of our party. 'Happier,' replied the Arab who had made the observation, 'in a good government: better, because they will not endure a bad one.'" (P. 439.)

From Nazareth they proceeded to the sea of Tiberias, "an immense lake, almost equal in the grandeur of its appearance to that of Geneva," surrounded by magnificent mountains rising from the cultivated plains which deck its immediate borders. At the northern extremity of the lake is a mountainous territory, still called in Arabic "the wilderness," to which John the Baptist and Jesus himself retired in their early years. To the south-west, at the distance of twelve miles, lies mount Thabôr, having a conical form, and perfectly insulated on the northern side of the wide plains of Esdraelon. In a romantic nook on the borders of the lake, is seated the little fortified town of Tiberias, and near it the warm baths of Emmaus. And northward, upon a bold declivity the travellers beheld "the situation of Capernaum, upon the boundaries of the two tribes of Zabulon and Naphthali." This exquisitely interesting scene is illustrated by a well-executed engraving. From Tiberias they crossed the plain of Esdraelon, round the base of mount Thabôr, to Napolose the ancient Sichem. On the plain were encamped parties of Djezzar's cavalry, and the Arabs, whose incursions they were sent to check, occupied the mount and the surrounding hills; a trifling conflict, for the possession of some cattle, had occurred between the hostile bands a few days before. To the historical celebrity of this vast plain, the following well-wrought passage bears an apposite testimony.

"Here, on this plain, the most fertile part of all the land of Canaan, (which, though a solitude, we found like one vast meadow, covered with the richest pasture,) the tribe of Issachar 'rejoiced in their tents.' In the first ages of Jewish history, as well as during the Roman empire, the Crusades, and even in later times, it has been the scene of many a memorable contest. Here it was that Barak, descending with his ten thousand from Mount Thabôr, discovered Sisera and 'all his chariots, even nine hundred chariots of iron,' and all the people that were with him, gathered 'from the fountains of the Gentiles, unto the river of Kishon;' when 'all the host of Sisera fell upon the edge of the sword; and there was not a

man left; when 'the kings came and fought, the kings of Canaan in Taanach, by the waters of Megiddo.' Here also it was that Josiah, king of Judah, fought in disguise against Necho, king of Egypt, and fell by the arrows of his antagonist. So great were the lamentations for his death, that the mourning for Josiah became 'an ordinance in Israel.' The 'great mourning in Jerusalem,' foretold by Zechariah, is said to be as the lamentations in the Plain of Esdraelon, or, according to the language of the prophet, 'as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the Valley of Megiddo.' Josephus often mentions this very remarkable part of the Holy Land, and always under the appellation of 'The Great Plain.' The supplies that Vespasian sent to the people of Sepphoris are said to have been reviewed in the great plain, prior to their distribution into two divisions; the infantry being quartered within the city, and the cavalry encamped upon the plain. Under the same name it is also mentioned by Eusebius, and by St. Jerom. It has been a chosen place for encampment in every contest carried on in this country, from the days of Nabuchodonosor, king of the Assyrians, (in the history of whose war with Arphaxad, it is mentioned as *the great plain of Esdrelom*.) until the disastrous march of Napoleon Buonaparte from Egypt into Syria. Jews, Gentiles, Saracens, Christian Crusaders, and Anti-Christian Frenchmen, Egyptians, Persians, Druses, Turks, and Arabs, warriors out of 'every nation which is under heaven,' have pitched their tents upon the Plain of Esdraelon, and have beheld the various banners of their nations wet with the dews of Thabor and of Hermon." (P. 196.)

Napolose is the first town in the pachalic of Damascus, and the state of the country exhibited a pleasing contrast to that which groaned under the tyranny of Djczzar. "As the traveller descends towards Napolose, it appears luxuriantly embosomed in the most delightful and fragrant bowers, half concealed by rich gardens, and by stately trees collected into groves, all around the bold and beautiful valley in which it stands. Trade seems to flourish among its inhabitants:" and in the neighbouring country the cultivation was every where marvellous, affording a most striking picture of human industry; the rocks and stony valleys of Judea were covered with figs, vines, and olives; the hills laid out with gardens; the mountains divided into terraces in the highest state of agricultural perfection; on all sides were to be seen plentiful crops of millet, cotton, linseed, tobacco, and barley, exhibiting proofs of the incalculable produce which might be raised from the Holy Land under a wise and beneficent government. "Its perennial harvest; the salubrity of its air; its limpid springs; its rivers, lakes, and matchless plains; its hills and vales; all these added to the serenity of its climate, prove this land to be, indeed, 'a field which the Lord

hath blessed : God hath given it of the dew of heaven ; and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine.”

On the ancient history of Sichem, connected with the stories of Joseph, Eleazar, Joshua, &c. Dr. Clarke has an animated passage, which we regret our inability to insert for *want of room*.

A long and tedious ride with the thermometer at 102 of Fahrenheit, brought them to the Holy City. Curiosity no less than fatigue had long aggravated expectation into impatience.

“ At length, after about two hours had been passed in this state of anxiety and suspense, ascending a hill towards the south—‘ Hagiopolis !’ exclaimed a Greek in the van of our cavalcade ; and instantly throwing himself from his horse, was seen bareheaded, upon his knees, facing the prospect he surveyed. Suddenly the sight burst upon us all. Who shall describe it ? The effect produced was that of total silence throughout the whole company. Many of the party, by an immediate impulse, took off their hats, as if entering a church, without being sensible of so doing. The Greeks and Catholics shed torrents of tears ; and presently beginning to cross themselves, with unfeigned devotion, asked if they might be permitted to take off the covering from their feet, and proceed barefooted, to the Holy Sepulchre. We had not been prepared for the grandeur of the spectacle which the city alone exhibited. Instead of a wretched and ruined town, by some described as the desolated remnant of Jerusalem, we beheld, as it were, a flourishing and stately metropolis ; presenting a magnificent assemblage of domes, towers, palaces, churches, and monasteries ; all of which, glittering in the sun’s rays, shone with inconceivable splendor. As we drew nearer, our whole attention was engrossed by its noble and interesting appearance. The lofty hills whereby it is surrounded give to the city itself an appearance of elevation inferior to that which it really possesses. About three quarters of an hour before we reached the walls, we passed a large ruin upon our right hand, close to the road. This, by the reticulated style of masonry upon its walls, as well as by the remains of its vaulted foundations of brickwork, evidently denoted a Roman building. We could not obtain any account of it ; neither is it mentioned by the authors who have described the antiquities of the country.

“ At this place, two Turkish officers, mounted on beautiful horses sumptuously caparisoned, came to inform us, that the governor, having intelligence of our approach, had sent them to escort us into the town. When they arrived, we were all assembled upon an eminence, admiring the splendid appearance of the city ; and being impressed with other ideas than those of a vain ostentation, would gladly have declined the parade, together with the interruption caused by a public entry. This was, however, said to be unavoidable ; it was described as a necessary mark of respect due to Djezzar Pacha, under whose protection we travelled ; as well as

of consequence to our future safety. We therefore consigned ourselves to all the etiquette of our Mahometan masters of ceremony, and were marshalled accordingly. Our attendants were ordered to fall back in the rear; and it was evident, by the manner of placing us, that we were expected to form a procession to the governor's house, and to appear as dependants, swelling the train of our Moslem conductors. Our British tars, not relishing this, would now and then prance towards the post of honour, and were with difficulty restrained from taking the lead. As we approached the city, the concourse of people became very great, the walls and the road side being covered with spectators. An immense multitude, at the same time, accompanied us on foot; some of whom, welcoming the procession with compliments and caresses, cried out "Bon' Inglesi! Viva l' Inghilterra!" others, cursing and reviling, called us a set of rascally Christian dogs, and filthy infidels." (P. 524.)

We entered so fully into the present state of Jerusalem in our late review of M. de Chateaubriand's Itinerary, that we do not think it necessary to renew the subject in this place. Concerning the discoveries which Dr. Clarke thinks that he has made, and his removal of Calvary and the tomb of our Saviour, from their reputed localities, which have been acquiesced in for 1800 years, to a spot at a considerable distance,—we shall content ourselves with observing, in addition to our general remarks in a former page, that the whole hypothesis appears to us to rest upon mere conjecture; and, although there be neither "*impiety nor temerity in venturing to surmise*," that the hypothesis is founded in probability, we think "*the existing documents*" produced altogether insufficient to establish it; and we do sincerely trust, that this subject will not be coaxed into a controversy among the learned, who can certainly employ their time and talents more profitably to themselves and to the world.

After another long philippic against the Empress Helena and her architectural piety, to which every visitor to Jerusalem, since the days of that pious lady, is pronounced to be a dupe, Dr. Clarke describes his visit to the ordinary objects of curiosity in the city and neighbourhood: we are not aware that any thing very worthy of observation occurs in these remarks; we shall, therefore, accompany Dr. Clarke to Bethlehem, the place of our Saviour's nativity; a town covering the ridge of a hill on the southern side of a deep and extensive valley, the most conspicuous object being the monastery erected over the cave of the Nativity. An interesting engraving of this picturesque town illustrates the following account.

"The temptation to visit Bethlehem was so great, that, notwithstanding the increasing alarms concerning the ravages of the plague



as we drew near the town, we resolved, at all events, to venture thither. For this purpose, calling all our troop together, we appointed certain members of our cavalcade to keep a look-out, and act as guards in the van, centre, and rear of the party, to see that no person loitered, and that none of the inhabitants might be permitted to touch us, or our horses and camels, on any account whatsoever. In this manner we passed entirely through the town, which we found almost deserted by the inhabitants, who, having fled the contagion, were seen stationed in tents over all the neighbouring hills. It appeared to be a larger place than we expected to find: the houses are all white, and have flat roofs, as at Jerusalem, and in other parts of the country. A nephew of the Governor of Jerusalem, mounted upon a beautiful Arabian courser, magnificently accoutred, rode near the centre of our caravan. He had volunteered his company, as he said, to ensure us respect, and as a mark of the governor's condescension. To our very great embarrassment, we had no sooner arrived in the middle of Bethlehem, than some of the inhabitants, at the sight of this man, came towards him to salute him; and, in spite of all our precautions and remonstrances, a Bethlehemite of some consideration came and conversed with him, placing his arm upon the velvet saddle-cloth which covered his horse's haunches. This, we knew, would be sufficient to communicate the plague to every one of us; therefore there was no alternative, but to insist instantly upon the young grandee's immediate dismissal. However, when our resolutions were made known to him, he positively refused to leave the party: upon this, we were compelled to have recourse to measures which proved effectual; and he rode off, full speed, muttering the curses usually bestowed on Christians, for our insolence and cowardice. We reached the great gate of the convent of the Nativity without further accident; but did not choose to venture in, both on account of the danger, and the certainty of beholding over again much of the same sort of mummery which had so frequently put our patience to the proof in Jerusalem. Passing close to its walls, we took our course down into the deep valley which lies upon its north-eastern side; visiting the place where tradition says the angel, with a multitude of the heavenly host, appeared to the shepherds of Judæa, with the glad tidings of our Saviour's nativity; and finally halting in an olive-plantation at the bottom of the valley below the convent and the town." (P. 614.)

Under the walls of Bethlehem they stopped to refresh themselves with a draught of its "pure and delicious water," in reference to which Dr. Clarke gives the following ingenious illustration. "David being a native of Bethlehem, calls to mind during the sultry days of harvest, a well near the gate of the town, of whose delicious water he had often tasted, and expresses an earnest desire to assuage his thirst by drinking of that limpid spring. AND DAVID LONGED AND SAID, OH! THAT ONE

WOULD GIVE ME DRINK OF THE WATER OF THE WELL OF BETHLEHEM, WHICH IS BY THE GATE (Sam chap. xxiii.). It will be recollected, that three loyal and mighty men fought their way through the Philistine garrison, procured the draught, and laid it at the feet of their sovereign. It will also be recollected with what noble self-denial he declined the proffered luxury, and how frequently the example has been followed by other celebrated commanders of ancient and modern times.

From Bethlehem Dr. Clarke and his friends made their way, with some risk, through hordes of hostile Arabs, to Rama (see Jeremiah xxxi. 15.), and thence to Joppa or Jaffa. The road, and particularly the neighbourhood of the towns, were strewed with dead bodies, victims of the plague, which was raging with great fury in this part of Palestine. From this place they returned by sea to Acre, and the approach to Mount Carmel and the Bay of Acre concludes the first section of the Second Part of Dr. Clarke's Travels.

Upon the whole, we cannot entirely exculpate Dr. Clarke from the charge of bookmaking; a large proportion of this very large volume is the result of his observations on countries through which he made but a very rapid passage; and even at the most interesting points of which he can scarcely be said to have done more than merely to have touched. We admit, however, with pleasure, that the "*Nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*," may, with few exceptions, be applied to him; that his work is evidently the production of a scholar and a gentleman; that since his return, he appears to have taken laudable pains to enrich his scanty materials by reading, and by contributions from others; and that to those who have not made the more ancient and laborious travels in the Levant their study, who have neither leisure nor patience to toil through the pages of Tournefort, Le Brun, Spon, Wheeler, Pococke, Norden, or the French travellers, this volume will give a very competent idea of the interesting countries of which it treats. The task of reading goes off lightly, and as we have before observed, there is nothing heavy belonging to the book but its bulk. This evil is considerably alleviated by the numerous plates and vignettes (no fewer than 54) which represent the most notable scenes in the course of the travels. They have all the appearance of accuracy, and as they relate to places which few readers can hope to see, but with which all must wish to become acquainted, they impart a peculiar value to the volume.

ART. XI.—*Sermons.* By Samuel Horsley, LL.D. F. R. S.  
F. A. S. late Lord Bishop of St. Asaph. Dundee: 1812.  
Vol. III.

IF the mind is the man, then the production of posthumous volumes is nearly akin to the resuscitation of the individual himself. In an age therefore not very fruitful in theologians it was with no small satisfaction that we welcomed the publication of the two volumes of *Sermons* from the masterly pen of Dr. Horsley which preceded this. Even the skin of John Zisca fought the battles of his country, and the very ghost of his lordship is perhaps a more powerful champion of sound divinity than some of the more material combatants who have survived him. It was therefore with considerable regret that we suffered those volumes to go forth on their career without expressing our admiration of them in our early numbers. The very chariot of a hero was celebrated; and we should have felt ourselves aggrandized by making our own pages the vehicle of any portion of those of Dr. Horsley. His son, however, having now once more, by the publication of the third volume of *Sermons*, supplied us with an opportunity of pursuing the steps of his lordship, and having told us, moreover, that this opportunity will be the last we shall enjoy of contemplating him as a preacher, we of course gladly embrace it: and we feel assured that our readers will be grateful for another view of this extraordinary man—will rejoice to see even the dim shadow of the individual, whose death was mourned through all the commonwealth of letters.

In addition to this desire of doing honour to Dr. Horsley, another circumstance renders us eager to enter upon some investigation of his writings. The fact is, that though perhaps full credit has been done to their profundity and acuteness, they have never been examined in their most important point of view; viz. in their *influence upon the national religion*. The bishop has been contemplated chiefly as an insulated individual; whereas he ought to be examined as one of a species whom, in a measure, he has assisted to create. The size and distance of the luminary have been pretty accurately taken; but not its bearing upon surrounding bodies, and especially its influence upon the particular sphere in which it moves. Now it is this deficiency which it is in part the design of the present article to supply. And, moreover, as some specific remarks will be expected upon the volume now before us, and as in comparing the doctrines and the reputed character of the bishop a case of somewhat difficult solution arises, we shall

follow this order in the observations which succeed. *First*, we shall notice the present volume—*then* proceed to examine the general character of the bishop as a theologian, and his influence upon the national religion—and in the *last* place, though very briefly, attempt the solution of the phenomenon to which we have referred.

The present volume contains fifteen Sermons, of which it is no small praise to say, that they are not, as to talent, inferior to his other Sermons, nor unworthy of himself. Six of them are old acquaintances; but the editor has done an acceptable service by taking them out of their floating condition as pamphlets, and bringing them to a safe anchorage in a capacious octavo. The other nine are from MSS. in his own possession; and we have to thank him for this spontaneous circulation of his patrimonial wealth, and for thus considering the public as well as himself the heirs of his illustrious father.

The first four Sermons are on Malachi iii. 1, 2—"The Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple," &c.; they are fine specimens of that grand style of exposition for which the bishop is distinguished. It will be seen hereafter that our confidence in his lordship as an explorator, where a new ground is to be tried, or an impregnable fortress to be attacked, is not unbounded. But as he passes unassailed through the sacred territory, doing honour to the soil and erecting columns of glory to its God, it is truly delightful to follow a march so grandly conducted, and to refresh the eye with monuments so exquisitely wrought. The only point on which we presume to differ from this great interpreter in his exposition of this particular passage is, as to his conception of the "*ironical*" meaning of the words "whom ye seek," and, "whom ye delight in." Irony is very rarely, we think, employed in scripture, and perhaps never where God himself is the speaker; neither is it suited to the dignity or the solemn compassion of the divine character. It is the more remarkable that the bishop should have resorted to this supposition for explaining a passage which really presents no difficulty. The writings of the Prophets abound in such rapid and unexpected changes of person—are so continually sliding into a dramatic character—that nothing is easier to conceive than that "ye" is here used by a metabasis, and is only a sudden transition in the discourse, and that the "Lord whom ye seek," means only "the Lord," generally expected by the Jewish people.—There is an observation of his lordship's upon the translation of this passage which we think it right to place before our readers. "The word here translated Lord (says the bishop very justly) should be translated 'Jehovah.' Here then we have the express testi-

mony of Malachi, that the Christ, the Deliverer, whose coming he announces, was no other than the Jehovah of the Old Testament." He then proceeds to assign a reason for this inaccuracy of our translation.

"It is strange that this doctrine should be denied by any in the Christian church, when it seems to have been well understood, and expressly taught, upon the authority of the prophetic writings, long before Christ's appearance. Nor does the credit of it rest upon this single text of Malachi: it was the unanimous assertion of all the Jewish prophets, by whom the Messiah is often mentioned under the name of JEHOVAH; though this circumstance, it must be confessed, lies at present in some obscurity in our English Bibles,—an evil of which it is proper to explain to you the cause and rise. The ancient Jews had a persuasion, which their descendants retain at this day, that the true pronunciation of the word JEHOVAH was unknown; and, lest they should miscall the sacred name of God, they scrupulously abstained from attempting to pronounce it; insomuch, that when the sacred books were publicly read in their synagogues, the reader, wherever this name occurred, was careful to substitute for it that other word of the Hebrew language which answers to the English word Lord. The learned Jews who were employed by Ptolemy to turn the Scriptures of the Old Testament into Greek have every where in their translation substituted the corresponding word of the Greek language. Later translators have followed their mischievous example—mischievous in its consequences, though innocently meant: and our English translators among the rest, in innumerable instances, for the original 'Jehovah,' which ought upon all occasions to have been religiously retained, have put the more general title of 'the Lord.'"

The contrast of the Jewish and Christian covenants at the conclusion of the fourth Sermon is in the author's best manner.

The seventh Sermon in the volume, which is on the raising of Lazarus, is full of curious matter. It is satisfactorily shown, we think, that the Apostles are not what they have sometimes been called, "credulous men." On the contrary, it is easy to state instances of their incredulity, but not so easy to assign for it a philosophical cause. Our readers may not be sorry to receive this from the hands of the bishop.

"However," says the author, "certain modern pretenders to superior wisdom may affect to speak contemptuously of the credulity of the vulgar, and think that they display their own refinement and penetration by a resistance of the evidence which satisfies the generality of men; the truth is, that nothing is so much a mark of general barbarism as an obstinate incredulity. The evil-minded and the illiterate, from very different causes, agree however in this, that they are always the last to believe upon any evidence less than the testimony of their own senses. Ingenious minds are unwilling

to suspect those frauds in other men to which they feel an aversion themselves; they always therefore give testimony its fair weight. The larger a man's opportunities have been of becoming acquainted with the occurrences of his own and former ages, the more he knows of effects daily arising from causes which never were expected to produce them,—of effects in the natural world of which he cannot trace the cause; and of facts in the history of mankind which are to be referred to no principle in human nature—to nothing within the art and contrivance of man. Hence the man of science and speculation, as his knowledge enlarges, loses his attachment to a principle to which the barbarian steadily adheres, that of measuring the probability of strange facts by his own experience. He will be at least as slow to reject as to receive testimony; and he will avoid that obstinacy of unbelief which is satisfied with nothing but ocular demonstration, as of all erroneous principles the most dangerous, and the greatest obstacle to the mind's improvement. The illiterate man, unimproved by study and by conversation, thinks that nothing can be, of which he has not seen the like: from a diffidence perhaps of his own ability to examine evidence, he is always jealous that you have an intention to impose upon him, and mean to sport with his credulity: hence his own senses are the only witnesses to which he will give credit. I am persuaded that nothing has so much contributed to spread infidelity among the lower ranks of people, as the fear of discovering their weakness by being over credulous, and the use which artful men have made of that infirmity."

The next two Sermons are on a text which perhaps does not at first sight promise to yield all that has been extracted from it in the crucible of the bishop.—“The woman was a Greek, a Syrophenician by nation.” They are perhaps the most practical and devout in the volume. Let the bishop be heard upon a topic which, in other hands, has provoked so much censure from modern theologians.

“Such,” says the bishop, “were the sentiments of the reformed idolatress, when she had the courage to become a suppliant to our Lord in her own person; and such should be the sentiments of every sinner, in his first efforts to turn from the power of darkness to serve the living God. He should harbour no apprehension that his past sins will exclude him from the Divine mercy, if he can but persevere in his resolution of amendment. Nor is the perseverance doubtful, if the resolution be sincere: from the moment that the understanding is awakened to a sense of the danger and the loathsomeness of sin—to a reverent sense of God's perfections—to a fear of his anger as the greatest evil—to a desire of his favour, as the highest good—from the moment that this change takes place in the sinner's heart and understanding; whatever may have been the malignity, the number, and the frequency of his past crimes, such is the efficacy of the great sacrifice, he is re-

conciled to God—he obtains not only forgiveness, but assistance; and the measure of the assistance, I will be bold to say, is always in proportion to the strength of evil habit which the penitent hath to overcome.”

But we are afraid to detain our readers any longer upon this single volume. We will therefore only add, that every one of the succeeding discourses contains, among some assumptions perhaps but ill-considered, much profound and acute observation, and is richly adorned with passages of that fervent and devotional complexion so characteristic of this powerful writer. Any further criticism would forestall that more extended examination of his general merits, and influence as a theologian, which we next proposed to ourselves, and to which we now proceed.

In order to obtain a clear conception of his peculiarity as a writer, we cannot do better than *contrast his writings with the great mass of modern divinity*—with that portion especially of the public ecclesiastical stock, which is furnished by the body of divines furthest from all imputation of methodism, or any thing comprehended under any other name of like disastrous import. Such a comparison cannot, we think, if faithfully executed, be either uninteresting or useless, and may at least be ranked with the annual archidiaconal surveys of our parsonages and cathedrals.

In the first place then we should say, that the characteristic of modern divinity is a sort of *decorous feebleness and timidity*. If a difficulty is in the way, the modern divine either wholly evades it, or employs the rusty weapon of some ancient expositor to combat the monster. Did this timidity prevail only in the face of insuperable difficulties, we should think it well entitled to rank among the virtues. The misfortune is, that with many it extends to every passage of Scripture that is not an obvious moral maxim—to every biblical sentiment which rises above the atmosphere of the nursery. This abhorrence of difficulty has always prevailed in a luxurious age, and especially among those nominal saints who are of *Cæsar's household*. In the ages of Popery the Bible was locked up from the lower orders. And we lament to see that there are protestants among us who forget that in opposing the dispersion of the Bible, on account of the difficulties it contains, they copy an example set them by pride and ignorance. Ministers of the church in particular seem also to forget that by *thus withholding the use of that source of knowledge they are admitting their own previous resolution not to decypher the difficulties either for themselves or the people*.—Now feebleness can by no means be charged upon Bishop Horsley; on the contrary in the very infancy of his theological career, like Hercules, his pleasure was to strangle snakes. Nor did he lay aside his club in his maturer age. Always

on the watch for difficulty, he never hesitated to look it in the face. Where others viewed with dismay the giants in the sacred land, his resolution was to "go forward." Indeed he is sometimes chargeable with a sort of chivalrous temerity. He encounters the giant with the sling and the stone, not only where he may confidently repose himself upon the aid of God, but perhaps in cases where no such aid is promised him. Accustomed to conquer that which has conquered many, he is too apt to think that all may be subdued—that even first principles are demonstrable—that spiritual natures may be scrutinized by a material eye—that "God is not a God that hideth himself." But this romantic valour is sometimes rewarded by prizes equal to its daring. He fears not to discuss the most formidable texts of Scripture, and rarely does it in vain. The brilliancy of his spiritual weapons sheds a lustre around him. By this courage he has redeemed much of the Bible, which was forfeited by the cowardice of other theologians. He has brought much from behind the veil which was before appropriated to the high priests of literature. He has particularly called up the poor to contemplate many of those parts of that gospel peculiarly preached to them, which were before considered as removed beyond their field of vision. On this glorious topic we cannot forbear letting him speak for himself.

"It is the glory of our church that the most illiterate of her sons are in possession of the scriptures in their mother tongue. It is their duty to make the most of so great a blessing, by employing as much time as they can spare from the necessary business of their several callings, in the diligent study of the written word. It is the duty of their teachers to give them all possible assistance and encouragement in this necessary work." "The will of God is, that all men should be saved, and to that end it is his will that *all men*, that is all descriptions of men, great and small, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, should come to the knowledge of the truth. OF THE TRUTH;—that is of the truths brought to light by the gospel: not only of the fundamental truths of faith towards God, of repentance from dead works, and of a future judgment,—but of all the sublimer truths concerning the scheme of man's redemption. It is God's will that *all men* should be brought to a just understanding of the deliverance Christ hath wrought for us;—to a just apprehension of the magnitude of our hopes in him,—and of the certainty of the evidence on which these hopes are founded. It is God's will that all men should come to a knowledge of the original dignity of our Saviour's person,—of the mystery of his incarnation,—of the nature of his eternal priesthood, the value of his atonement, the efficacy of his intercession. These things are never to be understood without much more than a superficial knowledge of the Scriptures, especially the Scriptures of the New Testament;—and yet that knowledge of the Scriptures, which is necessary to



the understanding of these things, is what few, I would hope, in this country are too illiterate to attain." "Every sentence of the Bible is from God, and every man is interested in the meaning of it. The teacher therefore is to expound and the disciple to hear and read with diligence; and much might be the fruit of the blessing of God on their united exertions. And this I infer not only from a general consideration of the nature of the gospel doctrine, and the cast of the scripture language, which is admirably accommodated to vulgar apprehensions, but from a fact which has happened to fall much within my own observation;—the proficiency I mean which we often find, in some single science, of men who have never had a liberal education, and who, except in that particular subject on which they have bestowed pains and attention, remain ignorant and illiterate to the end of their lives. The sciences are said, and they are truly said, to have that mutual connection, that any one of them may be the better understood for an insight into the rest. And there is perhaps no branch of knowledge which receives more illustration from all the rest than the science of religion: yet it hath, like every other, its own internal principles on which it rests, with the knowledge of which, without any other, a great progress may be made. And these lie much more open to the apprehensions of an uncultivated understanding than the principles of certain abstruse sciences, such as geometry for instance, or astronomy, in which I have known plain men, who could set up no pretensions to general learning, make distinguished attainments."

Another quality of many modern divines nearly allied to *timidity* is *indolence*. None have such cause to fear an enemy as those who are resolved to make no efforts to withstand him. There is accordingly a languor, a lassitude in modern theologians which pervades their works, and naturally seizes upon their hearers and readers. We have read of a city where a traveller was surprised to find the people turned to stone. The traveller, perhaps, would have been less surprised, had he seen some fashionable auditories upon whom the manner of the preacher has wrought a similar transformation, not indeed like Medusa's head by alarming their fears, but by charming their consciences. But this petrifying indolence of the modern preacher is not confined to the pulpit—it has descended by a sort of gravitation to the study. It is incredible how little modern theologians have added to the stores of their ancestors. The fathers collected the materials, but the sons are for the most part too indolent to build the temple, much less to cross seas and continents in search of its appropriate decorations. Is the old translation of the Scriptures beyond a question in some places wrong? Here indeed are the suggested improvements. Does some monitor hazard an impeachment of what is really correct in the translation? Who rises to repel his attack? Do the new modi-

fications of Christianity, springing up with a rank luxuriance, demand investigation and exposure? They are met by acrimony and invective enough; but the weapons of the Christian champion hang up in the hall like rusty armour, or like Goliath's sword in the temple; or, if occasionally wielded, do little more than assail the strong points of the hostile body, while they neglect the vulnerable heel;—are powerful only to wound their friends and animate their enemies. Does the advancement of the age demand larger schemes of operation, a less exclusive spirit, a fuller recognition of what is good in others and wrong in ourselves?—We see with astonishment divines, accredited by their rank and dignity, shrinking within the narrow pale of their ancient prejudices, fighting with worn out weapons, appealing to principles upon which the mass of mankind refuse to act—resolutely stopping short and standing still in an expanding era of knowledge and enquiry.—Does the ardent spirit of sectarists require to be met by increased energy? All propositions for baptizing old societies with a new spirit, or creating new ones commensurate to our new exigencies, in the vocabulary of some who call themselves the defenders of the church, assume the frightful names of ostentation—innovation—ruin.—Dr. Horsley was certainly not one of these sleeping sentinels of the church: his activity indeed was chiefly that of mind; but then it extended to all “things new and old.” On every great subject his voice was to be heard: that voice which

—“its liveliest pledge

Of hope in fears and dangers, heard so oft  
In worst extremes, and on the perilous edge  
Of battle when it raged, in all assaults  
Its surest signal.”

*Par. Lost, (Book i. L. 275.)*

—He defined the errors of sects, and struck the balance between contending parties. His treatment of a single text may be taken as a specimen of his general industry. He searched into every corner as if that were the whole; and examined the whole as if that were but a corner. Intending to write a single sermon on a single verse, he finds so much to examine and to say, that he writes three sermons on the same topic. What a lesson is this to the *minores gentes* of theology! How wide the interval between these superficial labourers, and a Horsley toiling in the mine of theology.

A third sister defect of too many modern divines, is a *want of learning*; we say a sister defect, for the idle will almost necessarily be ignorant. Letters have many debts to religion. When the star of literature threatened to disappear in the dark ages, it

yet continued to linger for a while upon the horizon of the church. And in like manner religion has large debts to literature; for the Reformation originated under God, with that body of the clergy who had not bowed the knee at the altar of ignorance. For a short period subsequent to the Reformation, the disputes with the Church of Rome secured the watchful preservation of that instrument by which the Reformers had won their first conquests.—And at this period the Church of England furnished her full quota of men of letters.—But after a time, when the toils of battle were exchanged for the ease of victory, the instrument of their success was laid aside, and the learning of the establishment since that period has gradually declined; though some honourable exceptions may be pointed out,—and a Taylor, a Barrow; a Newton, a Lowth, and a Warburton, by the united force of their genius and industry rose above the level of their days, and reminded their contemporaries of more learned ages. Yet these are a few single vessels on the bare expanse of an almost unfrequented ocean. It is well indeed for us that learning has a sort of perpetuity attached to it; that, as the moon on the tides, its influence is felt after it has ceased immediately to act; otherwise the effects of modern ignorance would, we are convinced, even now extensively appear. But the fact is, that others have laboured, and we, fortunately for the church, enter into their labours. Poor in ourselves, we live upon our ancestors; we have the privilege of rifling the hive which they have stored. But the consequences of our diminished learning must after a time display themselves. As the mere name of ancient Rome, which for a season lent terror to the emasculate legions of her latter Emperors, at length failed to sustain the armies which could not sustain themselves; so there is a limit beyond which our ancient learning will not uphold us. Fresh heresies, and enemies may arise, that must be met on new grounds, and combated with new weapons; and if so, where are the champions of the establishment to be found? It might be invidious to name the few living warriors and prophets who must “stand in the breach,” and “stay the plague.” But this we may say, that while Dr. Horsley lived, he was in this respect a tower of strength to a falling cause; his literature was varied, accurate, extensive; his controversy with Dr. Priestley, which first introduced him upon the arena of the church, is among the most brilliant and decisive of polemical achievements; all his writings indicate his extensive reading. As Homer is said to have killed all his heroes scientifically, the Bishop borrows no illustration, and employs no imagery without letting us feel that he is familiar with the art or science from which he borrows. He seems to have felt, that what Johnson

describes as the qualifications of a poet, were those of a divine; and he lays every other science under contribution to adorn that of which he was especially the guardian and the teacher.

Another defect which we should feel disposed to charge upon many modern divines, is a want of candor towards their adversaries. Let us not be thought to confound candor and latitudinarianism. There is a wide distinction between indifference to truth, and bigotry upon points, if not of doubtful, yet at least of difficult decision. There is much coldness in the age; but, just as things chilled will least bear the fire, so these benumbed advocates are readily chafed into very flaming polemics. Not being Calvinists ourselves, we may surely be considered as fair judges of the adherence to the laws of legitimate warfare maintained by the Arminian body of Churchmen towards their calvinistic brethren. And we are compelled to admit that the ritual of the tournament has been violated at almost every point. The discriminating shades of sentiment have been unnoticed; the reluctant neutral has been forced upon calvinistic ground; the Calvinist has been stretched to an Antinomian; men have been charged with holding the disowned consequences of their own opinions; the pilgrim stopping resolutely in the mere porch of predestinarianism has been dragged up to the very altar. Nor can we by any means acquit the calvinistic combatants of similar bigotry. Many of these exclusively identify their own system with Christianity. Because their adversaries deny the doctrines of partial grace, they charge them with disparaging the grace of God altogether. Arminianism is confounded with Pelagianism; and the disbeliever in decrees is made to teach that man is his own redeemer. It is true, indeed, that with all this bigotry there is in modern controversy a delicacy of manner unknown to the older soldiery. But we know not that it is much more satisfactory to be blown to pieces from a masked, than from an open battery; or to be punctured by a rapier than knocked down by a bludgeon. And as to the rest, modern polemics use their own weapons with quite as little mercy or hesitation as their predecessors. Here again we stop to observe, that Bishop Horsley has in general risen above the infirmities of his age. It is true that he is what Johnson calls a "good hater," by which is meant, we fear, an implacable enemy; it is true also, that now and then a sudden burst of intolerance overwhelms his better judgment; but, in the main, he is a philosophical, and a candid, and an enlightened adversary. And lest our readers refuse to take our word for it, we extract for their conviction the language in which he, an avowed Arminian, speaks of the calvinistic controversy.

"Any one may hold all the theological opinions of Calvin, and

and extravagant as some of them may seem, and yet be a sound member of the Church of England and Ireland; certainly a much sounder member than one, who, loudly declaiming against those opinions, which, if they be erroneous, are not errors that affect the essence of our common faith, runs into all the nonsense, the impiety, the abominations, of the Arian, the Unitarian, and the Pelagian heresies, denying in effect 'the Lord who brought him.'

Again, he says, "take especial care, before you aim your shafts at Calvinism, that you know what is Calvinism and what is not: that in that mass of doctrine, which it is of late become the fashion to abuse under the name of Calvinism, you can distinguish with certainty between that part of it, which is nothing better than Calvinism, and that which belongs to our common christianity, and the general faith of the reformed churches; lest when you mean only to fall foul of Calvinism, you should unwarily attack something more sacred and of higher origin. I must say, that I have found great want of discrimination in some late controversial writing, on the side of the church as they were meant to be, against the Methodists; the authors of which have acquired much applause and reputation, but with so little real knowledge of their subject, that give me the principles upon which these writers argue, and I will undertake to convict, I will not say Arminians only, and Archbishop Laud, but upon these principles I will undertake to convict the Fathers of the Council of Trent of Calvinism. So closely is a great part of that which is now ignorantly called Calvinism interwoven with the very rudiments of christianity. Better were it for the church if such apologists would withhold their services.

"Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis."

"If ever you should be provoked to take a part in these disputes, of all things I entreat you to avoid, what is now become very common, acrimonious abuse of Calvinism and of Calvin. Remember, I beseech you, that some tenderness is due to the errors and extravagancies of a man, eminent as he was in his day for his piety, his wisdom, and his learning, and to whom the reformation in its beginning is so much indebted."

Another feature of a large body of modern divines is the *exclusion, or the too faint exhibition in their writings of those parts of our religion which peculiarly deserve the name of "Evangelical."* We are now using the word in its only legitimate sense, as a designation of that portion of religion which is either revealed to us by Christ, or which is more especially connected with his advent. Our pages have already supplied a sketch of the means by which the successors of the Puritans in this country, flying at once to the antipodes of their adversaries, banished the doctrines of the atonement, of the converting influence of the Holy Spirit, of justification by faith alone, from most of the pulpits of the land. Christianity was indeed professed; but, in their haste to extinguish all the false fires lighted by the Puritans upon the na-

tional altar; much of the real light, the vivifying flame of true religion was extinguished. They kept the temple, but in a degree banished the God of the temple. The "ambassadors of Christ" dwindled into the ministers of natural religion;—or the representatives of Pagan philosophy to a Christian people. It is true, that when the crisis of antipathy to puritanism was over, those doctrines which had fallen a victim to it were suffered to re-appear in many of our pulpits; though even then scarcely, if we may so say, without their *keepers*. And to this moment these high truths feel the fatal influence of the usurpation; are visited with the crimes of Cromwell; are associated in the minds of many loyal churchmen with laxity of morals, with republicanism, with anarchy. Many of our episcopal and diaconal charges, and much of the artillery of the Bampton lectures, &c. &c. is levelled at them, under disguised names. Many also of our commentators, instead of catching the spirit of the first followers of Christ; instead of evangelizing the law; instead of discovering Christ in passages which in their first sense relate to secular events; instead of heeding the eloquent council of Bossuet—*"Ubi talia legeris tu mihi fac cogites non arcam, fragile lignum, aut tabernaculum contactum pellibus, non urbem lapidibus compositum, non templum divinæ majestati augustum; sed Christi et ecclesiæ sacramenta, sed vivos lapides, sed ipsam Eucharistiam præsentis Dei testem"*—instead of illuminating the shadows of the first dispensation by the light of the last—secularize and legalize what is manifestly spiritual and evangelical, degrade the gospel into a sort of modified Judaism; restore the veil that is removed; and, if we may so say, stiffen christianity into a religion of mere ordinances. It would require a volume instead of a few desultory pages to shew the extent of this evil. Suffice it to declare, in pursuance of our general scheme in this article, that Bishop Horsley in no way shares the guilt of this last and leading offence against scriptural truth. He is truly an evangelical divine. His volumes of sermons are chiefly pointed at the class of commentators above described; he reminds us of the Roman Emperor pleading for the admission of the image of Christ into the Capitol, and they of the priests who refused its admission. Let our readers, in proof of this testimony to the Bishop, cast their eyes upon the first sermons of this volume, and upon the exposition of the 45th Psalm, in vol. 1. Or if they will not be persuaded to go in quest of proof upon this point, let them now hear the Bishop address his clergy upon the duty of dwelling even in the poorest congregation upon those doctrines exclusively christian.

"I am aware, that it has been very much the fashion to suppose

a great want of capacity in the common people, to be carried any great length in religious knowledge, more than in the abstruse sciences. That the world, and all things in it, had a Maker; that the Maker of the world made man, and gave him the life which he now enjoys; that he, who first gave life, can, at any time, restore it; that he can punish in a future life crimes which he suffers to be committed with impunity in this; some of these first principles of religion, the vulgar, it is supposed, may be brought to comprehend. **But** the peculiar doctrines of revelation, the trinity of persons in the undivided Godhead, the incarnation of the second person, the expiation of sin by the Redeemer's sufferings and death, the efficacy of his intercession, the mysterious commerce of the believer's soul with the divine spirit; these things are supposed to be far above their reach.

“ If this were indeed the case, the condition of mankind would indeed be miserable, and the proffer of mercy in the gospel, little better than a mockery of their woe. For the consequence would be, that the common people could never be carried beyond the first principles of what is called Natural Religion. Of the efficacy of natural religion as a rule of action the world has had the long experience of 1600 years: for such was the interval between the institution of the Mosaic Church, and the publication of the Gospel. During that interval, certainly, if not from an earlier period, natural religion was left to try its powers on the heathen world. The result of the experiment is, that its powers are of no avail. Among the vulgar, natural religion never produced any effect at all: among the learned much of it is to be found in their writings, little in their lives. **But** if this natural religion, (a thing of no practical efficacy, as experiment hath demonstrated,) be the utmost of religion which the common people can receive, then is our preaching vain, Christ died in vain, and man must still perish. Blessed be God, the case is far otherwise.”

In another part the Bishop thus continues. “ That man is justified by faith without the works of the law, was the uniform doctrine of the first reformers. It is a far more ancient doctrine: it was the doctrine of the whole college of apostles. It is more ancient still: it was the doctrine of the prophets. It is older than the prophets: it was the religion of the patriarchs. And no one, who hath the least acquaintance with the writings of the first reformers, will impute to them, more than to the patriarchs, the prophets, or apostles, the absurd opinion, that any man leading an impenitent, wicked life, will finally, upon the mere pretence of faith, (and faith connected with an impenitent life must always be a mere pretence) obtain admission into heaven: Whether our Met'odists are justly chargeable with this Antinomian doctrine, is what I will not take upon me to decide; I would charitably hope, that it is to be found only in the language of the more illiterate of their teachers. Whether they be justly charged with it or no, it is your duty to be careful, that, in your anxiety to expose this folly, you yourselves run

not into the opposite extreme of the Pelagian heresy. Be careful that you ascribe no such merit to the good works of men as may claim immortality, as the wages of a service: that you ascribe no power to man to perform works truly good, without the assistance of the Divine Spirit. But then, be careful, on the other hand, to explain on what ground merit is denied to the best works of the faithful. It is not that the works in themselves are not good: such as being well done, would be meritorious; such, that the leaving of them undone, or the doing of them with negligence or indifference, while we profess to be believers, is a deceiving of our own souls. But the want of merit lies in the imperfection and deficiency of our best performances. And remember always to inculcate, that in this respect our faith is no less defective than our works: that it is not by the *merit* of our faith, more than by the *merit* of our works, that we are justified: that there is, indeed, no hope for any merit of our own, but through the efficacy of our Lord's atonement. For that we are justified by faith, is not on account of any merit in our faith, but because faith is the first principle of that communion between the believer's soul, and the Divine Spirit, on which the whole of our spiritual life depends. These doctrines are delivered with admirable perspicuity and precision in the homilies of our church upon these subjects: the 'miserly of all mankind;' 'the salvation of mankind by Christ;' 'the true, lively, and Christian faith;' and 'good works annexed to faith.' These discourses I would earnestly recommend to your frequent study, as an unexceptionable summary of doctrine upon these important points, and an excellent model of composition for popular instruction."

This, we are persuaded, is the truth; and, according as the clergy do or do not obey this episcopal mandate, will the church flourish or decay. But this leads us to another topic of the inquiry we proposed to ourselves; viz. the *actual influence* of the *writings* of this *distinguished man* on the *national religion*.

Till the time of Horsley, many, even devout men, infected by the national epidemic to which we have referred, felt a sort of suspicion of the evangelical doctrines. Indeed the principal and most obvious media, independent of scripture, through which they were likely to behold them, those of puritanism and methodism, were not calculated to present them in the most attractive form to sound churchmen. They saw them indeed, but with anxiety or enthusiasm in their train. But when rescued from their uscoath or filthy companions, these doctrines were displayed to the world by the masterly and philosophical hand of a Horsley; men began to discover how just were many of those charges of apostasy from the principles of the reformation levelled at us by our enemies. Such, if on such an occasion the testimony of an individual may be heard, was the influence of the *Bishop's writings* upon the author of these pages; and such, it may



be believed, was their operation upon thousands. The philosopher and divine equally discovered in those now comparatively neglected doctrines, the once moving force of the reformation; the present powerful engine of methodism and dissent; and finally, the only power by which the hearts of nations or of individuals are to be attracted and impelled to their proper centre. They saw in these principles a sort of plastic soul which would at once consolidate and quicken the mass. They perceived in them a divine energy, which entering like the prophet into the valley of bones, would collect the scattered members of the church, refix them in the mutilated body, and at once unite them to God, and to one another. By degrees these principles have found apostles in various quarters of the land; in the senate; in the pulpit; in the universities; on a portion at least of the episcopal bench; amidst (for from such a catalogue it would be a stain on the national character to exclude Hannah More) the almost sainted rocks of Cheddar. We do not mean to say that the Bishop is the sole father of this reform, or that if he were so, the children have in no instance surpassed the achievements of the parent. But we do mean to say, that although several fathers in Israel seemed as it were by a contemporaneous effect of nature and grace to arise; there is, perhaps, no individual who has done more to direct and to fix the sentiments of this body of men than Bishop Horsley. When men, abandoning the formularies of the church, those unchanging records of the faith of our ancestors, those great and sacred charters by which our creed and our privileges are transmitted to us, appeal to the "new lights of modern days;" the genuine disciple of the reformation rejoices to point to this great luminary, in whose presence those lesser lights, if lights they can be called, utterly vanish. The advocates of the sound doctrines of christianity appeal, with the scriptural to scripture; with the churchman to the formularies of the church; and with the noisy disciples of modern polemics to Bishop Horsley. If denied the shelter of the altar and the church, they are glad to take refuge under the mitre. And here, happily it is found, that the weapon of controversy does not reach the shield. Whether it is that the polemic fears the consecrated sword of episcopacy; or, that by some miraculous process, an orthodox churchman cannot discover those errors in a bishop which he so fiercely vituperates in every one else; certain it is, that Bishop Horsley is anxiously claimed by all parties, while he is the exclusive property of one. We believe that a large proportion of those who are opprobriously designated evangelical divines would rejoice to employ him as the Aaron of their body, and since they dare not speak themselves, to constitute him,

as far as doctrines are concerned, their ambassador to the world.

There is a topic on which we feel ourselves compelled, as we intimated in the outset, to touch in conclusion. The religious principles of Dr. Horsley appear to us to be the legitimate transcripts of the Bible. Parts of his writings are highly spiritual; parts, perhaps, approach even to the over-rectified system of Hutchison; the whole string of them is, as it were, occasionally and splendidly beaded by practical and hortatory passages. But it is undeniable, that with all these excellencies, his writings are also characterized by certain defects. They are occasionally, for instance, disfigured by strokes of intolerance, dogmatism, impatience, and pride. His giant strength is often exhausted in interminable and sometimes not very important controversies about inexplicable texts. The very noblest occasions of exhortation are wasted. And if report (certainly at no time a friend to dignitaries) may be credited, the life and temper of the Bishop had received no very decisive character from the deeply devout and self-denying doctrines which he taught. This is a phenomenon not unworthy of the attention of a philosopher; and, however we may seem to be occupying for a moment the cathedra of the preacher, we may, perhaps, without offence, attempt a solution of it. There is a light then in religion which is diffused altogether from the torch of science. There is another light, which is nothing short of a divine irradiation. The first is the effect of study; the last of devout prayer. He who possessing facilities for both, seeks only the last, will probably be an enthusiast; he who either over-estimates, or practically disparages the last, will more or less, we fear, approach the celebrated individual whose work is before us. Dr. Horsley himself maintained that learning in these latter ages was designed, and was able to confer all the benefits upon the church, bestowed in its infant state by the miraculous gifts. Now, although we deem this proposition too broad, even what has now flowed from our pen may be taken in evidence, that we are among those who esteem it an imperious duty to employ sound learning to help us through the difficulties of theology; still we are no such idolators of literature as to worship her blindfold, or to invest her with the omnipotence that some of her followers would ascribe to her. Learning can do much, but she can by no means do all. She may, as it were, mould the inert form of the theologian; but she cannot climb to heaven and bring down the sacred spark, by which alone it is to be animated. And when any invader re-attempts the Promethean theft, it is no useless theme to seize again the lyre and sing,

*"Caucaseus—volucres, furtumque Prometheus."*

While then we contemplate in Bishop Horsley a great example to his country, let us take care to profit by the whole of his example; let him instruct us at once in two great lessons;—The power, and the weakness of human learning. Literature, without piety, is like the second Temple. It is noble in its elevation, but wants the Shechinah,—the sacred symbol of the divine presence.

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ART. XII.—*The Works of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke.* Vol. V. Quarto; Miscellaneous. Printed for F. C. and J. Rivington. 1812.

“To deal in works and acts, which are matters rather of progression and proficience, than of magnificence and memory; to endow the world with sound and fruitful knowledge; and to be conversant not only in the transitory parts of good government, but in those acts also which are in their nature permanent and perpetual,” were, in the esteem of Lord Bacon, the noblest exercise and employment of man. In adopting this test of merit, and applying it to Mr. Burke, we find him not inferior to Lord Bacon’s standard of worth and usefulness.

It rarely happens that minds possessing the faculty of philosophic and speculative disquisition, are endued also with the qualities required for public business. The tranquil exertions of the closet or academy, are soon choaked with the dust of the camp, or stuned with the clamour of the forum. And of still rarer felicity is that conspiracy of good luck which so shapes the course of an individual in whom the talents of the scholar, the philosopher, and the statesman, are united, as to afford them equal culture, and equal opportunity of display.

With respect to the late Mr. Burke, every circumstance, with and without, lent its aid in building up his greatness. Equally constituted for reflection and for action, it was his happiness to be allowed full time for treasuring matter for contemplation, and for completing the costly apparatus of his in-



tellect before study was swallowed up in business. Born to no expectancy but what depended upon himself, to deserve eminence seemed the only way to obtain it. The mediocrity of his beginning saved him from a premature trial of his strength. He cultivated philosophy, not as the decoration, but as the constituent of greatness,—as the end and not the means: not merely to shine but to live by it: and the use for which he designed it would not suffer him to be superficial. His youth was a protracted season of preparation, neither immersed in business, nor lost in abstractions, devoutly inquisitive after truth, and full of the sober and serious purposes of utility. The world lay before him with all its glittering possibilities, but it presented to him no prospects of succession or of easy acquisition. He had no part in its allotments. His ability and industry were his only titles. Honour and dignity to him were matters not of claim but of achievement. Difficulty was his severe instructor; and, to use his own unrivalled phraseology, it was his glory to overcome the first difficulty, and to turn it into an instrument for making new conquests over new difficulties, for extending the empire of science, and for pushing forward beyond the reach of his original thoughts the landmarks of the human understanding itself.

Mr. Burke had no advantage from school connections. He owed nothing to that wretched speculation which parents are not ashamed of avowing, as the motive to their preference of public education. He was his own early patron; the first and great founder of his own fortunes. His courage rested on the conscious testimonies of his own bosom, and that manly self-confidence which his first essays taught him to repose in the auguries of his own portentous genius. He came into this country accredited only by his personal recommendations: like some stranger knight he burst into the lists, and carried off the prizes of the tournament before the device of his armour could be observed.

We have before remarked, that it was fortunate for Mr. Burke that patronage did not anticipate his struggles, and pioneer his way to preferment. It was equally a part of his good fortune that, when arrived at the full maturity of his pretensions, the powerful were not insensible to the glory of assisting him. To follow his bright career and blazon his achievements in the parliamentary and political wars in which it was his fate to be engaged; to detail the long series of his services, the vicissitudes of his success, his occasional errors, his constant vigour, his inexhaustible energy, that yielded neither to age nor to the fatigues of a long day, does not, it may be thought, come early within the

scope of the present opportunity. The posthumous volume which now lies before us, introduces us only to the shade of this great man. His image is restored to us faintly and pensively, by these relics of his mind. Sensations like those which are apt to be felt in opening the letters of a lost friend, bring him back to our converse with a sort of freshness in the illusion that borders upon reality. As we are among those who love the memory of Mr. Burke, we cherish these illusions, and are glad to be helped in bringing him home to our thoughts by fresh transcripts of his great intellect. In commenting on the contents of this new volume, which, with an indiscriminating avidity that we scarcely know how to condemn, have been scraped together from every corner, we shall yield to the propensity which such a review naturally excites to range over the monuments of his tutelary genius.

After perusing the present volume, our minds were occupied with various impressions. We could not quite approve of that anxious raking into papers, which seems to know no bounds, and to promise no end so long as there remains a syllable of Mr. Burke unpublished. And we cannot but regret that these additional papers could not be accompanied with a more explicit account of the times of their being composed, and the occasions of composing them. Such information was the more wanted, as they are necessarily out of their chronological order. We say *necessarily*, because, we presume, that those which from their rough and unfinished state in the MSS. required most time for preparation, have, on that account, been last produced to the world. We feel, however, a strong conviction, that if the author had been consulted whether, in case of his not living to reduce to a correcter form some of the pieces which are presented in this volume, he would have chosen to have them printed after his death, he would have unhesitatingly declared his dissent. And this opinion we found upon his well known anxiety for correctness and precision, both in the matter and the manner, verging even upon fastidious refinement.

How far this probable feeling of an author is to be taken as a criterion for determining the propriety of a posthumous publication of his manuscripts, it may be difficult to decide; but it should at least, be given to this consideration, before we do violence to the defenceless dead, before we discover their private thoughts, and expose them to the dissection of criticism, or the gratification of irreverent curiosity. We justify the posthumous publication of that which was not completed by the writer himself for publication, two things it

least ought to be well ascertained; first, that the honour of the deceased is secure, and secondly, that the wrong, if any, to his reputation, bears but a small proportion to the value of the communication.

We make due allowance for the prejudice of habitual admiration. But we cannot help thinking that the rough draught of the sketch of the negro code, and the hints for the essay on the drama, which are evidently only first thoughts, mere scouts sent out to reconnoitre the ground for encampment, might have been spared from appearing in the train of the conqueror.

Having said thus much on that part of the present publication, which, we cannot but think, stands on a doubtful policy, and a doubtful warrant, we hasten to express our gratitude to the respectable editor for putting us in possession of so many new sources of instruction and delight. Within these few years the country has lost so much ability,—so many of the tallest cedars of the grove have perished under the inexorable stroke, that we naturally cling to whatever yet remains of the vestiges of departed excellence. To the political writings, in particular, of the late Mr. Burke, we turn with increasing fondness. Besides their superlative merit, age, that usually destroys the value of works which the passing events have produced, has shed lustre upon his permanent reflections; and crowned them with the wreath of victorious truth. His prophecies are daily receiving their fulfilment, and time is doing homage to the wisdom of his calculations.

So great, indeed, is our admiration of the man, that we cannot fix our minds upon his production which now lies before us, without allowing a few moments to a general view of his course of political action, and the influence of his intellectual operations.

Whatever fate may yet attend us, no period of our history, past or to come, has exceeded, or can well exceed, in interest, that portion of it over which the political life of Mr. Burke extended. His powers, great as they were, found enough in the circumstances of the country, and enough in the rivalry of living talent, to provoke them to their fullest exertion. An era of eloquence new to the nation was opening just at the moment in which he made his appearance. Great constitutional questions concerning the privileges of the lower House, the breach with America, the dubious policy of our Indian management, the troubles of the Regency, and lastly the disorganization of the world consequent upon the French revolution, were events which successively employed the faculties of Mr. Burke.

and stretched the line of his reasoning and research. Great events may not create, but they will always excite, ability. To a certain degree they may be said to *create*, by calling dormant powers into operative existence. But the intellects of those rare persons who stand so eminent above the rest of their species, and are so thinly scattered over centuries, cannot be the creatures of circumstance and contingency; nor, indeed, of any thing less than that disposing power which determines, as it brings us into being, the measure of our competency, be it small or great. That sometimes these great men appear in clusters, is a fact not very easy to be accounted for by any philosophical analogies. The attraction of example has undoubtedly a great effect. By the conspicuous success of one original genius congenial abilities are prompted to action. The greatness of Garrick, in his department, was the nurse of the capacity of others, which, but for his example, might never have reached its maturity. He formed, therefore, an æra of the stage. And thus the orators, and philosophers of antiquity, were for the most part trained to certain original models, which forced their audacious way into unknown regions of excellence. Perhaps it is not too much to say of Mr. Burke, that he became the parent of excellence in others—the master of a school of eloquence. One of the greatest of the orators of his day confessed, that from him he derived his most valuable knowledge, and all the great materials of his art: and when the overflowing abundance of his mind is considered, it will appear probable, that the great contemporary speakers drew part of their wealth, and some the larger part, from his ample and ready stores;

From whose mouth issued forth  
Mellifluous streams, that watered all the schools  
Of academics old and new.

That the example of one man may be thus instrumental in raising and sustaining the eloquence of his time, there is surely some reason to believe. At least the phenomenon of the rise and fall of this great art may in general be better explained by a proper attention to a plain circumstance so well agreeing with ordinary observation, than by resorting to any fanciful theory of youth and age, in the growth and decay of states, analogous to the physical constitution of individual man.

That our country has passed the brightest point of its career; that the golden crisis of its destiny is over; that it is drawing towards second childhood and political dotage, we are very unwilling to admit; but we cannot help lamenting that during the busy battles of factious malevolence at home, involun-

ing the highest objects of political reverence in vulgar obloquy and disgrace, the great scene of Europe's regeneration, which is in some measure a consequence, of the principles of which Mr. Burke was the champion, has hardly attracted observation. It may not be untrue, that the stimulating effects of public agitation produce sometimes a glowing vivacity of national character very favourable to the efforts of oratory: but it is untrue and absurd to suppose that such is the tendency of all factious disturbances of the state. If the tumults of rising states are fitted to provoke the powers of the mind, when society is in its spring, and the sentiment of patriotism awakes only to contests of emulation, and the fierce desire of glory; very different are the effects of those profligate contentions which, in the old age of a nation, are inflamed only by selfish rivalry, and those ungenerous strifes of which avarice, envy, and the baser passions, are the stimulants and fomenters.

We have alluded to the great events which met Mr. Burke at the threshold, and led him up the steps of the temple, *princeps et plane coryphaeus*, among the votaries of fame. Public events of less magnitude would not have corresponded with the ability of Mr. Burke as an orator and statesman. But if the times had allowed him more leisure for letters and science, the probability is, that the public stock of useful and elegant knowledge would have owed more to the genius and industry of this great man, than to all the collective faculty of his age. Something more of connected disquisition, and of consecutive labour, might have improved the arrangement, and developed the wisdom of his productions. He would have funded a larger quantity of that floating variety of knowledge, which, consigned to the fugitive eloquence of the hour, eluded, like the Sybil's leaves, the grasp of his countrymen.

Those of his speeches which have been rendered permanent by the press, are the depositaries of great intellectual treasure. But whatever lustre and expansion the speeches of Mr. Burke may have derived from his deep acquaintance with all parts of learning, his philosophy may perhaps have been a loser by the partnership. She could scarcely draw out as much as she contributed. Her domicile is the academy and the porch; she is with difficulty dragged into the contentious scene; *medium in agnem, in pulverem, in clamorem, in castra atque in aciem forensam*. But there is a span in some intellects that covers attainments, which in practice seem distant from each other. Logic and metaphysics, which occupied a great share of Mr. Burke's attention, were not able to estrange his mind from the politer arts, and though these, in combination, were the favourite objects of his

youth, he was determined to be found prepared if the chances of life should throw him into more active scenes.

When arrived at about the age of thirty his country claimed him. With an imagination glowing with the brightest images drawn from classic antiquity, a memory furnished with the best selected materials from every source of knowledge, ancient and modern, private and public, domestic and foreign, local and general; and a judgment fully equal to the application and control of this various accumulation, he stepped into public life, fully accomplished, completely armed, and without an equal in whatever constitutes, adorns, and consummates the statesman and the senator.

Great orators and great politicians came afterwards upon the stage, but they did not come to eclipse his glory, but rather to provoke and illustrate his excellence, and to bear testimony to the creative force of his example. We shall indulge ourselves in very few remarks upon the great parliamentary characters with whom Mr. Burke was destined to act, or to contend. Fully to comprehend his merit, it is necessary for us to view it in comparison with contemporary and surrounding excellence. Having gone a little beyond our warrant in the retrospective view which we have taken of him, we cannot stop short of this ultimate justice to his character. Ready as we are to acknowledge the eloquence of the parliamentary leaders of his time, we claim for him one distinguishing excellence, which raises his fame above comparison with modern orators: we mean the union of philosophy with eloquence. In listening to the efforts of *other* orators, we have felt all the sympathy and emotion of which the mind is capable,—all which the rapid, the argumentative, and the persuasive can produce on the hearer,—all which solidity, pathos, or splendour, whether derived from original or assisted powers, can convey, of pleasure, wonder, or conviction, to the heart or understanding: but that profound delight which fills, invigorates, and refreshes the soul from the fountains of perennial truth, and deep-seated philosophy; that serious sober rapture which the consciousness of intellectual expansion, and the feeling of permanent acquisition in science, produce, are the witnesses in our bosoms to the substantial superiority of Burke.

For the decoration of these solid materials Mr. Burke had within himself or within his reach an exhaustless store of imagery and diction. The whole classic world was in obedience to him; he had visited all its recesses, its groves, its fountains, and its divinities. It is thus that his speeches and compositions, though, for the most part, temporary and local in their leading subjects, have inseparably connected themselves with the perma-

ment literature of his country. While his mind acquired depth and breadth from his early acquaintance with metaphysics, his taste preserved him from its subtlety. The learning of antiquity was so wrought into the staple of his understanding, as to become his own both for use and ornament, without the pomp or imperitance of quotation. It is on this account that he is distinguishable from all those speakers and writers whose heads are full of other men's thoughts, as well by his abstinence as by his abundance.

His style is unaffected, majestic, and copious, neither rendered obscure by the density of his matter, nor florid by the luxuriance of his imagination. It has sometimes been his fate, as it was the fate of Cicero, to be charged with being diffuse, Asiatic, and tumid. But such a criticism could come only from those who have been unequal to estimate the value of his matter, and the dignity of his manner. The mean betwixt the *magna* and the *nirgia*, the *plena* and the *tumida*, the *sublimis* and the *abrupta*, the *severa* and the *tristis*, the *lata* and the *lurariosa*, ought to be felt and understood by him who would properly appreciate the merits of Mr. Burke's writings.

We have often heard it said that Bolingbroke was his model. He was certainly very conversant with his writings at an early age, since the first production of his pen appears to have been the vindication of natural society, in imitation, and in ridicule of the philosopher's levity, insolence, and dogmatism. That he may insensibly have acquired some habits from the profound attention he paid to the works of Bolingbroke, for the sake of exposing him, is not unlikely. But we are of opinion that an original thinker never studiously copies the manner of any other. His thoughts are too impatient and independent to be kept within any prescribed course: like the salient sources of a cataract, they find a channel wherever the soil yields them a passage, or hurry along the proclivities which nature has prepared for them\*.

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\* Whether Mr. Burke was an imitator or not may be disputed, but it is certain that no man has been more the object of imitation than himself. A book has just been put into our hands which exhibits an instance of this imitation which many will be apt to call palpable plagiarism. The count de Mirabeau, in a published address to the people of Holland in the year 1788, in alluding to the prevention of the designs of the republican party by the Duke of Brunswick's march into Holland, proceeds thus, "O illustre disgrâce, O victorieuse déroute! Puisse cette memorable époque être gravée dans les annales du monde en caractères ineffaçables, et sa gloire rester toujours nouvelle pour vos derniers ayeux! Ah! Soyez, à jamais ignorés de quiconque ne saura pas qu'ayant à combattre la tyrannie au dedans, la force au dehors, la légèreté de vos voisins, vous avez succombé en défendant la cause de l'honneur, la cause de la patrie, la cause de l'espèce humaine. Peut-être la fortune triomphera-t-elle de la renommée, mais elle

In the qualifications which we have principally touched upon, Mr. Burke was plainly superior to Mr. Fox, whose abilities were peculiarly, we had almost said exclusively, parliamentary. We cannot hesitate to admit, that the latter was in all points and requisites the most accomplished *debater* that the world has produced. So vast and varied were the powers of his oratory, so astonishing his force and celerity, that though the clearest, and most natural of all speakers, he became sometimes obscure from the difficulty alone of following him. *Tantus enim cursus verborum fuit, et sic evolavit oratio, ut ejus vim et incitationem adspexeris, vestigia ingressumque vix videris.*

It is not difficult to apprehend the distinction between the species of eloquence in which Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox respectively excelled; however arduous it may be to express it in words. When two persons have risen so near the summit of an art, they must possess many things in common. In all essential qualities each must necessarily abound. The manner and the proportions in which these qualities are mixed, afford, by their results, the practical ground of distinction. To be full of their subject, to see it in all its bearings, to feel all its strength and all its weakness, to illumine what was dark, to raise what was low, to amplify, to condense, to inflame, to mitigate, to control the sources of persuasion, and to command the avenues to conviction, was the prerogative of each of those distinguished persons. A certain vehemence, almost irresistible, belonged to both; though the one seemed to have become irresistible by his bulk, the other by his velocity. The eloquence of either might be compared to a river; but the one

a triomphé de la vertu. Mais votre conscience, du moins, bravera ses atteintes, et le souvenir de ce que vous avez tenté habitera sans cesse au fond de vos cœurs; il y reposera comme en un sanctuaire; il n'en sortira qu'avec la vie."

Mr. Burke, on the 28th of February, 1785, in the House of Commons, on the nabob of Arcot's debts, an illusion being made to Mr. Fox's East India bill, spoke as follows.

"It is not necessary that the right honourable gentleman should sarcastically call that time to our recollection. Well do I remember every circumstance of that memorable period. God forbid I should forget it. O illustrious disgrace! O victorious defeat! may your memorial be fresh and new to the latest generations! may the day of that generous conflict be stamped in characters never to be cancelled or worn out from the records of time! let no man hear of us who shall not hear, that in a struggle against the intrigues of courts, and the peevish levity of the multitude, we fell in the cause of honour, in the cause of our country, in the cause of human nature itself! But if fortune should be as powerful over fame, as she has been prevalent over virtue, at least, our conscience is beyond her jurisdiction. My poor share in the support of that great measure no man shall wrest from me. It shall be safely lodged in the sanctuary of my heart, never, never to be torn from thence, but with those holds that grapple it to life."



was overpowering by the weight of its waters, the other by the impetus of its stream. On the one majestically rode the merchandise of the world, "*opimo flumine Ganges*," the other from its crystal sources rushed precipitately down the mountain's sides, carrying fertility to the plains, giving strength and freshness to the colours of nature, and enriching our domestic soil. All that was great was collected in Mr. Burke, all that was strong was generated in Mr. Fox. To the minds of both every thing was present that the occasion demanded: but that compass of thought and knowledge which surrounds and invests a subject; which comprehends its most distant results, and, raising it above party views, exhibits all its grand relations to human nature and society, was in an eminent degree the advantage and felicity of Burke. In this, perhaps, he has excelled all other orators, whether ancient or modern.

It cannot be pretended that Mr. Burke was not a party man. For the greater part of his life he acted, and strenuously and cordially acted, with a particular body of men. But it is plain, that while Mr. Fox and himself were associated in opposition to the persons carrying on the business of the state, their fundamental principles and final views were wide asunder. Upon great and radical questions of constitutional policy they entertained very different opinions and maxims. Concerning the national representation, the value of religious establishments, the theory of our constitution as recognized and settled at the revolution, and in the extent of their reverence for the usages, forms, authorities, antiquities, and prescriptive rights and duties of the government, and those who live under it, their difference of sentiment was manifest during the whole period of their political friendship. In all these things Mr. Burke was provident, calculating, mindful of the infirmity of every human agent, and the fragility of his operations; and impressed with the danger of speculative innovations, and experiments grounded on visions of unattainable purity. Conscious that *his* liberty was not the liberty of low malcontents, he disdained to barter his consistency and sincerity for the acclamations of the crowd. And though sometimes an expression culpably deficient in respect for dignities and authorities may be found in his speeches, and even in his writings, yet it would be hard, and absurd in the extreme, to let these weigh against the tenor of his long political life.

The private lives of these distinguished men were at least as different as their politics. The youth of Mr. Burke was passed within the regular bounds of conjugal society, in literary intercourse, in severe study, and honourable avocations. The youth

of Mr. Fox exhibited the spectacle of a man living after the fashion of Epicurus, and speaking in the tones of Demosthenes. And it is but due to the dignity of virtue to presume, that had the youth of Mr. Fox been passed in a manner more like that of Mr. Burke, his genius would have left tavern politics to demagogues and debauchees, and assumed that commanding eminence for which it seemed by nature designed.

Mr. Burke's acquaintance with the inspired writings, and the works of the great theologians, supplied him with many lofty themes, and opened, as it were, a vista in his imagination, which disclosed the prospect of eternity. This source of sublimity seems not to have been much visited by Mr. Fox, whose knowledge of Christianity, as a peculiar system of doctrine, appears to have been very confined. The sketches of his character collected by Philopatris Varvicensis from the newspapers and magazines, and the tedious diatribes of the doctor himself, not to mention the most amusingly absurd production of Mr. Trotter, and the numerous other silly panegyrics which have sprung up like funguses about the tomb of the departed statesman, have all thought it requisite to add to the list of his perfections the title of sincere Christian. It is not for us to deny this title; but we may say, without offence or injustice, if we have any knowledge of the characteristics of the sincere Christian, that the biography of Mr. Fox furnishes no certain evidence of his living or dying in the faith of any christian communion.

The omniscient author of the book called Philopatris Varvicensis tells us, "that it was not for such men as Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt to spend their last breath in dying speeches and confessions—they had *weightier* duties to perform." And Mr. Trotter, the confidential secretary of Mr. Fox, by telling us what duties of the death-bed were really performed, has supplied an explanation of what this doctor in divinity means by the *weightier* duties of a dying Christian. Now, as we have already said in our review of Trotter's memoirs of C. J. Fox, we presume to think, with great deference to so learned a divine, that listening to the story of Dido and Æneas, or Tom Jones, or the poetry of Swift, were not among the *weightier* duties of a dying Christian.\* We protest also against this death-bed coalition of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox. The author of the preface to Bellendenus had put such a distance between these statesmen during their lives in every estimable point of character, that one could not but feel surprise at seeing them

\* See No. 4, p. 394.

afterwards, by the same writer, approximated in their deaths. And falsely approximated—for unquestionable authority has informed us, that the great man last mentioned *did* make a dying confession of his faith in him who is alone able to save, and that he found no consolation in death, but in the hope of that salvation which our religion emphatically teaches us has been purchased for the penitent. That this also was the character of Mr. Burke's concluding scene is sufficiently attested\*; and we have since had the melancholy opportunity of knowing that the death of Mr. Windham was the death of a professing Christian, and, as we have every reason to presume, of a sincere believer†.

Though we cannot approve of the lax criterion of Christian orthodoxy, with which Philopatris Varvicensis appears to be contented concerning others, we will not suggest an uncharitable doubt of the firmness and orthodoxy of his own tenets. His creed in *politics*, however, seems to us to be somewhat too assertive of infallibility, and somewhat too full of damnatory clauses. The perfect contempt shown by the same writer on a former occasion for the great names (if not then great, then, at least, rising into high and honourable distinction) of Pitt, of Grenville, and of him whom he calls “a certain Mr. Wilberforce,” has since stretched itself to the late Mr. Perceval, over whose ashes virtue still continues to weep, and whose memory is embalmed in the gratitude of the nation.

We should willingly, if our allotted space would have permitted us, have attempted a comparison between the eloquence of Mr. Pitt and that of Mr. Burke. To have dwelt on the merits of that lamented minister would have been to us an agreeable task. We should have been pleased with recalling his sounds and expressions to our memory, and with retracing the recollection of what once held our attention so enraptured. Like the awe-struck pagan passing over the ruins of Delphi, fancy would have brought back to our ear the voice of the oracle, and the sound of the invisible lyre. It would have produced a vivid remembrance of that loftiness of declamation, that moral sublimity, those commanding tones, that mellow rotundity, that perspicuity of detail, that plenitude of information, that accuracy of tact, that full continuity of expression, lucidness of arrangement, propriety, chastity, expansion, ease, and

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\* Mr. Burke's will, which is beautiful as a testamentary composition, begins after the old manner. “First, according to the ancient good and laudable custom, of which my heart and understanding recognize the propriety, I bequeath my soul to God, hoping for his mercy through the only merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.”

grace, which dispelled all impatience and fatigue, and made party animosity forget itself into still admiration. We must have owned too, if eloquence is to be estimated by its success, that the palm belonged to that form of it which, coupled with firmness and foresight, was able to secure to its possessor an empire over the will independent of the passions, and to enable him, like Pericles, to fix his popularity on a basis of public confidence. We should have been compelled to admit that, in immediate effect and living force, Mr. Burke was not equal to the modern Pericles.

We are very unwilling to acknowledge that the habit of generalization, which imparted so lofty a character to the speeches of Mr. Burke, was any hindrance to their effect. We would not suppose that he failed of attracting attention by more emphatically deserving it. If it was really so, we trust that in his latter days he foresaw the amends which posterity would make to his fame: that in the distant perspective he had a clear vision of that high place and authority in which his name was to stand in the ranks of departed greatness. In him, and in him alone, among all the moderns, and, as far as we know, we may extend the comparison to the ancients too, patience of research, activity in business, the rarest eloquence, the richest fancy, and the profoundest philosophy, were all harmoniously combined. Cicero was both a philosopher and an orator, but as his philosophy was not his own, he could not hold it in constant subservience to his occasions; nor could he, like Burke, disperse it over his speeches in aphorisms of immortal truth. In this consisted the solitary preeminence of our great countryman, whose works now lie spread upon our table—

“ A table richly spread in regal mode.”

We would not be understood to mean that this philosophical eloquence is always appropriate and in place. The occasion, the purpose, and the auditory, must always vary the modes and the tests of good speaking. Mr. Burke usually addressed himself to the collective talent of his country. But we are far from being sure that the practice of generalizing must, in every view of it, be injurious to the success of speeches addressed even to the multitude. Care only must be taken to keep down all general propositions within the scope of general apprehension, or, which is the same thing in substance, of general experience. The common people have been at all times very sententious. Witness the pithy dialect of their proverbs and adages, which form their domestic, their rural, their vernacular philosophy. Of this philosophy of experience the eloquence of philosophy

may make a dexterous use. It is within the compass of ordinary skill to inflame the passions of the people, and the success is as fugitive as the task, is easy; but to fasten upon the understanding, to secure the moral mind, and to make the reason of the hearers a party to the reasoning of the speaker, is the only mode by which a fixed ascendancy is to be gained, whether the purpose be to abuse or to enlighten. The fabric of popular eloquence should rest upon massy columns of Tuscan simplicity.

If we mistake not, the speeches of Mr. Burke to the Bristol electors were speeches of the above description. We allude particularly to that which was delivered in 1780. We read it over immediately before we sat down to this article; and we read it under the disadvantage of an expectation raised to the verge of enthusiasm, by the recollection of the delight we felt in the perusal of it about twenty years ago. But we read it with augmented pleasure, arising partly, we presume to suspect, from an improved capacity of judging in ourselves, and partly from the contrast it exhibits to the puerile intemperance of modern party-politics. The speech is plain and easy to be understood. It stoops to conquer, not to flatter. It appears to move from the heart, and to press towards the heart. But in the midst of its warm career it never omits to pay its tribute to truth, and to the understanding. Wisdom with its steady lamp lights it on its way, and renders the sense of every statement and argument luminously and emphatically clear. At judicious intervals a rest is given to the mind, wearied with the continuous effort of pursuing a series of resulting propositions; and that rest is always on an eminence, from which the surrounding objects may be contemplated at ease. Above all, we admire and love the manly independence of principle which governs the whole argument, and which with infinite address is made the vehicle of the most refined compliment to his auditors. In a former number\* we have lamented the poisonous effects of electioneering oratory. We should reverse the observation with a pleasure equal to the pain with which we made it, could we see the example of this great person prevail over that coarse and lying spirit which flatters the insolence of the mob with the name of freedom, and teaches the fatal and ferocious doctrine, that liberty consists in the contempt of authority. Such was not the conduct of Paulus Emilius in his address from the rostrum on being chosen general for the Macedonian war; nor was such the conduct of Mr. Burke in

\* See Art. I. in the 7th No. of this Review.

addressing the electors of Bristol. The occasions were dissimilar, but the conduct in both was both British and Roman in its character. The actions were internally the same.

We were on the point of quoting a passage from this admirable oration, but were checked by the recollection that it is not a part of our immediate subject. We must content ourselves with referring the reader to the speech itself, through the whole of which, but particularly from page 358 to the middle of page 360 of the octavo edition of 1800, he will find the justification of the praise we have bestowed upon it. He will find in it, we trust, sufficient reason for our selecting it as a proof of the efficacy of the legitimate union of philosophical generalities with popular eloquence. And he will take up the thread of that consistency of principle which shews Mr. Burke the same, amidst all the windings and turns of affairs, to him who judges of consistency not by the constancy of political friendships, but by the parallelism which a statesman maintains with himself in the different relative positions in which he is placed by the changes about him.

That he had strong party affections cannot be denied. To be predisposed in favour of measures by his attachment to their authors was natural to his sanguine temper. But there is a clear difference between party affections and party principles. To be biassed in favour of the measures for the sake of the men, belongs too much to the best feelings of the heart to be positively blameable; but deliberately to adopt what the understanding disapproves,—to act upon predetermined hostility to all propositions which come from the opposite quarter, whatever may be their tendency, is the character of that party-principle, which might be equally well expressed by the phrase—political prostitution. No private friendships, or personal ambition, could ever induce Mr. Burke to treat his country with secondary regard. On great conservative points he frequently differed with his party; placing his country, and his country only, full before him, on all questions affecting its standing policy, and permanent interest. Faithful to this high vocation, he was prepared to sacrifice all private regards to the duty it imposed; and when the French revolution burst upon the world, that masculine love of liberty which had always led him to reprove its excesses, and condemn its abuses, sublimated his genius, and gave it to the world discharged from the pollutions of party. Such was the excitation of this great event; such the vastness and variety of its relations and consequences to man, that every feeling, every faculty, all the knowledge, and all the sagacity of his great mind, was wrought up to an intensity of operation. The

full effulgence of all these powers was collected upon the work called *Reflections on the Revolution in France*.—A work which it is not within the compass of our present undertaking to examine, and which now stands upon a pedestal, from which it looks down and smiles at criticism. But it is impossible to glance at this magnificent monument of human intelligence, without paying the passing tribute of our homage.

A celebrated author\* (who has written the most able answer to it) has observed, “that to estimate it correctly, would prove one of the most arduous efforts of critical skill, and that we can scarcely praise or blame it too much.” We read with pleasure this acknowledgment of its title to the highest praise. But it is incumbent on the answerer to prove the propriety of his extreme censure, by shewing its erroneous calculation of the results of the great transactions to which it ascribed such iniquitous views, and foretold so disastrous a sequel. That the argument was every where “dexterous and specious, sometimes grave and profound, clothed in the most rich and various imagery, and aided by the most pathetic and picturesque description,—that it spoke the opulence and powers of that mind of which age had neither dimmed the discernment, nor enfeebled the fancy, neither repressed the ardour, nor narrowed the range,” was admitted by the grudging pen of this champion of the blood-stained beginnings of the French revolution. But in what part of Mr. Burke’s *Reflections* this writer found what he quaintly and extravagantly calls, in language untastefully borrowed from the subject of his abusive criticism, “turbulent encomiums on urbanity, and inflammatory harangues against violence, and homilies of religious mysticism, better adapted to the amusement than to the conviction of an incredulous age,” we are utterly at a loss to imagine: nor can we resist the temptation to believe, that it was the contagion of that same incredulous age which had infected the judgment of the writer of the vindication.

It must give pleasure to the admirers of Mr. Burke’s political conduct, to read the testimony to the consistency and uniformity of his principles borne by the writer to whom we have been alluding, in the first pages of his most unjust attack. He admits his constant abhorrence of abstract politics, his predilection for aristocracy, and dread of innovation, and that it was not likely that at his age he should abandon to the invasion of audacious novelties, opinions which he had received so early, and maintained so long;—which had been fortified by the applause of the

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\* See preface to the *Vindiciae Gallicae*, p. iv.

great, and the assent of the wise, which he had dictated to so many illustrious pupils, and supported against so many distinguished opponents.

We have here then the praise of beautiful writing, dexterous, grave, and profound reasoning, a boundless range of knowledge, and the rarest assemblage of descriptive and pathetic powers, ascribed to Mr. Burke by one who seemed to catch no sympathy or joy from the picture he was involuntarily tracing: we have here, too, the fullest credit given to the great statesman for the harmonious consistency of his political life. His crime consisted in his want of charity to the regenerators of France; in the hard measure he gave to murder, confiscation, and rapine, the organization of treason, and the consecration of atheism; in his feeling for royalty, and rank, and age, and infancy, suffering the penalties of their former fortunes and present imbecility, from the hands of persons without education to humanize, or religion to restrain them; and, above all, in his presumptuous predictions of the consequences of such a system to England, to Europe, to humanity. A few more years were only wanting to decide the contest between Mr. Burke and his fierce opponents. A few more years have passed, and the contest has been decided. It cannot be necessary to state on whose side, or in what manner.

The terms in which Mr. Burke, in treating of the French revolution, has expressed the swellings of his heart against the mass of crime, pollution, and sacrilege, out of which it was born, and has since been maintained, has given offence to some persons of cool and dispassionate judgment, and a delicate ear for propriety. We confess ourselves to be less squeamish, and to be capable of hearing, without disgust, foul acts described by foul names. There is a callous moderation in treating cruelty, with which we are inclined to be more disgusted (speaking for ourselves) than with the red hot anger of outraged feeling. If no degree of detestation can be excessive, we doubt whether any strength of language can be too great, for the systematic horrors which ushered in and accompanied the bloody and unprincipled revolution of France. If the sallies of indignant feeling sometimes broke loose from the restraints of ordinary decorum, and indulged in an unmeasured phraseology, we do not concur with the polished writer of the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ* in thinking *that* a reason for stigmatizing Mr. Burke's "Reflections" as "inflammatory harangues against violence." Nor because a warm heart, and a rich imagination, were engaged on the side of compassion and justice, do we feel that "turbulent encomiums on humanity" was a phrase at all suited to the character of any part of



that immortal work. Coldness is not always prudence, though it is perpetually assuming the title. If any thing could elicit mirth out of the subject to which we have been alluding, a temperate argument, arranged in a logical method, to prove that the butchery of priests, the unsparing massacre of age and infancy, executions without trial, and plunder under the name of confiscation, were wrong things, would have produced that effect.

If there is any real violence in the "Reflections" of Mr. Burke, we offer the infirmity which belongs to virtuous feeling as his apology; and the beauty, the verity, the excellence of his philosophical and political reasoning, we propose by way of expiation. Let the author of the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ* have also his excuse; and as we presume the best would naturally be that which he has made for himself, we will lay it before the reader, and let him judge of the merits, with the accusation and defence before him. "I have been accused by valuable friends of treating with ungenerous levity the misfortunes of the royal family of France. They will not, however, suppose me capable of deliberately violating the sacredness of misery in a palace or in a cottage; and I sincerely lament that I should have been betrayed into expressions which admitted that construction." Mr. Burke is accused, by the author of the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, of violence on the side of a mistaken humanity; the accuser is himself accused, even by his *valuable friends*, of sporting with the sacredness of misery. Let our readers say under which imputation they would choose to be placed. The charge against the one is, that he felt too much; against the other, that he felt not at all, for the misery of the royal sufferers. For Mr. Burke's turbulence, if turbulence it must be called, we have nothing to say, but that as charity is said to cover a multitude of sins, we presume she will best excuse her own excesses. As to the author of the *Vindiciæ*, we recommend him to that mercy which he forgot in the case of others, and accept his own apology for what it is worth. It seems he did not mean what he said.

We cannot forbear having one word at parting, on the propriety of another charge brought against the "Reflections," viz. that they contain "homilies of moral and religious mysticism." We cannot help doubting whether the author of this charge is in the slightest degree acquainted with the homilies of our church,—we doubt also whether he knows what he means by "moral mysticism." But what is designed by the phrase "religious mysticism," we may negatively infer from an opinion delivered by the same author in the last page but three of his

book. Speaking of the majority of the advocates of the French revolution, he remarks, that "They were well known to be philosophers and friends of humanity, who were superior to the creed of any sect, and indifferent to the dogmas of any popular faith." What this grand independence of all creeds, this sovereign self-satisfied security of mind, falsely called philosophy, really is, we can be at no loss to understand. Its high negative worth is not ill set forth in a poetical work, of which we have, in the first article of our sixth number, laid before our readers a pretty full examination\*. But we cannot conjecture to what part, passage, sentence, or line of the "Reflections," this objector means to attach the imputation of religious mysticism. The only religious matter we find in the whole volume is, in the few pages which Mr. Burke has assigned to the consideration of the necessity, beauty, and advantage of a religious establishment, and of the inseparable connexion between church and state. Simple, indeed, must be the religion of that man, who is offended with the *mysticism* of an endeavour to point out the connexion between the civil and ecclesiastical parts of the constitution of England. What a monkish melancholy mystic poor Hooker must appear to such a man, and what must he think of the dreams of those wild enthusiasts, who connect spirit with body, eternity with time, a future state with the present, corruptible with incorruptible, dust with divinity. What must he think of that

Mysterious power!  
 Revealed yet unrevealed! darkness in light!  
 Number in unity! our joy, or dread!  
 Triune, unfutterable, unconceived,  
 Absconding, yet demonstrable, great GOD!

To some men all religion is mysticism, as all church discipline is priestcraft. The mere rejection of religion is the philosophy of those whose title to the dignity of free thinking consists in a bigoted unbelief. The truth is, that through the whole course of Mr. Burke's volume, we do not recollect that he introduces the mention of any of those parts of religion which are properly called mysterious. So much for the "homilies of religious mysticism" to be found in Mr. Burke's *Reflections*. Mr. Burke constructed an immortal edifice to be the mansion of sound philosophy, the habitation and home of exiled truth. The author of the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, being determined to consider it as a haunted house, has peopled it with mysterious

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\* See the third and fourth stanzas of the second canto.

beings, and midnight bugbears, the progeny of his own metaphysical brain.

*Seelstæ hæ sunt ædes, impia est habitatio.*

*Quæ hîc monstra fiunt, anno vix possum eloqui.*

How deeply the mind of Mr. Burke, adverse to all visionary politics, all violent changes, and all practical invasions of liberty and property, was affected by the proceedings of the French revolutionists, and impressed with the danger to be dreaded from the diffusion of their principles, was manifested by the extraordinary exertions of which he shewed himself capable at a time of life, and in a state of infirmity, which dispense with the labours of the patriot, and usually put a period to active service. To stay the plague, he stood like Phineas between the living and the dead. The mortification of losing some of his political friends was unable to chill his ardour. He felt the difficulty and the danger increased by this accession to the enemy; but the reaction of his mind was equal to the pressure. His resources kept on a level with the emergency. And the history of man presents few grander spectacles than that of this distinguished person, oppressed with years, weakened by labour, separated from the most powerful of his former friends, with a bosom rent by domestic calamity, making head against a revolutionary phrenzy, which had let loose the physical against the moral world, threatened the dissolution of all states and communities, and proffered its bloody embrace to the people of this island. On such a subject, in such an hour of peril, he could not brook what seemed to him an unprincipled forbearance in those, for the right use of whose abilities their country so imperiously called. Much less could he endure the studied eulogies pronounced by Mr. Fox and his adherents on what seemed to him so manifestly to threaten the safety of the British empire. But to hear himself charged with having formerly held very different principles from those he then maintained; and to hear it alleged that the principles he then reprobated had been formerly learned from himself, was more than his ardent temper, wrought up to an extraordinary state of impressibility on the particular topic, and rendered, perhaps, somewhat more irritable by age and disappointment, could listen to with decorous patience. Some disparaging observations made by Mr. Fox on the "Reflections," it is said, had been conveyed to him. Putting all these things together, we are to consider how far they go in excuse of that renunciation of Mr. Fox as his friend, in which he persevered to the conclusion of his life. To say that he never forgave Mr. Fox, is an assertion unsupported by proof. He died, declaring a catholic forgiveness of all injuries

and offences. And though we do not forget the boundless extent of the christian precept of forgiveness, yet we cannot consider that even Christianity requires that we should live in harmony and society with those whose maxims and principles appear to us to militate against the repose of mankind.

That these separations, co-operating with the effect which had been produced by his excessive and unseemly violence in the prosecution of Mr. Hastings, greatly diminished his popularity and influence, is not to be denied. In the latter years of his life he found it difficult to detain the attention of the house. The pride of past service, and, perhaps, in some degree, the irritability of age, laid him open to the attacks of young men, who had known him only in those scenes in which the failure of temper had been mistaken for the decay of faculty. Urged to fury by the stings of flies, his high-mindedness sometimes forsook him, and he gave to his puny assailants an ungenerous triumph. He could not, as one of those great cattle (to use his own simile), repose beneath the shadow of the British oak, and chew the cud and be silent, despising the little, meagre, hopping, though loud and troublesome, insects of the hour.

Retreating from a scene of exertion, in which his value was so ill appreciated, he set about proving to the world that old age had not impaired his faculty. How far he succeeded may be judged from the perusal of his different pamphlets on the French revolution. As Philopatris Varvicensis has seemed to consider himself deficient in justice to Mr. Fox, without adding to the catalogue of his excellencies the gift of prophecy, which, by a sort of qualifying phrase, he calls "the faculty of presage\*:" we challenge for Mr. Burke at least an equal share of this power of penetrating futurity. History, which is the register of the mortality of governments, had surely not withheld from Mr. Burke what she had communicated to Mr. Fox. And the peculiar cases which, in every constitution of government, have a tendency to dissolution beyond the power of any stated remedy, were, we will venture to affirm, at least as well understood by Mr. Burke, as by Mr. Fox. To be plain, in the part which Mr. Fox has acted in politics, or in his speeches in the senate, we can perceive none of this prophetic spirit. He was by profession and practice a determined party man, furiously bent on destroying the credit of those who kept the government in their hands, to the exclusion of him and his friends. And if he possessed the gift of prophecy, his talent at least was no mystery,

since every man in the country might easily anticipate what Mr. Fox would predict as the result of every measure proposed by the government of which he made no part. And this Philopatrius Varvicensis must know, canting apart, to be the amount of Mr. Fox's supernatural gift of presage concerning the affairs of the country.

After saying thus much on the prophetic spirit attributed to Mr. Fox, we will not represent Mr. Burke as a soothsayer, but we will venture to affirm, that on the article of the revolution in France, and its probable issue, the predictions of Mr. Burke have been confirmed in a manner that bears extraordinary testimony to the strength and wisdom of his calculations. Mr. Fox, at the date of that event, which he hailed as so auspicious in its promises, was a young man in comparison of Mr. Burke; but the young man was dreaming dreams, while the old man was seeing visions. To the last hour of his life, these visions were expanding the mind of Mr. Burke, and his pen was employed in promulgating them. And when he was no longer able to dictate to the senate, we may class him at least with the Fabricii, the Curi, and the Coruncanii, *et ceteri senes qui rempublicam consilio et auctoritate defensionabant*.

The first article in this valuable addition to the collection of Mr. Burke's works before published, is a fourth letter on proposals for peace with the regicide directory of France; the first sixty-seven pages of which appear to have undergone the last corrections of the author. The matter contained in the four succeeding pages was collected from loose manuscripts dictated by the author; and the remainder had been printed as a part of the letter which was originally intended to be the third on regicide peace. The reasoning of this piece has chiefly reference to a pamphlet just then published by Lord Auckland, who had sent it to Mr. Burke, accompanied with a letter, which that nobleman in a very candid manner put into the hands of the right reverend editor; and the same, together with Mr. Burke's answer to that letter, are now laid before the public, and serve as an introduction to the principal letter. It is not too much to say of that production, though it is certainly saying a great deal, that it is worthy of the former finished letters of which it was intended as the continuance: *si enim non est tale, ut in arce poni possit, quasi illa Minerva Phidie: sed tamen est tale, ut ex eadem officina exisse appareat*. The object of the pamphlet being, as Mr. Burke states it, to reconcile us to a peace with the actual usurpation in France, he renews his former strains of eloquence to shew that a peace with such a power, having nothing of the character of stable and regular government in its nature

and composition, could only lead to promote its deadly purpose of destroying us, together with the other devoted commonwealths of Europe. That as yet, the rulers of France being nothing better than a band of robbers who had got possession of the house after murdering the family, to make a treaty of peace and amity with such persons, would be making ourselves accessories, *ex post facto*, to their crimes. This fourth letter on regicide peace has not, perhaps, an equal degree of that majestic strength and grace which so remarkably characterizes the preceding letters, and particularly the first, and pre-eminently the first part of the first letter; but it possesses more humour and sarcasm than Mr. Burke had yet thrown into any of his productions on the painful subject of the French revolution. Since the question of the regicide peace, we have had examples enough to assist us in determining whether Mr. Burke was right or wrong in his hypothesis concerning it. But putting aside this consideration, we will venture to declare our humble opinion, that on the general subject of peace and war, and the safe, dignified, and politic conduct to be pursued by a great nation in the crisis of a rupture with an equally powerful state, there is no work extant, of ancient or modern time, worthy to be compared with the disquisition on the subject contained in these four letters of Mr. Burke.

The letter of Mr. Burke to the late Empress of Russia becomes now peculiarly interesting from the present state of events, nor can we read the following passage without a thrilling sensation of joy and surprise: "By the intervention of Russia the world will be preserved from barbarism and ruin." If this had come from Mr. Fox, what might not Dr. Parr have said of his "faculty of presage." This letter, which is extremely elegant, was written in consequence of a communication made to Mr. Burke through the minister of her imperial majesty, of her approbation of his exertions in the service of that cause, which, as he himself expresses it, "connects the rights and duties of sovereigns with the true interest and happiness of their people."

The next document of Mr. Burke's mind is a letter written by him to Sir Charles Bingham, Bart. upon the occasion, as it appears from papers found together with the copy of this letter, of a project actually adopted by his majesty's ministers, of imposing a tax upon all proprietors of landed estates in Ireland whose ordinary residence should be in Great Britain. The absurdity and danger of such an impost is obvious enough. Mr. Burke of course seizes upon the most striking points to illustrate its impolicy.

The letter to Mr. Fox, introduced with the affectionately familiar address "My dear Charles," follows next: the date of which is Beaconsfield, October 8, 1777. The subject of the letter is the state of parties, and the lamentable popularity of the American war. We were a little affected by finding it plainly stated by Mr. Burke that the dissenters were the "main effective part of the whig strength," which, coupled with what is said a few lines above, that the whigs then were, and always had been, (*except by the able use of opportunities,*) by far the weakest party in this country, opens some party secrets well worthy of the attention of modern politicians.

There is a passage in this letter which cannot fail of being read with interest, as it manifests considerable dignity and propriety of feeling in the writer on the subject of inviting coalition with his party. The letter was written about three years after the debate in parliament on the subject of the Boston Port Bill, and the disfranchisement of the colony of Massachusetts's bay, in which Mr. Fox first became decided in his opposition to the court measures. "If you should grow too earnest you will be still more inexcusable than I was. Your having entered into affairs so much younger, ought to make them too familiar to you to be the cause of much agitation, and you have much more before you for your work. Do not be in haste. Lay your foundations deep in public opinion. Though (as you are sensible) I have never given you the least hint of advice about joining yourself in a declared connexion with our party, nor do I now: yet as I love that party very well, and am clear that you are better able to serve them than any man I know, I wish that things should be so kept, as to leave you mutually very open to one another in all changes and contingencies; and I wish this the rather, because, in order to be very great, as I am anxious that you should be, (always presuming that you are disposed to make a good use of power,) you will certainly want some better support than merely that of the crown. For I much doubt whether, with all your parts, you are the man formed for acquiring real interior favour in this court, or in any. I therefore wish you a firm ground in the country; and I do not know so firm and so sound a bottom to build upon as our party."

The letter to the Marquis of Rockingham, which follows next, as also the two addresses which accompany it, one of which is to the king, and the other to the British colonists in North America, were written, as appears from a note in page 114, upon occasion of a proposed secession from parliament of

the members in both houses, who had opposed the measures of government in the contest between this country and the colonies in North America, from the time of the repeal of the stamp act. Mr. Burke, it appears, warmly recommended this measure. But we cannot think that this retiring from parliamentary attendance by the leaders of an unsuccessful party in the nation, is, under any circumstances, justifiable. Parliament is, by its constitution, a deliberative body. He who comes to deliberate, must come to discuss, to encounter opposition, and, if it so fall out, to submit to be defeated. If we bring with us other sentiments and other expectations, we come to dictate and not to deliberate, and to insist upon that right even in the smaller number of which we may happen to form a part. The answer to this reasoning is natural enough, because passion and presumption suggest it. Our case, say the seceders, is a peculiar one, and not to be determined by general maxims, or rules of propriety. The nation is only to be roused, to a proper sense of what it becomes them to do, by a measure which may serve to mark the desperate situation in which we conceive its affairs to be brought by the conduct of its managers. But is any thing more clear than that all this resolves itself into a mere contest of opinion: that every man has an equal right to maintain and defend his opinion: and that the precedent of a sullen secession from business might be followed in all similar cases with the same semblance of apology? Every set of men might say, on the same ostensible ground of reasoning, we will not act, because we cannot insist; we will not advise, because we cannot command. If this were to become a rule of proceeding, where would be the representation of the country? Self-confidence, or despair of others, are equally discreditable as motives for such desertion; but where the step is taken not to solace the spirits under perpetual defeat, not to avoid a scene where headlong error seems to confound all remonstrance; but to produce a dramatic effect upon the passions of the people, to agitate them between the impulses of pity and terror, to captivate their sympathies, and to dazzle them with the show of political martyrdom, it is properly treated by being held up to public contempt and derision. We are sorry to confess that it evidently appears from the letter to the Marquis of Rockingham, that the measure was one of strut and bluster, of stage trick, and political chicane.

We are by no means sure that the editor has acted properly or wisely in giving this letter to Lord Rockingham, or the subsequent addresses to the king, a place in this printed collection.



One is glad, however, to learn that there was prudence enough somewhere to prevent the actual adoption of the measure. The address to his majesty was of course dropped, together with the scheme to which it was intended as an accessory. We trust, also, that the letter to the colonies never found its way thither. And we cannot help calling to mind some severe though just reflections, which, after a lapse of some years, were made by the writer of that address upon an unauthorized step of a similar kind taken by another great public man; which, though in some respects, perhaps, it admitted of less excuse or extenuation, when the relations between America and ourselves are allowed for, yet had certainly less of the legal characters of offence in it, since war did not actually subsist between the two countries when the extraordinary sub-negotiation took place. Notwithstanding these observations, however, we feel it due to the editor to say, that both the letter to Lord Rockingham, and the subsequent addresses, are written with such art and elegance, as to justify a prevailing wish to make them public.

Some letters to persons in public situations, chiefly on the state of Irish affairs, and explanatory of parts of Mr. Burke's conduct in relation to them, which appear to have been much misrepresented, occupy a few of the succeeding pages, and these are followed by some letters and reflections on the subject of the approaching executions of the rioters in 1780, some of which are worthy of attention, though, upon the whole, they do not afford much matter of observation.

Of the sketch of the Negro Code we shall say nothing, but that it bears a pleasing testimony to the humanity of the writer, and to the surprising industry of his mind at a time when many sorrows encompassed him, and age and infirmity had bent his strength, and well entitled him to repose.

In a letter to the chairman of the Buckinghamshire meeting in 1780, for taking into consideration a petition to parliament for shortening the duration of parliaments, Mr. Burke expresses himself in the following emphatical terms.

“ Please God, I will walk with caution when I am not able to see my way clearly before me. I am now growing old. I have from my very early youth been conversant in reading and thinking upon the subject of our laws and constitution, as well as upon those of other times and other countries. I have been for fifteen years a very laborious member of parliament: and in that time have had great opportunities of seeing with my own eyes the working of the machine of our government; and remarking where it went smoothly and did its business, and where it checked in its

movement, or where it damaged its work. I have also had and used the opportunities of conversing with men of the greatest wisdom and fullest experience in those matters, and I do declare to you most solemnly and most truly, that on the result of this reading, thinking, experience, and communication, I am not able to come to an immediate resolution in favour of a change of the groundwork of our constitution; and in particular, that in the present state of the country, in the present state of our representation, in the present state of our rights and modes of electing, in the present state of the several prevalent interests, in the present state of the affairs and manners of this country, that the addition of a hundred knights of the shire, and hurrying election on election, will be things advantageous to liberty or good government."

The editor next puts before us some pieces of Mr. Burke which develop his opinions and feelings in respect to the popery laws; the first of which consists of fragments of a plan of a work on that subject, which appears to have been formed by him in the year 1768. The second is a letter to William Smith, Esq. then a member of the Irish House of Commons, and afterwards one of the barons of the Court of Exchequer in Ireland, dated 29th January, 1795, twelve at night. The third is a second letter to Sir Hercules Langrish, dated May 26, 1795. And the fourth is a letter to his son. No title appears to have been affixed to the plan, and it was evidently, in the editor's opinion, intended only as memoranda for the private convenience of the author. Of the first chapter, the fragments which had been found, were in too imperfect a state for publication. Of the second chapter some part had been printed, but the copy from which it was printed was only a first rough draught. The third chapter, as far as it goes, was taken from a fair corrected copy; but the end of the second part of the first head had been left unfinished; and the discussion of the second and third heads was either never entered upon, or the MSS. containing it had been unfortunately lost. What follows the third chapter appears to have been designed for the beginning of the fourth, and, according to the editor, was nothing more than a rough draught. To this a fragment is added, which appears to have been a part either of this or the first chapter. The exhibition, therefore, of Mr. Burke's sentiments and reasonings on this interesting subject is made under great and striking disadvantages. Yet these fragments of his plan contain a great many passages entirely worthy of the genius, knowledge, and eloquence of the writer. Much of it being written at a time when the Roman Catholics were exposed to the operation of a great many penalties and restraints which have since been removed,

has lost a great part of its interest. The laws then affecting the descent and acquisition of real property, in respect to catholic proprietors and purchasers, the limitations on their admissibility to the professions of the law and the army, and on their liberty of educating their offspring within the pale of their own communion, are the principal subjects of Mr. Burke's animadversion in this treatise; and it is worthy of observation, that in page 241 he distinctly admits *the necessity of their exclusion from all offices of state*. In the first letter to Sir Hercules Langrish on the propriety of admitting the Roman Catholics of Ireland to the elective franchise, which was written many years later than these tracts on the popery laws now first presented to the public, Mr. Burke addressed himself with great earnestness and vivacity to the saying of Sir Hercules—that the Roman Catholics should enjoy every thing *under the state*, but should not *be the state itself*. He there observes, that the word *state* is capable of two senses, viz. as being used to signify the whole commonwealth, or that higher and ruling part of it which we commonly call the *Government*. Considering the word *state* as signifying the whole *Commonwealth*, to be under the state, and not any part of it, is a situation perfectly intelligible—it is the condition of *civil servitude*.

If the word “state” be understood in the sense of the supreme government, he observes, that in this sense of the word, to exclude whole classes of men from any part of government cannot be considered as *absolute slavery*; but it implies a lower and degraded sort of citizenship, and few of the most exclusive governments of the aristocratical or oligarchical form have carried this incapacitation to so rigorous a length.

In Venice, there are many public offices of which all classes of citizens are capable; and in those states where inferiority of birth or cast excludes from the nobler employments, compensation is made to the excluded orders, by giving them the sole and exclusive right to exercise commerce, and in general all the civil and lucrative professions. He argues, that in no state it had been found necessary to exclude any class of freemen from the capacity of holding every office, however subordinate, of the government; and that, therefore, the total disqualification of the catholic body from every office was a rule of policy which bore upon them with peculiar hardship. He contended, that between the extremes of a total exclusion, and an universal unmodified capacity, to which the fanatics pretend, there were many degrees and stages, and a great variety of temperaments upon which prudence may be properly exerted. Since a total exclusion was

only to be justified in a government strictly aristocratical, or oligarchical, which the government of Ireland was not, any more than that of England, the incapacity of the Catholics, which formed in Ireland so great a numerical majority, ought to be moderated by every relaxation and temperament which could be afforded consistently with public safety.

These arguments of Mr. Burke looked certainly beyond the object for which he was contending, viz. the right of voting for members of parliament, which has since been conferred upon the Catholics of Ireland by the 33d of the king; since the capacity of a franchise is a different thing from the capacity of office, and is certainly so considered in the provisions of parliament, and the policy of government. Those who are excluded from votes, or rather from the capacity of voting, upon the general terms and qualifications prescribed by the maxims of the constitution, which, in principle, extends such capacity to all, are excluded, says Mr. Burke, not from the state, but from the British constitution.

Mr. Burke's early writings on behalf of the Catholics being wholly directed against the penal laws, abounded in arguments to the propriety of which no reasonable and just man could be insensible. The penal laws proceeded upon the assumption that the superstitions of Rome were incompatible with the proper frame of civil society, and not simply that they were inadmissible into the scheme and contexture of the constitutional policy of Britain. All that Mr. Burke then contended for, and, indeed, considerably more, has been obtained. But in the letter which follows, to William Smith, Esq. he speaks out plainly for the concession to the Catholics of the right to sit in parliament. The date of this letter is January 29, 1795; a point of time in which the revolutionary outrages upon the church and priesthood of the catholic religion in France had excited a very strong feeling for the fate of this fallen establishment in the mind of Mr. Burke, and which his growing abhorrence of the principles under which it suffered raised to something like affection for its character. He thus reasons concerning the question of the Catholics being admitted to a share in the legislation.

“Against this grand and dreadful evil of our time (I do not love to cheat myself or others) I do not know any solid security whatsoever. But I am quite certain that what will come nearest to it, is to interest as many as you can in the present order of things; religiously, civilly, politically, by all the ties and principles by which mankind are held. This is like to be effectual policy, I am sure it is honourable policy: and it is better to fail, if fail we must, in the paths of direct and manly, than

of low and crooked wisdom. As to the capacity of sitting in parliament, after all the capacities for voting, for the army, for the navy, for the professions, for civil offices, are conceded, it is a dispute *de luna caprina*, in my poor opinion, at least on the part of those who oppose it. In the first place, the admission to office, and this exclusion from parliament, on the principle of an exclusion from political power, is the very reverse of the principle of the English Test Act. If I were to form a judgment from experience rather than theory, I should doubt much whether the capacity for, or even the possession of a seat in parliament, did really convey much of power to be properly called political. I have sat there, with some observation, for nine and twenty years or thereabouts. The power of a member of parliament is uncertain and indirect; and if power rather than splendor and fame were the object, I should think that any of the principal clerks in office, (to say nothing of their superiors) several of whom are disqualified by law for seats in parliament, possess far more power than nine-tenths of the members of the House of Commons. I might say this of men who seemed, from their fortunes, their weight in the country, and their talents, to be persons of figure there; and persons, too, not in opposition to the prevailing party in government."

Of the truth of what we have above observed in respect to the effect of the revolutionary violences in France, in reconciling the mind of Mr. Burke to the character of the Romish religion, many passages might be cited from the second letter to Sir Hercules Langrish.

"The worst of the matter is this: you are partly leading, partly driving into jacobinism, that description of your people, whose religious principles, church polity, and habitual discipline, might make them an invincible dyke against that inundation."

The following passage contains some most valuable and just observations, at the same time that it confirms what we have remarked of the overpowering effect of the direful prognostics of the French revolution on the mind of Mr. Burke; such, perhaps, as to bring all constitutions, creeds, and communions, which stood in opposition to French principles, and which boast any antiquity, even in their prejudices or errors, too near to an equality in his manner of viewing them.

"I do readily admit that a great deal of the wars, seditions, and troubles of the world did formerly turn upon the contention between interests that went by the names of protestant and catholic, but I imagined that at this time no one was weak enough to believe, or impudent enough to pretend, that questions of popish and protestant opinions or interests are the things by which men are at present menaced with crusades, by foreign invasion, or with seditions which shake the foundations of the state at home. It is long since all this combination of things has vanished from the view of

intelligent observers. The existence of quite another system of opinions and interests is now plain to the grossest sense. Are these the questions that raise a flame in the minds of men at this day? If ever the church and the constitution of England should fall in these islands, (*and they will fall together*), it is not presbyterian or popish hierarchy that will rise upon their ruins. It will not be the church of Rome, nor the church of Scotland, nor the church of Luther, nor the church of Calvin. On the contrary, all these churches are menaced, and menaced alike. It is the new fanatical religion, now in the heat of its first ferment, of the rights of man, which rejects all establishments, all discipline, all ecclesiastical, and in truth all civil order, which will triumph, and which will lay prostrate your church; which will destroy your distinctions; and which will put all your properties to auction, and disperse you over the earth. If the present establishment should fall, it is this religion which will triumph in Ireland and in England, as it has triumphed in France. This religion, which laughs at creeds, and dogmas, and confessions of faith, may be fomented equally amongst all descriptions, and all sects; amongst nominal catholics, and amongst nominal churchmen; and amongst those dissenters who know little, and care less, about a presbytery, or any of its discipline, or any of its doctrines."

It is remarkable that the whole weight of Mr. Burke's censure falls upon the protestant part of the Irish people, which he openly declares himself to think is every where teeming with dangerous conspiracy. He even goes so far as to attribute, in a great degree, their negative merit in abstaining from actual commotion to the principles of the Catholics, and the incessant endeavours of *their* clergy to keep them from being generally infected with the systems of the time. This is too delicate a point for us to interfere in. But before we quit this subject, we cannot avoid mentioning a curious fact recorded by Mr. Burke, upon the authority principally of Archbishop Usher, which throws considerable light upon the ecclesiastical history of Ireland. It appears, that previous to the union of Ireland with the crown of England, the religion of the Irish was not very remote from the protestantism of the present time. The papal authority being very low in that country, the union with this crown was effected by an arbitrary grant of Pope Adrian, which to an ambitious monarch presented a very plausible pretence for the conquest and subjugation of that kingdom. For a very long time, even down to the reformation, the kings of England, in their most solemn acts, founded their title wholly on this grant. They called for obedience, says Mr. Burke, from the people of Ireland, not on the principles of subjection, but as their meane lords between them and the pope, and they omitted no measure

of force or policy to establish the papal authority, and all the distinguishing articles of religion connected with it, and to make it take deep root in the minds of the people.

It is very obvious that Mr. Burke does not put the claim of the Catholics upon any footing of *right*; and that no man better understood, as no man has better explained, the distinction between religious freedom and civil capacity. He thought, that in the existing circumstances of the country, and the frame of men's minds in respect to religious opinions, a larger participation of political function and power might be safely conceded to the catholic body; but he never urged the principle of *right* and *title* beyond the mere removal of the penal laws, and whatever of exclusion or disability might justly be considered as a pressure upon religious liberty.

We have delivered our humble sentiments on the catholic question in the first number of this Review; and from the quantity of additional talent and research which has since been directed to the subject, we do not perceive that it has received any development, so as to dispose us to any material change of sentiment. To comply with the requisitions to the extent of the *principle* of those requisitions, would be at once to involve every thing in the concession. The principle on which the concession is demanded does itself concede nothing to the original essential right of the state to stipulate the qualifications under which its magistracies, its dignities, and its authorities, are to be held and exercised.

The catholic question has ever appeared to us a mere question of expediency, a question of reference to the demands, interests, and safety, of our constitutional establishments. We have no right to brand that religion as a system of belief incompatible with the social and civil happiness of man. If it could be treated in this view, the penal laws, at least to their full conservative extent, would be plainly justifiable; for catholicism would then assume the nature of crime. This cannot be, since in point of fact, the catholic religion has been found compatible with much individual enjoyment, and much political prosperity. The moral order of the world has been progressive under it. But the state,—the people in their functional and organized capacities, have a right coeval with their political existence to judge, and to judge from such lights as history and analogy, and the internal evidence of their own bosoms, afford them, how far the professors of any tenets, speculative or practical, can be admitted into the uppermost, middlemost, or lowermost, places in the management, control, or execution, of the public business of the nation. "To take away from men their lives," says

Mr. Burke, "their liberty or their property, those things for the protection of which society was introduced, is great hardship and intolerable tyranny; but to annex any condition you please to benefits artificially created, is the most just, natural, and proper thing in the world. When *e novo* you form an arbitrary benefit, an advantage, a preeminence or emolument, not by nature, but institution, you order and modify it with all the power of a creator over his creature. Such benefits of institution are royalty, nobility, priesthood; all of which you may limit to birth; you might prescribe even shape and stature."

These principles Mr. Burke has followed up with great ability in his speech in parliament on the petition which was presented to the House of Commons from certain clergymen of the church of England, and from certain gentlemen of the two professions of the civil law and physic, and others; praying to be relieved from subscription to the thirty-nine articles, as required by the acts of uniformity\*. Of this speech, and several others spoken by Mr. Burke in parliament, this volume presents us with fragments and notes, which Mr. Burke had preserved with an apparent design to publish them. These fragments of speeches are perhaps the most valuable part of the volume before us, and we cannot help expressing our warmest thanks to the right reverend editor, for the communication of them to the public. They appear, indeed, under great and manifest disadvantages, but their beauty is above disparagement. We have ventured to intimate some doubts concerning the propriety of making public some of the rough draughts, loose hints, and mere notes for future use found among Mr. Burke's papers; because what are thus committed to paper are often very different from the mature and considered adoptions of the writer. But fragments of his finished performances are endeared to us by loss of the residue. Rescued from the ruin of time, each mutilated limb shews the touches of that unrivalled skill to which it owed its goodly proportions. It is thus with the fragments of Cicero, which are produced in that state only because the world has lost the remainder. But in the loose memoranda of Mr. Burke, we have to regret, not the remainder of the productions, but the remainder or better half of that vast intellect which was reserved to consummate and adorn its first rapid creations. We question whether to publish them be quite fair towards the reputation of the writer.

\* The persons associated for this purpose were distinguished at the time by the name of the Southern Society, from the place where their meetings were usually held. Their petition was presented on the 6th Feb. 1772; and on a motion that it should be brought up, the same was negatived on a division, in which Mr. Burke voted in the majority, by 217 against 71. Note by the Editor.



The speech on the acts of uniformity may be regarded as a very precious monument of practical wisdom. All parties in and out of the church may find in this political lecture the instruction they respectively stand most in need of. Mr. Burke has here argued with great force against the relaxation of the law sought by the petitioners, but his moderation and temper are not inferior to his force; and the speech is, perhaps, chiefly valuable for the accurate line it draws between a stiffness in opposing, and a facility in adopting proposals of alteration.

“ We all know that those who loll at their ease in high dignities, whether of the church, or of the state, are commonly averse to all reformation. It is hard to persuade them that there can be any thing amiss in establishments, which by feeling experience they find to be so very comfortable. It is true, that from the same selfish motives, those who are struggling upwards, are apt to find every thing wrong and out of order. These are truths upon the one side and on the other; and neither on the one or on the other, in argument, are they worth a single farthing.

“ It has been asserted, said Mr. Burke, that if you alter her symbols, you alter the being of the church of England. This, for the sake of the liberty of that church, I must absolutely deny. The church, like every body corporate, may alter her laws without changing her identity. As an independent church, professing fallibility, she has claimed a right of acting without the consent of any other; as a church, she claims and has always exercised a right of reforming whatever appeared amiss in her doctrine, her discipline, or her rites. She did so, when she shook off the papal supremacy in the reign of Henry the Eighth, which was an act of the body of the English church as well as of the state (I don't enquire how obtained). She did so, when she twice changed the liturgy in the reign of King Edward; when she then established articles which were themselves a variation from former professions. She did so when she cut off three articles from her original forty-two, and reduced them to the present thirty-nine; and she certainly would not lose her corporate identity, nor subvert her fundamental principles, though she were to leave ten of the thirty-nine which remain out of any future confession of her faith. She would limit her corporate powers on the contrary, and she would oppose her fundamental principles, if she were to deny herself the prudential exercise of such capacity of reformation\*. This, therefore, can be no objection to your receiving the petition.

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\* But as all multitudes, united in social compact, are naturally warranted to enforce upon their own subjects individually those things which public wisdom shall judge expedient for the public good, so it were absurd to imagine the church itself, the most glorious of such societies, abridged of this liberty, or to think that no law, constitution, or canon, can be further made, either for limitation or amplification, in the practice of our Saviour's ordinances, whatever occasion be offered, through variety of times and things, during the state of this inconstant world. Hooker, Eccl. P. Book 6.

"In the next place, Sir, I am clear that the act of union, reciting and ratifying one Scotch and one English act of parliament, has not rendered any change whatsoever in our church impossible; but by a dissolution of the union between the two kingdoms.

"The honourable gentleman who has last touched upon that point, has not gone quite so far as the gentlemen who first insisted upon it. However, as none of them wholly abandon that post, it will not be safe to leave it behind me unattacked. I believe no one will wish their interpretation of that act to be considered as authentic. What shall we think of the wisdom (to say nothing of the competence) of that legislature, which should ordain to itself such a fundamental law at its outset, as to disable itself from executing its own functions; which should prevent itself from making any further laws, however wanted, and that too, on the most interesting subject that belongs to human society, and where she most frequently wants its interposition, which should fix its fundamental laws that are for ever to prevent it from adapting itself to its opinions however clear, or to its own necessities however urgent? Such an act, Mr. Speaker, would for ever put the church out of its own power; it certainly would put it far above the state, and erect it into that species of independency which it has been the great principle of our policy to prevent. The act never meant, I am sure, any such unnatural restraint on the joint legislature it was then forming."

Mr. Burke, therefore, had no doubt of the competency in the state to introduce reformations into the church. But he shews himself equally tenacious of the gravity and caution, which should accompany such a procedure. He reprobates the fond and foolish persuasion, that the frailty and imperfection, which belong to an institution, form a sufficient ground for alteration. By no alteration would the legislature get rid of errors, however they might vary the fashion of them. But the only ground for a legislative alteration of a legal establishment was this, that the legislature found the inclination of the majority of the people, concurring with their own sense of the intolerable nature of the abuse, in favour of a change. Because there did not exist any thing like this ground for the relief petitioned for, Mr. Burke was decidedly against it. His speech went fully into the question of grievance in being called upon to subscribe the thirty-nine articles, as the test of admissibility to ecclesiastical employment and emolument within the establishment.

"If you will have religion practised and publicly taught, you must have a power to say, what that religion will be which you will protect and encourage; and to distinguish it by such marks and characteristics, as you in your wisdom shall think fit."

Such were the opinions of Mr. Burke as to the power in the

state to fix and modify the qualifications for civil and ecclesiastical authority, function, or trust. He was as anxious to prevent "any breach in the walls of the establishment," as he was desirous of extending the fullest toleration to all without them. The speech which is next introduced, and which was delivered in the house on the second reading of a bill for the relief of the protestant dissenters, exhibits in the most eloquent form, the large and charitable constitution of his mind on this subject. His arguments against the continuance of penal laws which are never put in execution on account of the discordancy between them and the manners and sentiments of the whole body of the nation, are thus enforced.

"They put statesmen and magistrates into a habit of playing fast and loose with the laws, straining or relaxing them as may best suit their purposes; and in that light tend to corrupt the executive power through all its offices. I would have the laws tuned in unison with the manners—very dissonant are a gentle country and cruel laws: very dissonant that your reason is furious, but your passions moderate."

Full of this toleration, he was yet full of zeal for the church of England, on behalf of which, in this same speech, he thus beautifully expresses himself.

"At the same time that I would cut up the very root of atheism, I would respect all conscience, all conscience that is really such, and which perhaps its very tenderness proves to be sincere. I wish to see the established church of England great and powerful, I wish to see her foundations laid low and deep, that she may crush the giant powers of rebellious darkness; I would have her head raised up to that heaven to which she conducts us. I would have her open wide her hospitable gates by a noble and liberal comprehension: but I would have no breaches in her wall; I would have her cherish all those who are within, and pity all those who are without: I would have her a common blessing to the world, an example, if not an instructor, to those who have not the happiness to belong to her: I would have her give a lesson of peace to mankind, that a vexed and wandering generation might be taught to seek for repose and toleration in the maternal bosom of Christian charity, and not in the harlot lap of infidelity and indifference. Nothing has driven people more into that house of seduction than the mutual hatred of Christian congregations."

Blush ye little men! Blush ye mistaken friends of the established church! when you read this holy heavenly passage, at the censure you bring upon the cause of religion, which is the glory of the church of England, by multiplying animosities and quarrels within your own pale concerning points unangaly

minute, and not essential to the purity of our faith; and by the unchristian practice of vilifying those without the pale, who differ from us in their modes of faith or worship; forgetting that the only champions which the church avows, are those who dignify her tenets by a correspondence in their lives, widely disperse her seed of salvation and life, and walk in the paths of their active duties with their feet shod with the blessings of her ministry.

We have next the speech of this great Englishman, (we mean to use the word emphatically,) on the motion of Mr. Fox, for leave to bring in a bill to repeal and alter certain acts respecting religious opinions, which motion was understood to be grounded upon a petition presented to the House of Commons by the Unitarian Society. In this speech Mr. Burke thus expresses himself on the connection between church and state.

“An alliance between church and state in a Christian commonwealth is, in my opinion, an idle and fanciful speculation. An *alliance* is between two things which are, in their nature, distinct and independent; such as between two sovereign states. But in a Christian commonwealth, the church and the state are one and the same thing, being different integral parts of the same whole. For the church has been always divided into two parts, the *clergy* and the *laity*; of which the laity is as much an essential integral part, and has as much its duties and privileges as the clerical member; and in the rule, order, and government of the church, has its share. Religion is so far, in my opinion, from being out of the province or the duty of a Christian magistrate, that it is, and it ought to be, not only his care, but the principal thing in his care; because it is one of the great bonds of human society; and its object the supreme, the ultimate end and object of man himself.”\*

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\* Warburton, who considers the union of church and state as in the nature of an *alliance*, and not an *incorporation*, comes, however, to the same conclusion.

“Thus it is seen, that though the conservation of these principles belongs to the magistrate, it is not because they compose part of the beautiful structure of a commonwealth, which would be violating the unity of its end, but as they are the rock, the foundation on which that edifice is built. But it is not the less for that within the province of the magistrate.” Warb. Alliance, &c. Sect. 4.

The notions of Hooker on this subject are more in correspondence with those of Mr. Burke. “Now we say that the care of religion being common to all politic societies, those societies which embrace the true religion are called, by way of distinction, the Church.” We hold that every man who is a member of the church of England, is also a member of the state. And the same multitude constitutes both, therefore there is no real and personal division between them. They are only distinguished by their separate qualities, actions, and offices, as of the three lines of a triangle, each is a base or a side according to its position.

In a Christian country the church and commonwealth are one society, which I termed a state according to its forms of secular laws and government, and a church according to the spiritual law of Christ. The difference between them is

How far Mr. Burke was justified in stigmatising the Unitarian body as a politico-religious faction, as decided enemies of our church establishment, and professed admirers and promoters of French revolutionary principles, we must leave our readers to form a judgment for themselves. There is something which, to our ears, sounds extremely harsh and impolitic, in branding with opprobrious imputations any bodies of men not corporately and actively arrayed against the state. But this delicacy becomes a false and unwholesome feeling, and very wide of that charity whose character it assumes, when it blinds us to the proceedings of those who, under pretence of religious liberty, and in the absurd shape of advocates of *rational* Christianity, meet together to denounce that creed and that discipline which constitute our venerable church; while they confess the close union between that church and the state by their oblique hostility to the principles of the monarchy, and by the factious odour of their greetings and their correspondencies. We like not all this any more than Mr. Burke; we shall watch it; we shall expose it, when it assumes a specific form; we shall endeavour to particularise it by its marks and its physiognomy. But for the sake of the character and the honour of that church and that monarchy to which our affections are riveted, we think it our duty to abstain from vituperative attacks upon any body of dissentients, because such are not the weapons which it becomes our profession to use, because by this declaration of war we shut the door of reconciliation, and because in such a promiscuous attack honest prejudices, or virtuous ignorance, may be sacrificed. In support of the charge Mr. Burke brings against the Unitarians, as a faction of the worst and most dangerous description, and as an association for the purpose of proselytism against the national religion, he refers us to the letter of Dr. Priestley to Mr. Pitt—to the advertisement of the Unitarian society for celebrating the 14th July—to the correspondence of the revolution society with the clubs of France; and Priestley's adoption of their opinions—and other proofs and documents. We must confess, that for ascertaining the justness of this accusation we have not philosophy or patience enough to examine these records. Of these records, though we doubt whether they will justify an indiscriminating accusation of the whole body of Unitarians, (since many Unitarians

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only in accidents and circumstances, and not in substance. Contradistinguishing between the church and the commonwealth in a Christian society, we mean by the commonwealth that society with relation to all its public affairs, except true religion; by the church the same society with reference to religious matters exclusively. And there is no proof either in Scripture or the Fathers, that they were independent societies." Hooker, Eccl. Pol. Book 8.

mans disavow and repudiate them,) we have no reluctance to declare our intolerable disgust.

Blind mouths! that scarce themselves know how to hold  
A sheep-hook, or have learned ought else the least  
That to the faithful herdsman's art belongs!  
What recks it them? what need they? They are sped;  
And when they list, their lean and flashy songs  
Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw;  
*The hungry sheep look up and are not fed,*  
But swoln with wind, and the rank mist they draw,  
Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread.

We cannot help thinking that this speech is altogether very injudicious. The strong feeling of Mr. Burke on the subject of the French revolution betrayed him into digressions in which it must be owned he greatly wandered from his subject, and exposed himself to that irreverent treatment with which it was about this time the disgraceful habit of the House of Commons to receive the admonitions of this great man. The speech, however, is not without the characteristic beauties of his eloquence, as will appear by the following specimen.

“Old religious factions are volcanoes burnt out: on the lava and ashes and squalid scorizæ of old eruptions grow the peaceful olive, the cheering vine, and the sustaining corn. But when a new fire bursts out, a face of desolation comes on not to be rectified in ages. Therefore, when men come before us, and rise up like an exhalation from the ground, they come in a questionable shape, and we must exorcise them, and try whether their intents be wicked or charitable; whether they bring airs from heaven or blasts from hell. This is the first time that our records of parliament have heard, or our experience or our history given us an account of any religious congregation or association known by the name which these petitioners have assumed.”

The speech pronounced by Mr. Burke on the bill proposed for shortening the duration of parliaments, that tiresome decantatum of Mr. Alderman Sawbridge, is full of sterling policy, and courageous wisdom. As this was one of the many instances in which Mr. Burke differed from his friends, and risked his popularity in behalf of sound principles and practical good sense, we will produce the passage, in which he defines, in golden words, the relation between a member of parliament and his constituents.

“It is easy to pretend a zeal for liberty. Those who think themselves not likely to be incumbered with the performance of their promises, either from their known inability, or total indifference about the performance, never fail to entertain the most lofty

ideas. They are certainly the most specious, and they cost them neither reflection to frame, nor pains to modify, nor management to support. The task is of another nature to those who mean to promise nothing which it is not in their intention, or may possibly be in their power to perform;—to those who are bound and principled *no more to delude the understanding* than to violate the liberty of their fellow-subjects. Faithful watchmen we ought to be over the rights and privileges of the people. But our duty, if we are qualified for it as we ought to be, is to give them information, and not to receive it from them; we are not to go to school to them to learn the principles of law and government. In doing so we should not dutifully serve, but we should basely and scandalously betray the people, who are not capable of this service by nature, nor in any instance called to it by the constitution. I reverentially look up to the opinion of the people, and with an awe that is almost superstitious. I should be ashamed to show my face before them if I changed my ground as they cried up or cried down men, or things, or opinions; if I wavered and shifted about with every change, and jowed in it or opposed, as best answered any low interest or passion; if I held them up hopes of that which I knew I never intended, or promised what I well knew I could not perform. Of all these things they are perfect sovereign judges without appeal; but as to the detail of particular measures, or to any general schemes of policy, they have neither enough of speculation in the closet, nor experience in business to decide upon it. They can well see whether we are tools of a court, or their honest servants. Of that they can well judge, and I wish that they always exercised their judgment; but of the particular merits of a measure I have other standards."

On a motion made on the 7th May, 1782, for a committee to enquire into the state of the representation of the commons in parliament, Mr. Burke addressed that assembly in a speech exhibiting the same sentiments and principles which always stand in the front of the great consistent scheme of his public conduct. Nothing could be more happily imagined than his allusion to the statical chair.

"Are the local interests of Cornwall and Wiltshire, for instance, their roads, canals, their prisons, their police, better than Yorkshire, Warwickshire, or Staffordshire? Warwick has members; is Warwick, or Stafford, more opulent, happy, or free, than Newcastle, or than Birmingham? Is Wiltshire the pampered favourite, whilst Yorkshire, like the child of the bond-woman, is turned out to the desert? This is like the unhappy persons, who live, if they can be said to live, in the statical chair; who are ever feeling their pulse, and who do not judge of health by the aptitude of the body to perform its functions, but by their ideas of what ought to be the due balance between the several secretions."

His speech on the motion of the Right Hon. William Dowdeswell, for leave to bring in a bill for explaining the powers of juries in prosecutions for libel, was, as might have been expected, on the popular and constitutional side, but here also the sobriety of his maxims lost none of its influence, and the evils and abuses of the press did not go without his grave rebuke.

“Undoubtedly the good fame of every man ought to be under the protection of the laws, as well as his life, his liberty, and his property. Good-fame is an outwork that defends them all, and renders them all valuable. The law forbids you to revenge—when it ties up the hands of some, it ought to restrain the tongues of others. The good fame of government is the same; it ought not to be traduced. This is necessary in all governments; and if opinion be support, what takes away this destroys that support.”

Again Mr. Burke was in opposition to Mr. Fox on his bill for the repeal of the marriage act, the motion for which was made June 1, 1781. And here again is afforded an impressive instance of his political and moral discretion. The bill was rejected on the second reading, without a division. We will present the reader with one passage, in which the characteristic goodness of Mr. Burke's heart breaks out in an emphatic strain of eloquent egotism.

“It is said, the marriage act is aristocratic. I am accused, I am told abroad, of being a man of aristocratic principles. If by aristocracy they mean the peers, I have no vulgar admiration, nor any vulgar antipathy towards them. I hold their order in cold and decent respect. I hold them to be of an absolute necessity in the constitution, but I think they are only good when kept within their proper bounds. I trust, whenever there has been a dispute between these houses, the part I have taken has not been equivocal. If by the aristocracy, which indeed comes nearer to the point, they mean an adherence to the rich and powerful against the poor and weak, this would indeed be a very extraordinary part. I have incurred the odium of gentlemen in this house for not paying sufficient regard to men of ample property. When, indeed, the smallest rights of the poorest people in the kingdom are in question, I would set my face against any act of pride and power countenanced by the highest that are in it, and if it should come to the last extremity, and to a contest of blood—God forbid, God forbid!—my part is taken, I would take my fate with the poor, and low, and feeble. But if these people came to turn their liberty into a cloak for maliciousness, and to seek a privilege of exemption, not from power, but from the rules of morality and virtuous discipline, then I would join my hand to make them feel the force, which a few, united in a good cause, have over a multitude of the profligate and ferocious.”



Passing over the hints for an essay on the drama, which, as we have deemed them too loose and unformed for publication, we must, of course, consider as unfit subjects of criticism, we will direct our attention in the next place to the Abridgment of the English History. There are many reasons against the exercise of critical severity in the consideration of this performance. Never was work sent forth under more cruel disadvantages. The whole was written at about the age of twenty-seven; before the commencement of the author's political life; and apparently coming under the description of what is called a bookseller's job. The seventy-four first pages were printed in the year 1759, and only then appear to have received the correcting hand of the author; so that in all likelihood had he, who was so nice a judge of the peculiar beauties of each species of composition, and usually kept back so much of his intellectual force for the last process of revision, been consulted on the subject, his delicate and difficult judgment would have withheld this piece from the world. Let it be remembered too, that the work pretends only to be an abridgment, and that so much of it as is here presented to us, comprehends only the first period of our history, as far as to the reign of John, inclusively. Circumstances sufficiently unfavourable to the display of historical ability. To give to an abridgment of history the compression it demands, without producing abruptness in the style, calls for very great skill in arrangement and connection. It should be kept in mind, too, that history, to be written interestingly, must be in itself interesting. And if Bolingbroke be right, in holding the latter end of the fifteenth century to be the period from which history is to be taken up as a study, and not before, it will follow that Mr. Burke was, in this instance, employed upon a narrative of events to which the mind can attach but little interest. The chain of continuity which, in a series of cause and effect, connects distant with present times, has been burst asunder by those great revolutions which have so changed the face of things, as to leave little to remind us of our ancient condition. Conscious of all this, and professing to carry his history to the period at which it was considered that Mr. Hume designed his to commence, and meditating, at the best, nothing but an abridgment, the writer was doubtless more anxious to get over this early part of our annals without becoming tedious, than to blaze before the public in the brilliancy of his powers. But we do not enumerate these various disadvantages to apologize for a lame and imperfect performance; but rather to do justice to its merits under circumstances which would have precluded success in less able hands. Mr. Burke "an Eden raised in the waste

wilderness: wherever he wanders the ground becomes enchanted under him, and exhales the odours of his genius.

Mr. Fox selected a period of great, perhaps of the greatest importance, in our history—a period peculiarly favourable to the exercise and display of his knowledge, and, what was more, to the gratification of his political tastes. It could not be said that he did not write *con amore*. His was a work which appears to have been almost finished *ad unguem*, as far as he had proceeded—finished, too, at the latter period of his life, and with his mind at the highest stage of its maturity, and full of the stores of experience. Leisure, opportunity, the prepossessions of his countrymen, free communications, foreign travel, libraries, manuscripts, and the labours of other men, all poured in help upon him; yet we do not fear to affirm, that this fragment of Mr. Burke's, with all its disadvantages, and with all its blemishes (for blemishes it has), is very superior in wisdom, in research, in vigour, and in arrangement, to the performance of his great competitor.

A manifest difference is discernible between that part of it which was finished, and that which had not received his last touches.

Preparatory notes for an abridgment would be likely even in his hands to have something of the uncouthness of abrupt transition, and some harshness would naturally appear in that which was completed under the necessity, which the undertaking imposed, of laborious compression. Into the part which was unfinished and unprinted by the author, criticism has no right of access, and candour will suppose that had it been finished it would have been equal to that which *was* finished. Making all due allowances for the subject, and for the nature of an abridgment, we cannot help thinking, that, to the extent to which the work can be fairly taken as a specimen, it is entitled to rank among the other complete performances of the same author. It is terse, vigorous, and classical in its style; and, in its matter, dense and full, without effort, dryness, or obscurity. Thought and observation every where accompany the narration, without in the least encumbering its progress. The history marches onward rather aided than impeded by its flowing investiture. In this respect Mr. Burke has the merit of Tacitus, with less of that abruptness, and none of the obscurity, which not unfrequently belongs to the Roman annalist. The character and object of his work being that of an abridgment, it would be unfair to compare it with Livy, Hume, or Robertson; but when we reflect how easy it would have been for Mr. Burke to have rivalled the richness, the strength, or the gracefulness of each of those writers, we cannot but yield him the higher homage for the

chastity and self-denial with which he has bowed himself down to the task of an abridger. In general strength of outline, in vigour of colouring, in the picturesque representation of character and manners, in profundity of observation, Mr. Fox appears to us to have been deficient; his merit lies principally in argumentative acuteness, perspicuity of expression, simplicity of detail, and a certain authoritative ease and cultivated common sense. We say nothing of the impartiality of his story or the correctness of his principles. In those qualifications in which Mr. Fox was deficient, Mr. Burke abounded; and in those in which Mr. Fox was preeminent, Mr. Burke, perhaps, only appeared to have less by having more of the other description.

Even in the remote period of which he treated, Mr. Burke found opportunities of sketching the portraits of some interesting characters, and making them profitable for example. Religion found no very friendly recognition of her benefits and blessings in the history of Mr. Fox. Mr. Burke is never more animated or more at home than when paying her the spontaneous homage of his eloquence. He has recognised her true features in the character of Alfred, and has by her means brought him nearer to our view than he has hitherto been. The character of William, surnamed the Conqueror, being better recorded and less remote, he has drawn it with firmer strokes and in bolder relief. After having so long trespassed upon the reader's patience, we must content ourselves with producing a very broken specimen.

“He had a body suited to the character of his mind; erect, firm, large, and active: a countenance stern, and which became command. Magnificent in his living, reserved in his conversation, grave in his common deportment, but relaxing with a wise facetiousness, he knew how to relieve his mind and preserve his dignity; for he never forfeited, by a personal acquaintance, the esteem which he had acquired by his great actions. Unlearned in books, he formed his understanding by the rigid discipline of a large and complicated experience. He knew men much, and therefore trusted them but little; but when he knew any man to be good, he reposed in him an entire confidence, which prevented his prudence from degenerating into a vice. He had vices in his composition, and great ones: but they were the vices of a great mind; ambition, the malady of every extensive genius; and avarice, the madness of the wise; one chiefly actuated his youth, the other governed his age. The vices of young and light minds, the joys of wine and the pleasures of love, never reached his aspiring nature.”

With this character of William the First, in which he has tastefully avoided all those affected discriminations, and guessing

synthetical contrarieties by which, in most of the modern historians, character is frittered down into parts and elements which no reader's imagination can ever adjust and put together, is well contrasted his account of the venerable Beda, who flourished at the same time with the Conqueror.

“The great and justest boast of this monastery \* is the venerable Beda, who was educated and spent his whole life there: an account of his writings is an account of the English learning in that age taken in its most advantageous view. Many of his works remain, and he wrote both in prose and verse, and upon all sorts of subjects. His theology forms the most considerable part of his writings. He wrote comments upon almost the whole Scripture, and several homilies on the principal festivals of the church. Both the comments and sermons are generally allegorical in the construction of the text, and simply moral in the application. In these discourses several things seemed strained and fanciful; but herein he followed entirely the manner of the earlier fathers, from whom the greatest part of his divinity is not so much imitated as extracted. The systematic and logical method, which seems to have been first introduced into theology by John of Damascus, and which afterwards was known by the name of school divinity, was not then in use, at least in the western church; though, soon after, it made an amazing progress. In this scheme the allegorical gave way to the literal explication; the imagination had less scope; and the affections were less touched. But it prevailed by an appearance more solid and philosophical; by an order more scientific; and by a readiness of application either for the solution or the exciting of doubts and difficulties.

“They also cultivated in this monastery the study of natural philosophy and astronomy. There remain of Beda one entire book, and some scattered essays on these subjects. This book, *de rérum naturâ*, is concise and methodical, and contains no very contemptible abstract of the physics, which were taught on the decline of the Roman empire. It was somewhat unfortunate that the infancy of English learning was supported by the dotage of the Roman, and that even the spring-head, from whence they drew their instructions, was itself corrupted. However, the works of the great masters of the ancient science still remained; but in natural philosophy the worst was the most fashionable. The epicurean physics, the most approaching to rational, had long lost all credit by being made the support of an impious theology and a loose morality. The fine visions of Plato fell into some discredit by the abuse which heretics had made of them; and the writings of Aristotle seem to have been then the only ones much regarded even in natural philosophy, in which branch of science alone they were unworthy of him. Beda entirely follows his system. The

appearances of nature are explained by matter and form, and by the four vulgar elements; acted upon by the four supposed qualities of hot, dry, moist, and cold? His astronomy is on the common system of the ancients; sufficient for the few purposes to which they applied it; but otherwise imperfect and grossly erroneous. He makes the moon larger than the earth; though a reflection on the nature of eclipses, which he understood, might have satisfied him of the contrary. But he had so much to copy, that he had little time to examine. These speculations, however erroneous, were still useful; for though men err in assigning the causes of natural operation, the works of nature are by this means brought under their consideration; which cannot be done without enlarging the mind. The science may be false or frivolous; the improvement will be real. It may here be remarked that soon afterwards the monks began to apply themselves to astronomy and chronology from the disputes which were carried on with so much heat and so little effect concerning the proper time of celebrating Easter; and the English owed the cultivation of these noble sciences to one of the most trivial controversies of ecclesiastical discipline. Beda did not confine his attention to those superior sciences. He treated of music and of rhetoric, of grammar, and the art of versification, and of arithmetic, both by letters and on the fingers: and his work on this last subject is the only one in which that piece of antique curiosity has been preserved to us. All these are short pieces: some of them are in the catechistical method; and seem designed for the immediate use of the pupils in his monastery; in order to furnish them with some leading ideas in the rudiments of these arts, then newly introduced into his country. He likewise made, and probably for the same purpose, a very ample and valuable collection of short philosophical, political, and moral maxims from Aristotle, Plato, Seneca, and other sages of heathen antiquity. He made a separate book of shining common-places, and remarkable passages, extracted from the works of Cicero, of whom he was a great admirer; though he seems to have been not an happy or diligent imitator in his style. From a view of these pieces we may form an idea of what stock in the science the English at that time possessed, and what advances they had made. That work of Beda which is the best known and most esteemed, is the Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation. Disgraced by a want of choice, and frequently by a confused ill disposition of his matter, and blemished with a degree of credulity next to infantine, it is still a valuable, and, for the time, a surprising performance. The book opens with a description of this island, which would not have disgraced a classical author; and he has prefixed to it a chronological abridgment of sacred and profane history, connected from the beginning of the world, which, though not critically adapted to his main design, is of far more intrinsic value, and, indeed, displays a vast fund of historical erudition. On the whole, though this father of the English learning seems to have been but a genius of the

middle class, neither elevated nor subtil; and one who wrote in a low style, simple, but not elegant; yet when we reflect upon the time in which he lived, the place in which he spent his whole life, within the walls of a monastery, in so remote and wild a country, it is impossible to refuse him the praise of an incredible industry and a generous thirst of knowledge."

If we were to select those parts of this little work, which, in addition to the passages already cited, we deem best entitled to praise, we should point out the description of the manners of the Druids, (in which, by the by, there are some very good hints to the friends of our establishment,) the suggestions on the constitution of the Wittenagemot, the account of the royal revenue, the character of King John, and above all, the fragment on the history of the laws of England. It must be owned, however, that there are some feeble parts which stood in great need of the vivifying touches of his finishing hand. We do not feel the propriety of the parallel between Charles the Twelfth of Sweden and our Richard the First, between whom, except in the properties of valour common to both, there seems to be no very striking resemblance. The parallel also between ancient and modern Rome, and the modes by which they pushed their conquests over the world; and of the modern legates and ancient consuls, appeared to us to be far fetched and fanciful. We consider it our duty to express our disapprobation of an unholy use which Mr. Burke sometimes makes of phrases borrowed from the text of Scripture, as in his speech on the reform of parliament, where, in speaking of the irreverence in which he perceived the constitution of his country to be held by certain gentlemen, he observes, that "it was despised and rejected of men." So again in his speech on the bill for explaining the rights of juries, he says, "Their bill is sown in weakness, it will, I trust, be reaped in power." As little do we relish his application of these words of our Saviour, "Lazarus is not dead, but sleepeth," to Lord North, who seemed to be asleep in the house. As the name of the holy one is not to be taken in vain, or that of his holy Son pronounced without the homage of the knee, we are for extending the same reverent abstinence to the sentences and phrases of Scripture which have been consecrated by the lips which have uttered them, and by the divine occasions on which they have been used.

Very many passages, as might have been expected from the state in which the papers were found by the editor, are faulty in grammar and syntax, and many words are unwarrantably used and applied. Upon the whole, much of what is presented to us in this volume, though crowded with beauties, exhibit evident

marks of haste and negligence, but of that haste and negligence only which was natural to one who was putting down his first thoughts on paper. We had collected all these instances with some labour, but before sending them to the press we struck them out, with some displeasure at ourselves for having forgotten that, though where an author commits himself voluntarily to the public he has made the public his judges, it is rather too much to take possession of the posthumous treasures of his brain by a title standing rather on occupancy or spoliation, than gift, inheritance, or purchase, and then to scrutinize their blemishes and imperfections.

It gives us extraordinary pleasure (so great an interest do we take in the memory of this excellent person,) to find by the preface of the right reverend editor, that we are to expect from his hands a narrative of Mr. Burke's life, with some particulars, not hitherto promulged, of his early days. Such an undertaking, if executed in a manner worthy of its object, will be one of the most valuable presents which can be made to the nation in these times. We shall be glad of another opportunity of directing the attention of our readers to the portrait of a man, who, in a time of great public danger, party violence, and political vacillation, fulfilled every engagement of public and private honour, and preserved his consistency, fidelity, and loyalty unshaken to the last.

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ART. XIII. *Rokeby, a Poem.* By Walter Scott, Esq. 4to. p.p. 446. Edinburgh, Ballantyne and Co.—London, Longman and Co. 1813.

AMONGST the fashionable arrivals which we are accustomed to read of in our daily newspapers, we feel ourselves now fully prepared for an annual visitor from Edinburgh, in the shape and under the title of Mr. Walter Scott's muse. Accustomed to present herself so frequently to the eyes of an admiring public, like other young ladies she has long ago acquired (to use her own language)

"the ease  
That marks security to please."

But we must take the liberty of observing (for Reviewers ought to be plain-spoken men) that she seems to us, according to a

very natural course in the progress of every habit which is not on the side of excellence, to be approaching the brink of a slippery descent, which threatens to precipitate the fair adventurer from the point of careless and haughty security into a fatal forgetfulness of her dependence on the rules of propriety, and the laws of correct taste.

Let it be remembered, too, (to carry the parallel a step further) that while the young lady is in progress towards the attainment of this confident ease, the beholder is also recovering from the first impression, and gaining that ease on his part, which is necessary to enable him coolly to criticise the charms which first took his judgment captive:—that if the propensity to admire is lessened by frequency and familiarity, the disposition to censure is augmented by defiance, and stimulated by neglect; while, perhaps, something too like disgust is the effect of a monotonous repetition of the same dress, the same airs, and the same fascinations.

Our allegory has been of little service, unless it has enabled our readers to anticipate our general opinion of *Rokeby*. We will endeavour to give a hasty sketch of the story; and it will be a very hasty and meagre sketch, because we do not deem it sufficiently complimentary to Mr. Scott to suppose our readers to have suffered the long interval of time which has elapsed since the publication of the poem to have passed without their perusal of it. If they have perused it and have not understood the story, which we venture to say was very possible without any imputation on their understandings, we are sure they will not be induced to read it again after having the story related to them in prose.

If some of our readers have not read the poem, we despair of enabling them to follow the course of the narration by any previous preparation short of a complete paraphrase of each canto, which, to be plain and honest, we could not bring ourselves to do, even if the demands of other articles allowed us sufficient room. A very slight sketch, however, we will give for the sake of rendering intelligible the few remarks upon the execution of the poem, which we shall feel it our duty to offer.

The scene of this poem is laid at *Rokeby*, on the banks of the *Greta* in *Yorkshire*, and shifts occasionally to the castles of *Barward* and *Mortham* in the vicinity. The commencement of the action takes place on the night of the 3d of July 1644, and this period of public confusion has (we understand from the advertisement) been chosen without any purpose of combining the tale with the military or political events of the civil war, but only as affording a degree of probability to the fictitious nar-



rative now presented to the public. The lord of Barnard-castle, Oswald Wycliffe, was also next heir to the possessions of Mortham, a nobleman of high courage and many virtues, but who, having experienced some of the severest domestic calamities, had flown to South America, and had there become the leader of a party of buccaners. One of his bravest comrades was Bertram, first a borderer and afterwards a robber, and fitted in an extraordinary manner to the calls of his profession. His strength, activity, and bravery were only equalled by his avarice and cupidity; and his passions insensible to any restraint, except such as craft and superstition might occasionally impose, excited him to the most desperate undertakings.

He had now returned with Mortham to his native land, where a momentary disgust at some behaviour of his friend and patron was sufficient to induce him to lend himself to the wicked designs of Oswald Wycliffe. He engages treacherously to put an end to Mortham while fighting on the same side at the ensuing battle of Marston Moor; which event will furnish the reader with the supposed date of this fictitious narrative. The poem opens with a representation of the wicked Oswald at the dead of night, extended on his sleepless couch, and expecting, with all the horrors natural to his murderous fancy, the visit of Bertram with the news of the execution of his bloody enterprize. These horrors of conscience, and the feverish agitations of Oswald's mind, are described with the customary vigour and skill of the author, who does not fail to summon effectually to his aid all the physical concomitants of rain and wind, and moon, and clouds, to which his old allies the castle bell, the draw-bridge, and all the gloomy equipage of the feudal mansion, contribute their full contingent of terrors. The moment so anxiously expected at length arrives. Bertram is announced, and a strange scene of suppressed impatience, and insidious curiosity on the one side, and silent suspicion and contempt on the other, ensue, in which the characters of these two wicked men, mutually distrusting, and at bottom hating each other, are by some very strong, though indirect strokes, vigorously displayed. Oswald is at length informed of the supposed success of Bertram in killing Mortham, by shooting him in the confusion of the fight; though this turns out to have been a mistake, as afterwards appears. Oswald being required by Bertram to attend him to Mortham castle in search of the hidden treasure, and not much relishing the proposal, offers in his own stead his son Wilfrid, who accepted as his substitute.

The character of Wilfrid is that of a soft and sickly youth, who had been the favourite child of his mother, untrained to

arts, and preferring the gentler occupations of music and poetry, in which he was a proficient. Of a tender and virtuous cast, and full of the gentler thoughts which a refined imagination is apt to produce, his bosom cherished in silence an unsuccessful passion for Matilda, the daughter of the lord of Rokeby castle. With this ill-fated youth the fierce and pitiless Bertram sets out for Mortham castle, and a dark and dreary journey is described through scenes of great natural wildness and romantic grandeur, calculated to paint upon the horror-stricken fancy of Bertram forms the most terrific and appalling. Here in passing through a grove of yew trees which tradition had peopled with aerial inhabitants, Bertram's superstition represents to him the spectre of a man closely accompanying him. He rushes forward with frantic fury, sword in hand, and strives to ascend the high banks and craggy ridges, by which he is almost surrounded. This event was just the proper subject for Mr. Scott's genius, which is never more successful than when occupied in the description of rapid action, hurrying the mind of the reader through scenes of tumultuous agitation, and giving him hardly time to breathe, much less to examine.

Our readers shall have the picture as the poet has drawn it.

## XIV.

“ Wilfrid all dizzy with dismay,  
Views from beneath his dreadful way:  
Now to the oak's warped roots he clings,  
Nor trusts his weight to ivy strings;  
Now, like the wild goat, must he dare,  
And unsupported leap in air;  
Hid in the shrubby rain course now,  
You mark him by the crashing bough,  
And by his corslet's sullen clank,  
And by the stones spurn'd from the bank,  
And by the hawk scared from her nest,  
And ravens croaking o'er their guest,  
Who deem his forfeit limbs shall pay  
The tribute of his bold essay.

## XV.

“ See he emerges!—desperate now  
All farther course—yon beetling brow,  
In craggy nakedness sublime,  
What heart or foot shall dare to climb?  
It bears no tendril for his clasp,  
Presents no angle for his grasp;  
Sole stay his foot may rest upon,  
Is yon earth-bedded jetting stone.

Balanced on such precarious prop,  
 He strains his grasp to reach the top.  
 Just as the dangerous stretch he makes,  
 By Heaven! his faithless footstool shakes!  
 Beneath his tottering bulk it bends,  
 It sways, it loosens, it descends!  
 And downward holds its headlong way,  
 Crashing o'er rock and copse-wood spray.  
 Loud thunders shake the echoing dell!  
 Fell it alone!—alone it fell.  
 Just on the very verge of fate,  
 The hardy Bertram's falling weight  
 He trusted to his sinewy hands,  
 And on the top unharmed he stands!"

The pursuit of this spectre carries Bertram to the gates of Mortham-castle, where the astonished Wilfrid, after a journey less hazardous, finds him by the side of a sepulchre, where the superstition and avarice of Bertram unite to persuade him must be deposited the treasures of Mortham. Here in a short conference between Bertram and Wilfrid, the secret of the supposed murder of Mortham inadvertently escapes from the lips of the ruffian. The indignant Wilfrid, unable to contain his feelings, draws his sword, and is on the point of paying the forfeit of his temerity, when Mortham, rushing from his concealment, suddenly presents himself with his rapier between the combatants. Bertram retires, confounded by this awful spectacle, and Mortham, after enjoining secrecy on Wilfrid, withdraws. Just at this moment a new scene presents itself. Oswald and Redmond O'Neale come up with a troop of horsemen, and Redmond, having himself witnessed the attempt at assassination by Bertram in the battle of Marston Moor, immediately dismounts, and with admirable promptitude, calling upon his companions to join him, sets off in pursuit of Bertram.

Here again a similar opportunity is afforded the poet of displaying his power of putting his more active scenes in living force before our eyes. While Redmond is engaged in this pursuit, we will give the reader a short account of his romantic history.

The O'Neales, an Irish family of great nobility, had, it is well known, many struggles with queen Elizabeth, respecting the proprietorship to some very considerable estates in that country, and it was in the great battle fought at Blackwater in the year 1599, that, amongst other prisoners, Mortham and Rokeby, then in the prime of their youth, were taken, but were protected in the hour of need by Turlough O'Neale, who shortly afterwards

dismissed them without ransom. Whilst Mortham, as we have before stated, had gone over to South America with a view of burying in oblivion the hapless scenes he had passed at home, Rokeby, his companion in arms, was sitting in his bannered hall under wreaths of hard-earned laurels, and surrounded by the consoling smiles of domestic innocence and felicity. Matilda, his daughter and the heroine of the poem, was then a prattling infant, when, upon a certain cold and wintery night, and at a late hour, whilst the castle was busied in the amusing fatigue of festive occupation, an uncouth though stately man rushes into the hall, and withdraws from beneath his cloak a boy of consummate beauty. The man had been wounded in the forest by some handitti, and he has just strength enough to deliver his charge, the young O'Neale, to Rokeby, who was so largely in arrear to the hospitality and generosity of his father. The suit is pressed in the following terms.

“ For Turlough's days of joy are done,  
And other lords have seiz'd his land,  
And faint and feeble is his band,  
And all the glory of Tyrone  
Is like a morning vapour flown.  
To bind the duty on thy soul,  
He bids thee think of Erin's bowl,  
If any wrong the young O'Neale,  
He bids thee think of Erin's steel.”

The young charge so feelingly commended is as warmly adopted, and he soon forgets to bewail the loss of his poor foster father, for

“ The tear down childhood's cheek that flows,  
Is like the dew-drop on the rose;  
When next the summer breeze comes by,  
And waves the bush, the flower is dry.  
Won by their care, the orphan child  
Soon on his new protectors smiled,  
With dimpled cheek, and eye so fair,  
Through his thick curls of flaxen hair.  
But blithest laughed that cheek and eye,  
When Rokeby's little maid was nigh;  
'Twas his with elder brother's pride,  
Matilda's tottering steps to guide;  
His native lays in Irish tongue,  
To soothe her infant ear he sung,  
And primrose twin'd with daisy fair,  
To form a chaplet for her hair.  
By lawn, by grove, by brooklet's strand,  
The children still were hand in hand,

And good Sir Richard smiling eyed  
The early knots so kindly tied."

We much wish our limits could allow us to extend this extract, since the next forty lines form perhaps one of the prettiest parts of the poem. It describes with all the author's delicacy of expression, how this infant fondness grew with the children's growth into a confirmed attachment towards their years of maturity. But Matilda, as we have before noticed, is also loved by Wilfrid, the son of the bloody-minded and rapacious Oswald, who wished for nothing more, to satisfy his avarice and ambition, than to effect his union with the house of Rokeby. Her heart was not insensible to the goodness and gentleness of that of Wilfrid, but

"seldom swain  
Of such soft mould is lov'd again."

Redmond returns after an ineffectual pursuit, and Bertram, whilst brooding over a plan of revenge upon his enemies, Oswald, Wilfrid, and O'Neale, meets accidentally with Guy Denzil, one of a banditti inhabiting a cavern on the shores of the Greta, and, being invited by him to become their leader, gladly accepts the offer. The pillaging of Mortham castle of the treasure supposed to be secreted in it becomes one of Bertram's leading objects, but he discovers from his friend that it had been removed to Rokeby. Here the robbers gain admission by the following stratagem. One of their band, by name Edmund, is a youth gifted with the powers of minstrelsy, and gains admission into the castle under the disguise of a wandering harper, on the very night that Matilda, accompanied by her two admirers, O'Neale and Wilfrid, was come to bid a long adieu to the mansion of her sires, and to remove the treasure which was there deposited. Accordingly, whilst he is diverting the attention of the inhabitants of the castle by his minstrelsy, the banditti make good their entrance by a postern door, which he had found means, without being perceived, to unbar. The vassals being under arms for the purpose of protecting the valuable charge in removing which they were about to be engaged, a dreadful conflict ensues between them and the banditti. While it is still raging, a party of horsemen arrive very opportunely to the assistance of O'Neale, and the fate of the battle is just turned in his favour, when

"New horrors on the tumult dire  
Arise—the castle is on fire!"

Of the robbers none escape with their lives save Bertram, his lieutenant Guy Denzil, and the youth Edmund. The castle continues to burn with great violence, and we are told exactly where

he flames were first seen to issue, and of the progress they made. The case at length becomes desperate.

“ Then, one by one, was heard to fall  
The tower, the dungeon-keep, the hall.  
Each rushing down with thunder sound,  
A space the conflagration drown'd ;  
Till gathering strength, again it rose,  
Announced it's triumph in it's close,  
Shook wide it's light the landscape o'er,  
Then sunk—and Rokeby was no more !”

Bertram has escaped his pursuers, and is at liberty, and Denzil and Edmund are confined in a dungeon. Here they receive a visit from Oswald, who wants Denzil's assistance in a plot which has for it's object a fair pretence for keeping Rokeby a close prisoner, who, it seems, was then upon his parole. Oswald at the same time receives an anonymous letter, telling him that Mortham still lives, his horse only having been shot at the battle of Marston-moor, and at the same time is made acquainted, through the information of Denzil, who had deposited in his cavern some valuable jewels and inscriptions taken from the protector of the child, O'Neale, of whom the reader has already had an account, with the following important facts: that Edith, the daughter of O'Neale of Claubry, in Ireland, had been secretly married to Mortham; that the resentment of her father ensued; that the young O'Neale was snatched away with his nurse, by some emissaries from his grandfather; and that, when the latter was deprived of his domains, he sent back the child to Mortham, or, in case of his absence, to the care of Rokeby. The loss of this infant, therefore, and the untoward circumstance of his having shot his wife, in a paroxysm of jealousy, while she was concerting with her brother about the recovery of her father's affection, constituted that weighty portion of misery which had induced Mortham to quit his native land.

The action now draws towards its close. Denzil, for fear he should discover to others the circumstances so distressing to the ear of Oswald, is ordered by the latter to execution. Matilda must marry his son Wilfrid, or the lives of her father and of Reduind O'Neale will pay the forfeit. She resigns herself to the generosity of Wilfrid. He refuses her hand, but with it resigns his breath.

“ But now bear witness earth and heaven,  
That ne'er was hope to mortal given—  
So twisted with the strings of life,  
As this—to call Matilda wife !”

I bid it now for ever part,  
And with the effort bursts my heart.

He kneeled—his lip her hand had pressed,—  
Just then he felt the stern arrest;  
Lower and lower sunk his head,—  
They raised him,—but his life was fled!"

This affecting scene is followed by the surprising appearance of

“ A horseman armed at headlong speed.”

It is Bertram Risingham—he levels his piece—

—“ at the baron’s head,  
Rang the report, the bullet sped,  
And to his long account and last,  
Without a groan dark Oswald past!  
All was so quick, that it might seem  
A flash of lightning, or a dream.”

But Bertram’s charger, wheeling round, flounders upon the floor. The soldiers of Wycliffe, recovering from the stupor into which they were thrown by the extraordinary boldness of the adventure, now fall upon him all at once, whilst

“ He took at once an hundred wounds,  
As mute as fox ’midst mangling hounds,  
And when he died, his parting groan  
Had more of laughter than of moan.”

Thus Mortimer recovers his long-lost son, and the nuptials of Matilda and Redmond soon follow of course.

We have thus endeavoured to give a condensed narrative of this poem. The task, we must confess, has not been of the pleasantest kind, but it may have spared us the necessity of taking any particular pains to point out its deficiencies. It is in itself very intricate, and puts the reader to a necessity, when his mind should be engaged by the poetry, of turning the leaves backwards and forwards; in the dry pursuit of the connecting incidents, and in tracing an outline of facts amidst a crowd of descriptions, and transactions.

We have no hesitation in stating it as our opinion, that a complicated tale is unfit for poetical effect, and that where the imagination is to be exalted, and the feelings excited, the mind ought not to be put upon any strong spontaneous effort. The happiest posture in which the mind of the reader can be for the purposes of the poet, is that docile resignation of feeling, which submits to be moved and directed whichever way the poet turns his

magic sceptre, whether to scenes of beauty, grandeur, and delight, or to the gloomy sojourn of terror and despair. But when we are involved in the entanglements of an intricate plot, we feel either in a state of actual embarrassment, or in the perpetual peril of losing ourselves, from which the effort to escape agitates and fatigues the mind, and creates a sort of friction that retards the wheels of imagination.

To this difficulty in following the grand outline of the story, the poet has greatly added by the disproportionate and sometimes oppressive attention bestowed upon events holding only a secondary consideration in the action of the piece. This is a fault, however, to which genius is always liable, and we doubt whether it was ever more excusable than in the productions of our author, whose detached pieces have so much separate excellence. Still, however, this want of uniform care, and particularly an inattention to those incidents which form, as it were, the hinges of the story, give to the whole narrative an appearance of obscurity, abruptness, and negligence. An observation which we think may be fairly extended to all the productions of this poet.

Still, however, with this injurious consequence fully before us, we cannot help thinking that much of Mr. Scott's characteristic beauty has arisen from that indulgence of his own genius, which has carried to the different parts of his poems so partial a distribution of his favour. To observe that proportion and harmony between the several parts which are necessary to keep them in a just correspondence with each other, and to harmonize them into a whole, is not one of the excellences of Mr. Scott. His genius seems rather to riot in the breach of these rules, and to recreate its playful vigour in a capricious selection of its favourite themes. Thus, in many instances, a transaction of the highest interest is very slightly or faintly recorded, while an incident of subordinate or collateral importance rises to view in the brightest tints of poetical lustre.

One of the peculiar perfections of this author's poetical style is that bold negligence, and vigorous ease, by which it is often characterized. He regularly succeeds best where he appears most secure of success, and the spontaneous force which marks his happiest passages, has reminded us very often of the muse of Dryden.

The passage in the *Lady of the Lake*, which describes the ancient harper's reverie, serves so well to illustrate what we mean that we shall borrow it for that purpose.

Yet ere his onward way he took  
The stranger cast a lingering look,



Where easily his eye might reach,  
 The Harper on the islet beach,  
 Reclined against a blighted tree  
 As wasted, grey, and worn as he.  
 To minstrel meditation given,  
 His reverend brow was raised to heaven,  
 As from the rising sun to claim  
 A sparkle of inspiring flame ;  
 His hand, reclined upon the wire,  
 Seemed watching the awakening fire ;  
 So still he sate, as those who wait  
 Till judgment speak the doom of fate ;  
 So still, as if no breeze might dare  
 To lift one lock of hoary hair ;  
 So still, as life itself were fled,  
 In the last sound his harp had sped."

We will offer another illustration from the poem before us; most, indeed, of the happiest passages from any of Mr. Scott's productions will second the remark we have above made.

" Then Bertram might the bearing trace  
 Of the bold youth who led the chase ;  
 Who paused to list for every sound,  
 Climbed every height to look around ;  
 Then rushing on with naked sword,  
 Each dingle's bosky depths explored.  
 'Twas Redmond—by the azure eye ;  
 'Twas Redmond—by the locks that fly  
 Disordered from his glowing cheek ;  
 Mien, face, and form, young Redmond speak ;  
 A form more active, light, and strong,  
 Near shot the ranks of war along ;  
 The modest, yet the manly mien,  
 Might grace the court of maiden queen.  
 A face more fair you well might find,  
 For Redmond's knew the sun and wind ;  
 Nor boasted, from their tinge when free,  
 The charm of regularity ;  
 But every feature had the power  
 To aid the expression of the hour :  
 Whether gay wit, or humour sly,  
 Danced laughing in his light blue eye ;  
 Or bended brow, and glance of fire,  
 And kindling cheek, spoke Erin's ire ;  
 Or soft and saddened glances show  
 His ready sympathy with woe ;  
 Or in that wayward mood of mind,  
 When various feelings are combined,

When joy, and sorrow, mingle near,  
And hope's bright wings are checked by fear,  
And rising doubts keep transports down,  
And anger lends a short-lived frown;  
In that strange mood which maids approve,  
Even when they dare not call it love,  
With every change his features played,  
As aspens shew the light and shade." (P. 107).

In the above passages, as, indeed, in by far the greater part of those which we should select for their beauty, it is observable that there is a sprinkling of ordinary, dull, and commonplace sentiment; and, perhaps, we should scarcely exaggerate were we to say that the staple of Mr. Scott's poetry does not consist of new sentiments, new images, or new expressions. His excellence lies in a fascinating mode of working up the common and stock materials of poetry into new fabrics, and dazzling the eye by the profusion, the splendour, and the gaiety of the assortment. The wild traditions, the fierce enthusiasm, the warlike habits, the inspiring songs, the savage scenery, and sequestered solitudes, of the people, and the regions of the north of Scotland, afforded to the genius of Mr. Scott a fund of stories, adventures, characters, and localities, almost new to the poetry of this country, and which when wrought into combination with images, sentiments, and expressions, of the most popular and general cast, imparted to them an air of novelty, and freshness, which gave them back their original influence on the heart and the fancy. To this felicitous and almost accidental union of the new and the common, the surprising and the natural, Mr. Scott seems to have been principally indebted for the almost unprecedented success of his poetical effusions. That he has brought to these grand rudiments the vivifying powers of a true poetical mind, can scarcely be denied. To call this mass together, to organize it into active existence, and to endow it with intelligence, grace, and beauty, requires the creative force of genius; and after what Mr. Scott has accomplished he may laugh at those critics who deny him the credit of original genius.

Yet there are gradations and denominations of genius; and we are by no means disposed to place Mr. Scott in the highest rank. We have said as much, indeed, when we ascribed his success in great part to accident, and we are the more induced to maintain this opinion, by observing with how much tenacity he clings to the same system of manners, the same imagery, and the same scenes, in all his poems. In his last poem, which is now before us, this adherence to his first

plan has betrayed him into something of anachronism in the habits, usages, and manners, in which he has dressed up his story. He has made Yorkshire, in the middle of the seventeenth century, exhibit the same moral, social, and physical appearance as the north of Scotland in the beginning of the same century, or as England in the reign of Henry the Eighth. Except the poem of Don Roderick, in which the poet most assuredly achieved nothing worthy of himself, or his former reputation, the muse of Mr. Scott has hitherto shown herself able to repeat only her first inspirations, and the Lay of the *last* Minstrel has, in truth, proved only the *first* of a series of songs, pretty much of the same burthen.

Neither can we let the poet escape us without another remark on the disparaging side, with which we will close our article. We cannot help complaining of his too frequent repetitions of the same images in the same poems. His perpetual recurrence to bowers and towers is perfectly fatiguing; wherever we see the one, we may be sure the other is not far behind. Take away any one of his favourite phrases and a gaping wound would appear in each of his poems. Of all the poets he appears to have the largest interest in the moon; and we cannot help giving him a friendly hint, that if he draws so often upon his funds there, his drafts may come at length to be refused in this planet. We shall rejoice if these observations shall have the good fortune to induce Mr. Scott, if only for the bare purpose of shewing how incapable we are of appreciating him, to introduce his muse to us in a different costume, speaking a different language, and displaying new graces and fascinations.

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ART. XIV.—*An Appeal to the Gospel; or an Enquiry into the Justice of the Charge alleged by Methodists, and other Objectors, that the Gospel is not preached by the national Clergy: in a Series of Discourses, delivered before the University, in the Year 1812, at the Lecture founded by the late Rev. J. Bampton, M. A. Canon of Salisbury.* By Richard Mant, M. A. Vicar of Great Coggeshall, Essex, and late Fellow of Oriel College. Second Edition. Oxford, at the University Press, for the Author. 1812.

The justness of the epithet *invidious*, applied by Mr. Mant to the subject of these discourses, strikes our minds so

forcibly, that we cannot enter on a review of them without considerable diffidence and hesitation. His preface opens with this sentence: "Having in the following inquiry ventured on a subject, in itself, perhaps, of an invidious character, I am anxious to avoid all unnecessary occasion of offence; and would, therefore, bespeak the candour of my readers, on two or three particular points." The subject is indeed of an *invidious character*, and has in general been treated with so much warmth and asperity, that every serious Christian must deprecate the protracted discussion of it. We have great satisfaction, however, in professing our opinion that it is by no means so treated in the work before us. Mr. Mant continues:

"An enemy to controversy as such, and especially an enemy to the bitterness of controversy, it has been my earnest desire to abstain from all intemperance of manner and of language. Firmly persuaded of the truth of those doctrines, which I have been defending, I have endeavoured to plead for them with firmness, but without asperity. If I have been occasionally betrayed into an opposite conduct, and induced to employ expressions unworthy of my christian profession, I beg that such language may be looked upon as never uttered; or, at least, may be regarded with indulgence, as the effect of human weakness, and not of a deliberate intention to offend." Preface, p. 5.

We are convinced that the author is perfectly sincere in this declaration; and that, however he may, in some instances, have misconceived the sentiments of those whom he regards as his opponents, he has never given way to intentional misrepresentation, nor willingly lost sight of the moderation, courtesy, and candour which become his sacred office. Reluctant, therefore, as we are to take part in the discussion, we feel impelled by respect for his manner of conducting it, for his well known talents and character, and for the important occasion on which these discourses were delivered, to endeavour to lay an impartial account of them before our readers. In doing this it will be our anxious care to avoid being entangled in the labyrinths of the predestinarian controversy, into which so many learned and pious men have strayed; and "found no end in wandering mazes lost." The plan which we propose to ourselves, is that of giving a brief analysis of each sermon, accompanied by such remarks as may seem to merit the attention of our readers.

The first discourse is on 1 Corinth. ix. 16.

The preacher begins by observing, that our Lord emphatically described the purpose of his ministry to be "*the preaching the gospel to the poor*,"—and that his commission to the apostles

was, "Go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." Entrusted with this commission, they esteemed the discharge of this duty a matter not of choice but of necessity.—They felt that "woe" would be unto them "if they preached not the gospel."—They felt, also, that unless they preached it in its purity, they would incur equal danger, and, according to the emphatic language of St. Paul, Gal. 1. 8, 9, deserve to be "accursed."—Ministers in these days do not derive their commission immediately from Christ; nor can they confirm their words "by signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds,"—but when once they have voluntarily undertaken the charge, and been legitimately called to the ministry, it is no longer matter of choice whether or not they will be preachers of the gospel. Woe is unto them if they preach it not—if they preach it not in the same purity wherewith it has been delivered to us from the fountain of light and truth. Hence no charge can be devised against the ministers of Christ of a more disgraceful or capital nature, than that they are not preachers of the gospel. Such a charge, therefore, should not be lightly advanced. Yet Mr. Mant affirms, that it has been of late, and is perpetually advanced, against a great majority of the ministers of the church of England. "Some of our brethren in the ministry (he says), who are attached to certain peculiar tenets, and who, in consequence, claim the appellation of *evangelical or gospel preachers*, thereby exclude, by implication at least, if not expressly, from a share in that appellation, those of their fellow labourers, whose opinions and style of preaching do not correspond with their own. A large body of men, who have risen to be, according to their own imagination, ministers of the gospel (how legitimately is not now enquired), with the multitudes who follow them, make no scruple in pronouncing that the gospel is not preached in our church."

Upon this pretext Methodism arose and has been maintained.—The matter of the discourses delivered by the ministers of the church of England in general, appears to be the mark at which their accusers aim. An enquiry into the justice of this charge is proposed for the subject of these discourses.—The appeal must be made to the sacred writings.—But it is not every man who is duly qualified, at least on controverted points, to explain them to advantage.—A familiarity with scriptural language is not to be mistaken for a knowledge of scripture.—Much preparation, much judgment; discrimination, humility, and sobriety, are necessary, in order to qualify a man for the interpretation of scripture.—Nor must a pretence to supernatural illumination be

admitted, though the blessing of the Holy Spirit is to be hoped on the conscientious employment of the means which he has provided for our instruction.

Mr. Mant then proceeds to lay down the following principles of interpretation:

1. "An interpretation must be principally regulated by the plain and literal sense of the passage.

[From the neglect of this rule have sprung the errors of the Romanists, Quakers, and Anabaptists—those of Pelagius, Nevanian, the Decetæ, and the Socinians.]

2. "Allowance must nevertheless be made for idiomatical and figurative diction.

[He instances in the fourth and sixth petitions of the Lord's Prayer.—The neglect of this rule gave rise to the errors of the first Anabaptists, of the Antinomians, &c.]

3. "It is proper, and sometimes necessary, to consult the original; and not to be content with our version.

[Instances—Matt. 6. 25, 31, 34. 1 Cor. 11. 29. John 3. 3. Acts 13: 48.]

4. "The context must be carefully considered.

5. "We must not confine our view to a detached passage, and push it to its utmost extent, but compare parallel passages, and explain one so as not to contradict another.

6. "In the comparison of independent passages, the more obscure and difficult should be expounded by the more clear and easy.

7. "When the same term is employed at different times, and under different circumstances, we should not be satisfied with one independent description, but compare and combine them together.

8. "We must attend to the design and scope of the composition, and not fix an arbitrary construction contrary to the design of the author.

9. "We shall find light thrown on the subject by attending to the times, persons, and other circumstances.

10. "No doctrine, however specious, is to be admitted as part of the gospel, which is not agreeable to the tenour of the whole."

Such is the outline of the first discourse, with the greater part of which we cordially agree. Mr. Mant's observations concerning the obligation which lies upon ministers to preach the gospel, and to preach it plainly and faithfully, have the highest claim to attention. His censure of those who rashly charge the whole body of the ministers of the church of England with not preaching it is just. His appeal to the scriptures is the course which ought to be pursued, and his rules for the interpretation of them, are, in our opinion, highly judicious and useful, though we do not pledge ourselves to a complete agree-

ment with him as to all the instances by which he illustrates those rules. It is when he says, that some ministers of the establishment who are attached to *certain peculiar tenets* claim to themselves exclusively the title of evangelical or gospel preachers, that we feel called upon in justice to stop, and to enquire before we assent. He certainly seems to labour under an impression, whether true or false, which has diffused its influence over the whole course of the lectures, and of which we therefore feel ourselves obliged to examine the foundation.

It appears from the subsequent discourses, that the "certain peculiar tenets" to which Mr. Mant represents the clergy called evangelical as attached, are those of Calvin and his followers. The same assumption forms the basis of the Bishop of Lincoln's work, which seems to be chiefly directed against the same class of ministers. Now we are far from intending to deny that many of them do hold those views of Christianity which are usually called calvinistic. Mr. Scott, in his elaborate remarks on the Bishop of Lincoln's work, has made this acknowledgment in behalf of himself and many of his brethren. But it is by no means fair to infer from hence that the *whole body* receive, and still less, that they teach the peculiarities of Calvin. Even Mr. Scott enters his protest against being considered to maintain some of the opinions of that reformer,—and those tenets which are peculiarly his, do not seem to us to constitute the ground on which a claim to the title of evangelical is or ought to be maintained. From what we can collect, the doctrines for which the ministers in question would especially contend, are those of original sin—of justification by faith—and of sanctification by the grace of the Holy Spirit as inculcated in the liturgy, the articles, and the homilies of the church of England. They are the doctrines of redemption—the doctrines which proclaim the forgiveness to penitent and believing transgressors—and which hold out to them the means, as well as the necessity, of recovering that divine image which our first parents forfeited for themselves and their posterity. If there be any doctrine on which they would lay special stress, it would seem to be that of justification by faith, which Luther called the "*Articulus stantis aut cadentis Ecclesie*,"—which our reformers held to be of such vital importance,—and which has been so admirably maintained by Hooker, in his learned discourse on that subject.

But though these may be the doctrines of this class of ministers alluded to, yet, were we far from meaning to admit, that they would be justified in maintaining a claim to the title of evangelical, on the ground of their preaching these doctrines. The assumption of any title of an exclusive import, must be of

dangerous consequence to the unity and security of the church. The assumption of any such distinctive appellation by any peculiar body of men in the church, would be virtually to charge their brethren with not preaching the gospel, and would merit the censure which is imputed to them. We have, therefore, been solicitous to ascertain whether this be or be not their conduct. Our enquiries have satisfied us, that a large and increasing body of the clergy have *acquired* this title, but we very much doubt whether, as a body, they have *assumed* it. It seems either to have been given them from an opinion which many entertain that their mode of preaching is emphatically scriptural, and that they exert a peculiar assiduity in the discharge of the pastoral office; or, which perhaps is more frequently the case, it has been cast upon them as a term of reproach by those who have disapproved of the character of their ministry. When a name comes to receive an unlucky import, however impressive it may be in its proper acceptation of what is essentially excellent, we are under the influence of a strong temptation to disclaim the application of it to ourselves, and but too often to avoid the conduct which would expose us to the reproachful distinction. The clergy, in general, must be well aware that it is no passport to preferment—no recommendation to the higher orders of society; and therefore that ambitious views can scarcely be gratified by the acquisition of this ominous appellation.

The title of the 2d discourse is "Christian works, a necessary condition of salvation." The text is Matt. xix. 16, 17. Mr. Mant maintains (in opposition to Calvin, and in conformity with the language of our church, in the 2d part of her homily on good works) that our Lord is to be understood as declaring by the words of the text, that "the laws of God be the very way that doth lead to everlasting life." Mr. Mant therefore proceeds to assert the indispensable necessity of obedience to the moral law as a condition of eternal salvation, and expresses his surprise, that (though "the children of this world" naturally turn away from the doctrine) any of "the children of light," any who are solicitous for the salvation of their souls should forsake the preacher of this truth, and reprobate his instructions as a departure from the gospel. He then proceeds (in a passage which we shall give in his own words) to state his sentiments, and those of his brethren.

"I suppose it (he says) to be the practice of the generality of our national clergy, in discharge of their duty as preachers of the gospel, to divide their attention between faith in the Christian doctrines, and the practice of Christian holiness or good works; to impress them with equal earnestness on their hearers; to describe



them as jointly and equally necessary to the attainment of everlasting life; to represent them, not as meritorious causes (God forbid!) but as indispensable conditions of happiness; in a word, to publish in their discourses what the church appoints them to pronounce in her liturgy, 'the absolution and remission of sins to all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe Christ's holy gospel.'

He continues,

"Offence is taken at our preaching an unscriptural exposition of the terms of the Christian covenant: we are told that our justification and salvation are to be wrought by faith alone, independently of good works; that faith is all in all, and that by uniting with faith any other condition or qualification for happiness we forfeit our title to the appellation of ministers and preachers of the gospel."

He then, after quoting passages from writings of Messrs. Whitefield, Wesley, and others, in support of this statement, makes this declaration:

"I can have no scruple in admitting the truth of the doctrine that 'we are justified by faith only.' It is the doctrine of Scripture: it is the doctrine of her reformation: it is the doctrine of the church of England: I for one have set my hand to it, in what I believe to be its scriptural signification, and if it be scripturally understood, I would forfeit that hand rather than renounce the doctrine.

"In order then (he continues) to set this important doctrine in its proper light, I shall endeavour to prove

"1st. That the salvation and justification mentioned in the passages alluded to, are noticed with a view to the admission of Christians into favour and covenant with God, and not immediately to their ultimate forgiveness and admission into everlasting happiness.

"2d. That the faith, by or through which alone they are said to be saved and justified, is not intended to signify faith in opposition or contradistinction to good, that is to say, to Christian works."

Previous to the proof of these assertions Mr. Mant observes, that he uses the words *justified* and *saved* indiscriminately, because they appear to him to be so used in scripture, and also by the church, especially in the title of one of her homilies.

In proof of the 1st proposition, he quotes and comments on Ephes. ii. 8. Rom. v. 1. viii. 24. 2 Tim. i. 9. Titus iii. 5, 7, (when he considers justification and salvation as connected with baptismal regeneration); also 1 Cor. vi. 11. and xv. 1. Rom. vi. 18—22. Col. i. 21—23. 1 Cor. i. 18. He also quotes a passage from "The necessary Erudition of a Christian Man," and two from Barrow's works.

The inference which he draws from this doctrine is, that whatever St. Paul means, when he affirms that we are justified or

saved by faith, and however completely faith shutteth out good works from the office of justifying, that exclusion will not apply to those conditions, the observance or neglect of which affects our attainment of eternal life.

2. The 2d proposition, Mr. Mant says, appears to flow naturally from the 1st. Christian works could not be performed by men before they became Christians, and of course could hardly have been intended by the apostle in his contemplation of a blessing annexed to their admission into the Christian church.

He considers it however in three cases, in which St. Paul asserts, that we are justified or saved by faith without works or the deeds of the law.

1. To meet the arguments of heathens who might contend against the gospel as unnecessary, representing the light of nature as a sufficient guide, and the goodness of their lives as a sufficient ground for expecting the divine favour; he would argue (as in Rom. ii. 14, 15. i. 21, 23. 26, 28. Ephes. iv. 19. ii. 1, 3.) to shew their guilt and need of salvation by grace.

2. Suppose a Jew to object to the necessity of Christianity, he would rest in the law. This the apostle would shew could not justify, because it required a perfect obedience which no man has paid. In all this, however, he meant not to make an opposition between Christian faith and Christian holiness as parts of the same dispensation.

3. We find a similar conclusion in the case of those who maintained the necessity of circumcision, and other ordinances of the Jewish ritual.

These remarks are meant to throw light on the former position,—that we are justified on admission into covenant with God.

He proceeds to shew, that good works are a necessary condition of our final justification, which he distinguishes from that which he considers as the adjunct of baptism, and then cites various passages concerning the necessity of holiness, as proofs that good works are the condition of our final justification. He also cites passages from Mr. Romaine, Dr. Hawker, and Mr. Wesley, as having an antinomian tendency, which certainly are expressed in an unguarded and objectionable manner. He asserts the duty of maintaining that good works are necessary, not only as evidences of faith, but also as conditions *sine quâ non*. He lastly protests against the idea that by preaching thus any merit is represented as belonging to works; insists that the works inculcated must be Christian works springing from faith; and closes with Matt. vii. 21.

We have already intimated our wish to avoid involving ourselves in controversial questions, and therefore abstain from noticing particularly some passages in this discourse, which will probably (more from the way in which they are expressed than from the design of the writer), appear objectionable to some who do not, as to substance, differ from Mr. Mant. The sentiments contained in the passage extending from p. 92 to 95 of this edition exactly coincide with our own. But we presume to think that it would have been better had he distinguished between the terms justification and salvation, instead of using them as co-extensive and synonymous. No orthodox Christian will maintain that we can become partakers of eternal life (which seems to be the general acceptation of the term *salvation*), without holiness. Few will deny that good works are necessary as a condition *sine quâ non*;—or, perhaps, that state of the heart which God, who wants not the evidence of facts to inform him, knows to be capable of producing good works; in which form the proposition lets in what we have no warrant for altogether excluding—a death-bed repentance; that they are necessary not only as evidences, but also as fruits of faith—fruits without which the tree cannot be considered as having any real existence. But many will maintain that *justification* is to be taken as a kind of forensic term, which signifies the being absolved from our offences, and accounted righteous before God for Christ's sake—that is, on account of his meritorious atonement and obedience, on which alone we can safely rely for acceptance with God. They will say, that this *justification* is therefore obtained by *faith* considered as *distinct* from works, though not as *opposed* to them. They will teach that no faith can unite the soul to Christ, and thus secure to it an interest in his merits *whereby alone we are justified*, except it be a *living* faith, and that none can be a living faith which does not produce good works. As to the substance, therefore, we conceive that they will agree with Mr. Mant, though they will probably consider some of his language as ambiguous and liable to misinterpretation. We have endeavoured to inform ourselves how these matters are understood by the description of clergy in question; and we must frankly declare that the result of these enquiries has been a conviction, that the far greater part of the clergymen alluded to are strenuous in urging on their hearers a strictness and sanctity of life and conversation; while, perhaps, from a jealousy of derogating from the value of the great sacrifice, they insist on a simple reliance on *it* as the appointed way of obtaining justification. In the 3d and 4th discourses, Mr. Mant opposes the doctrines

usually called calvinistic. The former is entitled "Calvinistic Predestination, not the doctrine of the Gospel," and is on Luke xiii. 23, 24.

Mr. Mant justly argues, that it is in general most prudent "for a minister of the gospel to conform to the restraint virtually imposed in it by our Saviour, and to abstain from a discussion of those subjects which it has been the good pleasure of God to leave in obscurity." He declares, however, that discussion is forced upon him by the manner in which "these mysterious subjects are frequently, ostentatiously, and largely brought forward by others, who refuse to acquiesce in mutual forbearance," and allows, that if the charge of corrupting and perverting the gospel is brought against the established clergy, on the ground of their not preaching its doctrines as interpreted by Calvin and his followers, he must in their name and in his own plead guilty to it. He then declares, that such is the foundation of the charge as brought by Mr. Whitefield, and Mr. Toplady, and that "it is avowedly in a great degree on the ground of Calvinism," that Mr. Overton claims for his party the appellation of "true churchmen and evangelical ministers."

He next guards against the idea that he means to protest against those doctrines of Calvin, which he held in common with his fellow Christians, and proceeds to specify the chief particulars in which he differs from him.

1st. He objects to the doctrine of the absolute predestination of some individuals to salvation, "by an eternal, absolute, irrevocable, and immutable decree; while by the same decree the great mass of mankind are excluded from the benefits purchased by Christ."

In opposition to this, he maintains that Christ is the common saviour of mankind at large, and refers to the following texts. Acts x. 34, 35. John iii. 16. 1 John ii. 1, 2. 1 Tim. iv. 10. ii. 4, 5, 6. Heb. ii. 9. He also considers this doctrine as recognized by the church throughout her liturgy, in the homily for the nativity, and in the 31st article.

The calvinistic doctrine that the salvation of the elect is arbitrary, irrevocable, and unconditional, Mr. Mant represents as of a very dissolute tendency. "We (he says), teach that no one to whom the gospel of Christ is preached can attain eternal happiness without fulfilling certain conditions," and this, "because the promises of salvation always have respect to the repentance, faith, obedience, holiness, or other qualifications of them, to whom the promises are to be made good; because this life is perpetually represented as a trust, a stewardship, a state of

trial." This view is also held by the church in her absolution and commination service, &c.

The Calvinist teaches that the salvation of the elect is sure and infallible, so that they cannot finally fall from grace. The ministers of the church teach, that those who have received the grace of God may fall. Here Mr. Mant refers to the 16th article, and the homily on falling from God. • He also builds on Ezek. xxviii. 20. 2 Pet. i. 10. 1 Cor. x. 12. 2 Cor. vi. 1. Heb. vi. 4, 6. 1 Cor. ix. 26, 27.

It is the calvinistic doctrine that all who are not in the number of the elect are reprobated. "Our doctrine (says Mr. Mant) is, that there is no man but by the grace of God he may escape and be saved through Christ, provided he take heed betime, &c." Here he refers to the commination service, the 2d part of the homily on falling from God, and to Ezekiel xviii. 27—32.

He then quotes passages from the writings of Dr. Hawker, Mr. Toplady, and others, to shew that Calvinists do hold these doctrines, and express them in a way likely to lead to antinomianism, tending also to promote bigotry, intolerance, melancholy, and despair. He explains the election taught by St. Paul, as relating generally to nations, though in some cases to individuals, yet not irrespectively or absolutely, and considers this last view as supported by Rom. viii. 29.

He asserts, that the doctrines of Calvin are inconsistent with the scriptural account of God's attributes and moral government, with the general conditions of the gospel covenant, and with the promises of God as set forth in scripture, and closes by an exhortation against being elated on the one hand by a vain conceit of election, or depressed on the other by an equally vain apprehension of being reprobated.

The 4th discourse, which is entitled "Calvinism inconsistent with the divine attributes," is on John iii. 16, 17. It opens with a reference to the assertion made towards the close of the last, that the calvinistic doctrines are inconsistent with the scriptural account of God's attributes. This Mr. Mant considers as apparent from the declaration contained in the text, which Episcopius urged with great effect at the synod of Dort. He proceeds to shew,

I. That Calvinism is inconsistent with the attributes and moral government of God—previous to doing which, he answers an argument drawn by Calvinists from those very attributes, when they maintain, that to imagine our acceptance or refusal of grace to be the result of our own pleasure, is to take from God his omnipotence. He then adduces the scriptural doctrines

concerning—1. The justice of God—2. his mercy—3. his holiness—4. his wisdom—5. his truth—6. his being a rewarder of them that diligently seek him—7. his being a God that heareth prayer—8. the similitudes of king, master, father, under which he is represented—9. his having commanded that the gospel should be preached to every creature—10. his declaration that he willeth not any should perish—11. his sending his only begotten Son to taste death for every man. With all these declarations Mr. Mant represents the doctrines of the Calvinists (which he illustrates by quotations from their writings and those of their opponents) to be wholly inconsistent.

II. Mr. Mant considers the subject with reference to the covenant of the gospel and the promises of God, as generally set forth in scripture.

He asserts the notion of a covenant to be inconsistent with the calvinistic doctrine, because a covenant implies conditions on both sides, and Calvinists assert an unconditional salvation. He maintains the gospel to be strictly a covenant betwixt God and man—that all the blessings which Christ died to purchase are annexed to the performance of certain conditions—that every man has the power of fulfilling those conditions, or of falling from grace—and therefore (if God be true) spiritual blessings, especially salvation, are not the effect of arbitrary election on the part of God, but are conditional, and depend on the will and exertions of man. This subject he argues at large, maintaining, that his views do not (as his adversaries assert) contradict the notion of free grace, and that there is a strict analogy between the necessity of using means for preserving life and health, and that of fulfilling what is required on our part in order to obtain eternal salvation. He then contends, that it is of the free will of man to accept or refuse salvation, and to use or neglect the means of obtaining it, and argues at length to prove,

1. That every man has the power to fall from grace and to perish eternally.

2. That every man has the power to perform the services necessary to obtain eternal salvation.

He closes by declaring, that he has not been willingly led into this discussion, and avows his conviction that an unprejudiced enquirer would pronounce, that he and those he defends preach the gospel rather than the calvinistic teachers.

We have already expressed our wish to avoid entangling ourselves with the mysterious and difficult questions agitated in these two sermons, and shall therefore content ourselves with referring those who wish to see what can be said in answer to

Mr. Mant's reasoning—to Mr. Scott's Remarks on the Bishop of Lincoln's work—and to Dean Milner's account of Luther's Treatise on Free Will in the last volume of the History of the Church of Christ. We would hope, however, that these questions are seldom brought before their hearers by the clergy called evangelical. We have often listened with attention to such preachers, and have scarcely ever heard the subject of predestination alluded to by them. But we trust that nothing which has fallen from us can be construed into an adoption of any opinions opposed to the train of reasoning contained in the able discourse which we have just abstracted. We shall be forgiven, we hope, for using our endeavours to rescue many respectable and useful ministers from a reproach to which they have been inconsiderately subjected—and for earnestly recommending, that, for the time to come, that course should be pursued by preachers on both sides, which Bishop Andrews recommends in a passage quoted from him by Mr. Mant in his concluding discourse:

“For my own part, I honestly confess I have followed the advice of Austin. These mysteries, which I am not able to open, being shut up, I have gazed upon with awe: and, therefore, for these sixteen years, since I was made a priest, I have, neither in public nor in private, either disputed or preached about them; and even now also I had rather hear concerning them than speak. And, indeed, since it is a slippery subject, and has on each side dangerous precipices; and since the passages of Paul, from which it is for the most part derived, have always been reckoned amongst those *things hard to be understood*, of which Peter speaks; and since there are not many among the clergy, who can skilfully unfold them, and very few among the people, who can profitably hear them; I would advise, if it were possible, that silence be enjoined on both sides; and that they be not so loosely and crudely propounded by every one, as the custom is. Certainly I account it much more profitable, that our people be instructed to seek their salvation in the manifest precepts of a holy and faithful life, as is the advice of Peter also, than in the secrets of the divine counsel: of which an over curious examination is apt to produce dimness and dizziness of sight, but seldom produces edification, at least in narrow minds.”

The subject of the 5th discourse is, the influence of the Holy Spirit. The text, John vii. 37—39.

It begins by some very just remarks on the appropriate force and beauty of the metaphor contained in the text, which presents a “lively picture of that inward comfort which the Christian derives from the agency of the Holy Spirit—of that invigorating principle which he bestows; and of the general importance, benefit, and necessity, of his aid to support us in our

earthly progress, and finally to conduct us to the paradise of God. There is not a doctrine in the sacred volume (Mr. Mant continues) which is more clearly revealed, nor one which more abounds in motives to holiness of life, or in topics of rational exultation than this, which attributes our ability to work out our salvation to the preventing and assisting grace of the Holy Spirit of God." At the same time there is not one which has been more perverted in former times to pernicious purposes, or more wrested in the present to the support of enthusiasm, disorder, and licentiousness. The schismatic, whilst he pleads his being under the guidance of the Holy Spirit as the sanction of his own irregularities, vilifies the sober ministers of the church as being destitute of the spirit, and renouncing the gospel of Christ.

"Convinced" (says Mr. Mant in a passage so excellent, that we cannot withhold it from our readers) "convinced of the perpetual operation of the Holy Spirit on the hearts of believers; contemplating him with lowly, devout, and grateful adoration, as the regenerator, the renewer, the guide, the enlightener, the strengthener, the comforter, and the sanctifier of all the elect people of God; firmly persuaded of these important truths, as most evidently revealed in Scripture, and as forming an essential part of the scheme of our redemption; I can unite with the most ardent advocate for divine grace\*, in loudly proclaiming, 'that the Holy Ghost, like his almighty purchaser, is the same to-day as he was yesterday; that he is now, as well as formerly, in the use of all instituted means, appointed to convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment; to lead them into all truth, by spiritually opening their understandings, that they may understand the Scriptures; and to renew a clean heart and right spirit within them here, in order that they may be thereby prepared for the full enjoyment of a triune and ever blessed God hereafter.'"

Having made this declaration, Mr. Mant protests against the doctrine, that the ordinary operations of the Holy Spirit have that *irresistible* or that *sensible* influence, which are wont to be ascribed to them by those who accuse the ministers of the church of not preaching the gospel. He then proceeds to show,

I. That these accusers speak in the strongest terms of the *irresistibility* of divine grace. The other passages quoted are from Mr. Whitefield, the Evangelical Magazine, Mr. Toplady, Mr. R. Hill, and Dr. Hawker. In opposition to these, he proceeds on the general arguments for proving the election of men to be *conditional*. He quotes Titus 2. 11. and argues, that if the "saving

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\* Mr. Whitefield's Works, vol. iv. p. 287.



“grace of God hath appeared unto all men,” and all men, notwithstanding, are not saved by it, it follows that the grace of God is not irresistible. He asserts that, though the Holy Spirit is represented as preventing and assisting, he leaves us the will to act in obedience to his heavenly motions or not. Here he quotes “The necessary Eradition of a Christian Man,” and Irenæus.

He says: “Shall we be told, that by this doctrine, which ascribes the acceptance or refusal of the divine grace to the pleasure of man, we take from God his omnipotence?” (Dr. Hawker’s words) “God forbid, we answer, that such a blasphemous imagination should ever have had place in our minds.” He then quotes from the Examination of Tilenus a passage, asserting, that though God *can* compel and necessitate the mind of man, he *will not*. He quotes also several other writers and texts of scripture, maintaining that we may resist the spirit—may hate and rebel against the light. He opposes Calvin’s assertion, that “it is an error to make man co-operate with God, so that he may ratify his election with his own voice,” as one that runs counter to the whole tenor of the Bible—maintains the freedom of the will, and quotes the well known saying of Augustin, “*Si non est gratia Dei quomodo salvat mundum? Si non est liberum arbitrium quomodo judicat mundum?*”—He declares it to be “matter, not only of probable inference, but of certain and unquestionable fact, that the Spirit of God does not act with that irresistible power which deprives man of his freedom of will,” and instances the case of the Jews, described Is. v. 4. Ezek. xxiv. 13. Is. lxv. 12. lxvi. 4. Jerem. xxv. 4—7. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15, 16. Acts vii. 51. Matt. xxiii. 37; on which last text he answers a comment of Augustin, and produces another passage of his asserting the freedom of the will against the Manichees. He argues from 1 Tim. i. 19, 20. 2 Peter ii. 18, 20, 21, 22, that men may make shipwreck of faith, and turn from the way of righteousness; dwells also especially on Heb. vi. 4—6; and declares that this epistle abounds in stubborn passages, with which the advocates for the indefectibility of grace may endeavour to wrestle in vain. He adds, that there is not a book in scripture which does not controvert the doctrine, and dwells on the often cited text, 1 Cor. ix. 26, 27; also on Philipp. i. 7; ii. 12, 13, 16. 1 Thess. iii. 5. Galat. iv. 11. v. 4. (marking in the latter text the words *fallen from grace* with Italics \*). “We

\* It appears to us that Mr. M. has here mistaken the apostle’s meaning, which was not that these Galatians had fallen from a state of grace—but that, in seeking to be justified by works, they were relinquishing their dependence on the mercy of God in Christ, by which alone they could be justified.

conclude, therefore, (he says) that the influence of the Holy Spirit is not *irresistible*; that he works *in us*, but in order for his working to be effectual, that he must work *with*, and we must work with him. Founded upon this are the exhortations which we address to our people."

II. Mr. Mant maintains, that the influence of the Holy Spirit is not of that *sensible* kind which the enthusiast represents it to be: (and here he quotes Messrs. Whitefield, Wesley, and Dr. Hawker). He admits not only that "God hath given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts, and that the Spirit beareth witness with our spirit"—but also "that we may feel in ourselves the working of the Spirit of Christ." (Art. 17.) But then it is only, he says, as our thoughts and meditations; so that had God given the Holy Spirit to us, without making mention of it in his word, we never should have known, unless by some private revelation, that we are moved by his divine power when we love God and keep his commandments.

He argues, that "the man, *who*, from the evidence of his feelings alone, believes that he is under the influence of the Spirit, is in extreme danger of deceiving himself, and has no ground for expecting that he shall be believed by others."

In the two leading positions maintained in this discourse we readily concur, and have no hesitation in assenting to much of the reasoning by which they are supported. We should be disposed indeed to suggest, that many who speak of the influence of the Holy Spirit as *irresistible*, do not intend, as Mr. Mant supposes, to maintain a doctrine contradictory to Scripture, but rather use the word *irresistible* by mistake, instead of *invincible* or *infallible*, which the power of the Holy Spirit must be: for, unless the Holy Spirit put forth a greater power, the evil dispositions of man would always overcome.

On the subject of final perseverance, we are sorry to find Mr. Mant expressing himself in more positive terms than it is fitting for a finite being to use on matters of such lofty, we were going to say of almost interdicted speculation. The texts which relate to the point more particularly, are, Ps. xxxvii. 23, 24. lxxxix. 30, 34. John x. 27—29. xvii. 11, 12, 24. Rom. viii. 32—39. 1 Cor. x. 13. Philipp. i. 6. 2 Tim. ii. 19. Heb. vi. 9—19. 1 Pet. i. 5. 1 John. ii. 19.

We will not attempt to argue in contradiction to the doctrine of *humility* which we have just inculcated: but shall content ourselves with asking whether, admitting that the best Christians have in themselves no inherent security against falling away, they may not hope that God will secure them? The judicious Hooker, for so he has, by way of distinction, been usually called,

of whom no one can speak more highly than Mr. Mant, (see the close of the 8th sermon), touches on this question only in an incidental manner, but yet very strongly, in the following, among many passages, to the same effect; and which we borrow, not as an argument to persuade or convince, but to inspire us with caution in rejecting what we find it difficult to understand. In his discourse on justification, where he is endeavouring to show, that some false opinions, entertained concerning it by Papists, did not necessarily overthrow the foundation of faith, nor exclude from salvation, he supposes this objection to be brought.

*Obj.* But you will say—*That as he that is to-day holy may to-morrow forsake his holiness and become impure, as a friend may change his mind and become an enemy; as hope may wither, so faith may die in the heart of man; the Spirit may be quenched; grace may be extinguished; they which believe may be quite turned away from the truth.*

*Sol.*—The case is clear, long experience hath made this manifest, it needs no proof. I grant we are apt, prone, and ready to forsake God; but is God as ready to forsake us? Our minds are changeable, is his so likewise? When God hath justified, hath not Christ assured that it is his Father's will to give them a kingdom? Notwithstanding, it shall not otherwise be given them, than if they continue grounded and established in the faith, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel: *if they abide in faith and holiness.* Our Saviour, therefore, when he spake of the sheep effectually called, and truly gathered into his fold, "I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hands," in promising to save them, promised no doubt to preserve them in that, without which there can be no salvation, as also from that, whereby it is irrecoverably lost."

After more to the same effect, he adds:

"Touching the point, therefore, I hope I may safely set down, that if the justified err, as he may, and never come to understand his error, God doth save him through general repentance: but if he fall into heresy, he calleth him, at one time or other, by actual repentance; but from infidelity, which is an inward direct denial of the foundation, he preserveth him, by special providence, for ever."

It may not be amiss, also, to peruse "A learned and comfortable Sermon, of the Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith in the Elect," by the same excellent author. The close of it is truly eloquent, and guards admirably against any antinomian perversion of the doctrine.

The subject of the 6th discourse is to prove that regeneration is the spiritual grace of baptism. The text is John iii. 5. After several observations on the nature of circumcision, and on the sub-

stitution in its place of baptism, (which had been a rite employed by the Jews for the admission of proselytes into their church), Mr. Mant proceeds to argue that our Lord alluded to this new institution, or rather<sup>e</sup> this more exalted employment of an old ceremony, in the words of the text. "I make no scruple" (he says) "of thus considering the words of our Saviour, because I believe it to be the doctrine of the Bible, and I am sure it is the doctrine of the church of England, agreeably to which I conceive it to be the opinion of the generality of the national clergy, that by that sacrament we are made Christians, and are born anew of water and of the Holy Spirit. This doctrine, however, is virtually at least, if not actually, denied by some ministers of our church; and it is denied in terms which charge the maintainers of it with blindness and ignorance; with innovating on evangelical truth; with being opposers of the doctrines of the gospel, and patrons of a heathenish superstition." To shew that this accusation "implicates the church of England as well as the generality of her ministers," Mr. Mant produces the several passages of the liturgy (beginning with the baptismal office, and proceeding to confirmation and the collect for Christmas-day), wherein regeneration is mentioned. He quotes also the ninth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and twenty-seventh articles. He observes that the nonconformist ministers (temp. Carol. II.) seceded for this reason among others, that "the church clearly teaches the doctrine of real baptismal regeneration." Then after quoting an assertion of Mr. Whitefield, that this doctrine "was the Diana of the present clergy, and of the present age," he adds,

"Nor will it be heard without surprise, mingled perhaps with some degree of indignation, that not only among the deluded partisans of schismatical enthusiasm, but in the very bosom of the church there are men, who have pledged themselves most solemnly to the support of her doctrines, and who arrogate to themselves the distinction of being her only faithful sons; whose preaching nevertheless is in irreconcilable opposition to her unequivocal and numerous declarations on this important article of her creed. Regeneration is, as it were, inscribed on their banners, and is one of the watchwords of their sect; regeneration not the fruits of Christ's holy ordinance of baptism, but the effect of their declaration; not the blessing of a soul, peacefully devoted to Christ's service, but the mark of one zealous in the cause of their party. They, who can be persuaded to embrace the tenets of that party, are described as labouring in the pangs and travails of the new birth until Christ be formed in them; whilst all who tread in the sound paths of scripture and of antiquity, unseduced by their invitations, and unterrified by their threats, are represented, together with their ministers, those blind leaders of the blind, as unregenerate, unconverted, sinners."

We have given this passage at length, because we shall be compelled to notice it when we have finished our abstract.

Mr. Mant then (after observing the importance of ascertaining whether we have been born again), observes; first, that it is a strong probability in behalf of his supposition, that if regeneration be not effected in baptism, it is almost impossible for any sober man to say when and by what means it is; and that he presses this argument both because he considers it as decisive, and because his opponents studiously keep out of sight the instrument whereby Christ says we must be born again. Here he quotes Bishops Beveridge and Latimer, King Edward's Catechism, and Bishop Andrews, to shew that in order to regeneration the baptism of water is necessary, and that it is presumptuous to separate water from the Spirit. It is also (he says) unnecessary and unreasonable to look for any other vehicle of regeneration than water. He next endeavours to shew from scripture that this blessing is conferred by baptism, and his argument is briefly this; scripture teaches that by baptism we are made heirs of salvation through Christ. It declares also that we cannot be heirs of salvation except we are born of water and of the Spirit. If then we cannot be heirs of salvation unless so born, and if by baptism we are made heirs of salvation, it follows that the outward washing of water is attended by the sanctification of the Spirit, and that we are born of water and of the Spirit when we are baptized. The texts referred to are Titus iii. 4, 7. 1 Cor. vi. 11. Col. ii. 12, 13. Rom. v. 4, 11. Ephes. v. 25, 27. 1 Cor. xii. 13. Acts ii. 38. xxii. 16.

He next remarks, that as it may be argued that baptism is the vehicle of regeneration, because it is the vehicle of salvation to which regeneration is necessary; so we may come to the same conclusion from the consideration that all Christians, all persons who have been baptised, are indiscriminately said to have been regenerated. He observes, that to deny the regenerating efficacy of baptism, is to strip it of its sacramental character, and reduce it to a mere beggarly element. He refers to the ancient fathers as using the terms baptism and regeneration in the same sense; and asks what scriptural authority is there to shew that the new birth is not conveyed by baptism rightly administered.

The error of his opponents (he says) has arisen from their disregarding the outward form of regeneration, and from a consequent confusion of regeneration with renovation or conversion; for doing which he throws some censure on Bishop Hopkins. He endeavours to remove the misunderstanding which he thinks prevails with some concerning 1 John iii. 9; and quotes the saying of Bishop Taylor, that when a regenerate person sins, he "quits his baptism, renounces the covenant," &c. The words

of the apostle, therefore, are to be understood as a caution to the regenerate. He then concludes by describing the distress of a person educated in the church of England, but seduced from her views of regeneration, and waiting for such a new birth as the Methodists describe, insisting upon the mischievous tendency of their doctrine in this respect, and its opposition to the words of truth and soberness by which St. Paul repelled the charge of insanity.

It is with pain and reluctance that we advert to the passage, which we have quoted at length from this discourse, charging several ministers of the establishment with most unbecoming conduct. We are very unwilling to retract any thing which we have said in praise of the candour and moderation of Mr. Mant, at the beginning of this article, but we would rather believe that he has expressed himself unadvisedly in the heat of disputation; and, in compliance with his request in the preface, we will endeavour to forget (as we wish the objects of his censure also may), that such language was ever uttered, "or at least regard it with indulgence, as the effect of human weakness, and not of a deliberate intention to offend." In another edition we hope the expressions will be softened, if not omitted. To us it appears that wise and good men have differed, and may differ, on this subject, without intentionally contradicting the doctrines either of scripture, or of the church of England. It cannot, we conceive, be denied, that many if not most of the ancient fathers used the term regeneration as synonymous with baptism, and we shall also readily acknowledge that the language of our church in her liturgy is correspondent with theirs. But still it seems to us possible to assent to the expressions which both have used, without going the full length with Mr. Mant and some other modern writers.

We should be concerned at hearing it denied, that various important spiritual benefits are inseparably connected with baptism, and that in many cases the work of real spiritual regeneration is then effected. Possibly, however, those cases would be more frequent, if all the parties who attend on the administration of this ordinance fulfilled the duties which the church charitably supposes that they will fulfil. But when we consider the circumstances under which this sacred rite is often performed, and the manner in which it is attended; when we observe also the subsequent conduct of those who have been partakers of it; we feel that it requires a faith little short of that possessed by the believers in transubstantiation, to ascribe to the mere *opus operatum* such important effects as are usually understood by the term regeneration. In how many instances

do parents bring their child to be baptized, with no other view than that of giving it a name, and causing its birth to be registered? In how many are both they and the sponsors ignorant of the fundamental principles of christianity? How often is the rite administered in the midst of feasting, or as the prelude to a feast, and among bystanders perfectly untouched with the ceremony? And when, after receiving this form of baptism we see wickedness blossoming with the spring of juvenility, and maturing with the season of manly perfections, without any fruit of piety or charity in the heart or character, do we not rather feel tempted to apply to baptism the language of St. Paul concerning circumcision, which was a rite of similar import: "He is not a Jew which is one *outwardly*; neither is that circumcision *which is outward in the flesh*: but he is a Jew which is one *inwardly*; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of man but of God?" May it not be possible that the inward and spiritual grace does not always accompany the outward and visible sign? This is declared by our church (in her twenty-ninth article) concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper; and may it not also be true of baptism? In the Lord's supper the benefits are bestowed only on those who are truly penitent and believing; and are not repentance and faith equally necessary, in order that the partakers of baptism should receive the full benefits of that sacrament? Because infants cannot perform these conditions at the time of their being baptised, it is promised by their sureties that when come to age they shall perform them. May not then the full enjoyment of the advantages connected with baptism be suspended on their performance of these conditions? We doubt not, indeed, that many spiritual blessings are conferred on *all* who are baptized. They are released from the guilt of original sin; they are admitted into covenant with God; they are made members of that church which is Christ's body, and in which his Spirit dwells; and if, when they become capable of it, they fulfil the promises made for them in baptism, they assuredly will enjoy all the privileges of which that ordinance is the seal. If this is what Mr. Mant means by the term regeneration, we shall have no difficulty in agreeing with him. It seems to us sufficiently to account for and justify the language which our church puts into the mouths of her ministers, and which he considers as decisive in his favour. Her language is that of piety, and is founded on a supposition, which probably was in most cases just at the time when the liturgy was composed, that all who attend on this sacred rite, attend in a proper manner; that the minister, the parents, the sponsors, and the god-

gregation, will fervently implore for the child the sanctifying and regenerating grace of the Holy Spirit, and that he who has promised to grant the requests made by two or three when gathered together in his name, will fulfil the petitions and desires of his servants, and confer the benefit which they earnestly solicit for the child. When the benefit is so solicited, we humbly trust it is attained, and therefore we consider her as doing right in requiring us to offer up our thanksgivings for it. But when in point of fact such supplications are not devoutly offered, when no desire is felt for the blessing nor any pains taken to secure it, must we suffer the charitable judgment of the church to blind our eyes to positive facts; and call those born of the Spirit who have never shewn any sign of being under his guidance? In the burial service, the church teaches us to express the charitable hope that the departed person rests in Christ, and to return thanks to God for having taken his spirit to himself; but are we thence to infer that *all* over whom that service is read, partake the blessedness of the dead which die in the Lord? To us the cases appear parallel, and we fear that, if ministers were required to believe thus favourably in every instance, many pious men whose labours have contributed much to edify the church, and who could be ill spared by it in days like these, must inevitably be driven from her communion.

Some degree of latitude must certainly be allowed with respect to language of this kind, for unless it be allowed, not only must we charge many sincere friends and supporters of the church in these days with unfaithfulness to her, but also impute the same censure to many departed worthies who have always been ranked amongst her most orthodox defenders. In proof of these assertions, we shall select a few passages amongst many which might be produced, the importance of which will, we hope, excuse our trespassing so long upon the patience of our readers. Mr. Mant quotes Bishop Beveridge to prove that baptism with water is necessary in order to regeneration, (an assertion by the way which few will dispute); we shall quote the same bishop to prove that persons may be baptised and live in communion with the church, without being partakers of that spiritual renovation which is necessary to salvation. In a sermon on 2 Cor. v. 17. *If any man be in Christ he is a new creature*, he first explains what it is to be in Christ, then what to be a new creature, namely to be one who

*is altogether another man than he was before; for he is now transformed by the renewing of his mind; yea, as the apostle saith, old things are passed away, behold all things are become new."* He then speaking of the old man, *the man that is still such as he was*



born, says, "As he was born, so he lives continually in sin, his mind and conscience is defiled; and all the powers of his soul disordered and out of tune," with much more to the same purpose, adding, "and thus the poor man lives, as without God in the world, and so he will do all his life, *unless he be renewed and born again*. But (he continues) let us suppose him to be so *renewed and born again of God's Holy Spirit*, that he is become a new man: what a wonderful alteration is wrought in him? He is now, in all respects, another kind of creature, than what he was before. His mind is purified." Afterwards he says, "Men may pretend what they will, and make what show they can of Christ's religion; *they may be baptized into his name*, and continue members of his church: they may profess to believe in him as their only Saviour, to serve and honour him as their lord and master: they may undertake to argue and dispute for him, to vindicate and defend him against his enemies\*: they may pray unto him, they may read and hear his word; they may admire his divine sayings, they may reverence his ministers, they may approach his very table; and yet, after all, *unless they become new creatures*, they have nothing to do with him; they do not truly believe, and have no part or interest in him; for they are not in him, and so have no ground to expect any thing at all from him." Beveridge's Sermons, vol. ii. sermon 7. edit. 12mo. 1709.

Certainly we may infer from these passages, as well as from the whole context in which they stand, that Bishop Beveridge did not agree with Mr. Mant, in supposing that *spiritual regeneration always accompanies baptism*.

Amongst the sermons of Archbishop Tillotson, we find four on the parallel text, Gal. vi. 15, in which that eminent divine professedly discusses the subject of regeneration, and throughout speaks of it as very distinct from baptism, describing it as the same thing with *renovation, conversion, repentance*, with which, Mr. Mant contends, that it ought not to be confounded.

"Regeneration (he says) is the change of a man's state, from a state of sin to a state of holiness, which, because it is an entrance upon a new kind or course of life, it is fitly resembled to *regeneration, or a new birth; to a new creation*, the man being, as it were, quite changed, or made over again, so as not to be, as to the main purpose and design of his life, the same man he was before." Sermons, 12mo. vol. iv. p. 228. edit. 2d. 1700.

One of the most important testimonies, however, on this subject, is contained in the celebrated sermon of Bishop Bradford on *Baptismal and Spiritual Regeneration*, reprinted within these

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\* Compare Matt. vii. 25.

few years by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, in the hope that "so judicious and scriptural a discourse may be of service to settle the minds of good Christians in some present disputes concerning baptismal and spiritual regeneration." The text is Titus iii. 4. In opening it, the bishop speaks of the *washing of regeneration* as answering to the *water* mentioned by our Saviour in his conversation with Nicodemus; *the renewing of the Holy Ghost*, as answering to the *Spirit* mentioned in the same place, and continues :

"But here the question will be, In what sense are each of these a means to this end? How are we *saved* by one and by the other? Which enquiry is the more necessary, because it will lead us to the understanding of the true notion of *regeneration*, both when it is applied to baptism, (as it frequently is,) and when it particularly denotes *the renewing of the mind by the divine Spirit*; as also it will farther serve to convince us that external regeneration, if not accompanied with the internal, will not avail us to the end for which it is designed."

He then shows why baptism is called *the washing of regeneration*, and how it is a mean whereby we are saved. He explains the sense of those passages in our liturgy to which Mr. Mant refers, and vindicates the use of them, because

"Those, who are regularly baptised, are incorporated into the visible church of Christ, and thereby entitled to the pardon of their past sins, and received into the number of the children of God through Jesus Christ; and, as they are dedicated to the Holy Ghost, together with the Father and the Son, so they have a right to expect and depend upon his assistance, so long as they do not wilfully violate their baptismal covenant; they are born again, or regenerated into a new state; have entered upon new relations; are obliged to live new lives; they are admitted into that body of which Jesus Christ is the head, and in which the Holy Spirit dwelleth, in order to quicken and sanctify, to direct and influence, all its members, which do not resist and refuse his conduct. This" (the bishop adds) "is *baptismal regeneration*, and what will be attended also by the renewing of the Holy Ghost, where there is no obstruction to his sacred influence."

Having then excellently explained wherein that renovation consists, he shows, under his 4th general head, "that *the washing of regeneration* may be separated from *the renewing of the Holy Ghost*;" and, under the 5th head, enquires "how those persons who have had the washing of regeneration, but are not yet renewed by the Holy Ghost, may attain to such renovation." That there are such persons, he says, "is to be feared, nay it is evident—representing "their tempers and their practices as a

manifest proof;" and recommending to them the study of the scriptures, prayer, and attendance on the other means of grace.

The catechetical lectures of the good, learned Dr. Bray, will be admitted by Mr. Mant to be of a truly orthodox character. In explaining that passage of the catechism wherein the child describes himself as "a member of Christ," &c. he says—

"As there are two sorts of members in the visible church, so there are two kinds of privileges that belong to each sort. *First*, there are members only by *federal or covenant holiness*, such as are *only born of water*, when by baptism they are united to Christ and the church, and take upon them the profession and practice of the Christian religion. *Secondly*, there are *members by real and inherent holiness*, such as are *not only born of water, but of the Spirit also*, when, by the inward operation of the Holy Ghost, their souls are renewed after the image of God, and made partakers of a divine nature." (Lecture 6. p. 60. 3d edit. fol. 1703.)

He makes the same distinction with respect to the being "a child of God;" and says—

"It is plain, that it is not only such as are renewed in the spirit of their minds, and do imitate God, that are thus to be understood; for every one who is catechised, is required to answer, that *in his baptism he was made a child of God*; whereas many catechumens are not actually as yet renewed and really converted, and, by their own fault, many never will be; so that a child of God, by spiritual regeneration, and a godlike imitation, expresses rather the duty of everyone, what he ought to be, than the notion and nature of a privilege which many may enjoy, who, in the mean time, are not over dutiful." Ibid. p. 70.

Bishop Pearson also sets this matter in a very just light, in his explanation of the 9th article of the creed—"The communion of saints." He speaks of the whole Jewish nation, even those who were rebellious and void of all true and actual sanctity; yet, by virtue of their separation from the rest of the world, as holy; and adds—

"In like manner, those of the New Testament, writing to such as were called, and had received and were baptized in the faith, give unto them all the name of *saints*, as being in some measure such, by being called and baptized. For, baptism is a washing away of sin, and the purification from sin is a proper sanctification; every one who is so called and baptized is thereby separated from the rest of the world which are not so, and all such separation is some kind of sanctification; though the work of grace be not perfectly wrought; yet, when the means are used, without something appearing to the contrary, we ought to presume of the good effect; therefore, all such as have been received into the church may be, in the same sense, called holy. But, because there is more than an

outward vocation and a charitable presumption necessary to make a man holy, therefore we must find some other qualification, which must make him really and truly such, not only by an extrinsecal denomination, but by a real and internal affection. What this sanctity is, and who are capable of this title properly, we must learn out of the gospel of Christ."

We might go on heaping quotation on quotation from writers, who have always been considered standards of orthodoxy—but we fear we have already need to apologize for having introduced so many. The importance of the subject, and the manner in which sometimes those persons are treated who hold the same language with the divines whose testimonies have been produced, will, we trust, be admitted as an excuse.

We now proceed, and we must endeavour to do it more briefly, to notice the three discourses which remain.

The title of the 7th discourse, which is on Matt. viii. 2, 3, is "a special and instantaneous conversion not necessary for Christians."

It begins with remarking on the unreasonableness of expecting such rapid effects from the preaching of modern ministers, as were produced by the extraordinary gifts vouchsafed to the apostles. Mr. Mant then speaks of the vehement manner in which the doctrine of conversion is urged by some modern sectaries. He thus states his own views of conversion:

"Conversion, according to our notions, may not improperly be said to consist of a rational conviction of sin, and sense of its wretchedness and danger; of a sincere penitence and sorrow of heart at having incurred the displeasure of a holy God; of stedfast purposes of amendment with the blessing of the divine grace; of a regular and diligent employment of all the means of grace; and of a real change of heart and life, of affections and conduct, and a resolute perseverance in well doing."

This statement he contrasts with Mr. Whitefield's language on the subject, and then institutes a comparison between the scriptural and methodical views of it. He describes the alteration which the gospel required in the dispositions of the unbelieving Jews, and of the sinners amongst the Gentiles; and adds, that a professing Christian, who is in a similar state, must undergo a similar change: but maintains, that to fancy every Christian must experience a conversion in order to be in a state of salvation—that (as Mr. Wesley teaches) every one who does not remember the time when he had need of a change as from darkness to light—or that (as Mr. Whitefield asserts) there are, in every congregation, two sorts of persons, converted and uncon-

verted, is a conceit contradicting revelation, reason, and experience.

This doctrine of conversion, as universally necessary to all Christians, Mr. Mant represents as a distinguished and fundamental error of the methodistical creed, and blames those of the clergy (whom he again describes as self-called evangelical) who maintain it; at the same time admitting the necessity of such a change to every one who is satisfied with mere nominal Christianity, or with any thing short of true Christian holiness both of heart and life; though he considers that it would be more correct to describe it by the appellation of a true repentance.

He next proceeds to examine the doctrine of instantaneous conversion maintained by the methodists—examines, with great judgment, the scriptural instances of sudden conversion, on which they lay especial stress, and shows that they do not support the doctrine; that, except in certain special cases, where a striking miracle was wrought, conversion was produced in a gradual manner, as amongst the Gentiles at Antioch, and the Jews at Berea; and that we have no right in these days, when miracles have ceased, to expect that the instantaneous effects occasionally produced in the first ages should continue.

He admits that Providence may sometimes interpose in an unusual manner, but justly remarks, that it is the error of enthusiasm to invert God's proceedings, and mistake that for the rule, which is, in reality, the exception. He shows, that though the apostles confirmed their doctrine by miracles, they employed sound arguments to convince the reason; and then draws a contrast, which, it may be feared, is too just, between the sobriety and sanctity of their preaching and its effects, and that of the methodistical teachers.

He then draws two inferences: 1. That the comparison between the conversions described in the Acts of the Apostles, and those recorded by the methodists, affords a strong negative argument against the latter, on account of their want of similarity.

2dly. He maintains, that a positive argument is afforded,—because neither the rapidity of such conversions, the symptoms by which they are accompanied, the dispositions to which they are adapted, nor the consequences by which they are followed, are agreeable to the ordinary economy of Providence in its dealings with mankind.

The sermon closes by a good description of the proper mode of addressing a congregation on these subjects.

It appears to us to be much to commend, and little which

can justly be objected to, in the foregoing discourse, unless it be the sentence in which Mr. Mant says, "some of our self-denominated evangelical brethren appear to err in common with our more extravagant accusers." This, as indicating, and in a manner courting hostility, we wish had been omitted.

The 8th discourse, which is on Matt. v. 3. and is designed to show, that assurance of salvation, and unsinning perfection, are not the privileges of a true Christian, well deserves the attention of those who hold the opposite sentiment.

It begins with some beautiful remarks (remarks strongly indicative of a sound Christian mind) on the nature of that poverty of spirit inculcated by our Saviour in the text; and proceeds to show how inconsistent the doctrines in question are to it—elucidating this remark by passages from the writings of Mr. Whitefield and his followers.

Mr. Mant then, after showing how the doctrine of assurance took its rise in both the divisions of methodism, proves, from the writings of the leaders of that sect, that it is one of their distinguishing tenets, and that they heavily censure those who oppose it.

He then suggests some considerations, which appear to exhibit it in a very questionable shape.

1. It is supposed to be effected as an accompaniment of the sudden conversion already mentioned, and therefore is an operation so sudden and violent, as not to be agreeable to the general order of God's proceedings with mankind.

2. It frequently bears the mark of enthusiasm stamped on its very forehead.

3. It is merely an affair of feeling. It is a natural consequence that such feeling may prove delusive, as Mr. Whitefield himself acknowledges.

4. It is a convincing proof of its presumptuous nature that it nourishes lofty conceits of special visitations.

5. It leads on the one hand to unreasonable presumption, on the other to as unreasonable despondency.

Lastly, it is not productive of full and uninterrupted satisfaction to those who are allowed to be really possessed of it.

Mr. Mant next examines the several passages supposed to establish the doctrine, particularly Rom. viii. 16. 2 Cor. xiii. 5. 1 John v. 10—19. Ibid. iv. 13. Heb. x. 22; and maintains that though these and other passages teach that we may possess a humble hope of God's favour, and the testimony of his Spirit that we are his children, we can retain them no longer than while we walk in a holy course; that our utmost exertions are necessary that we may be kept from falling; and that he only who

has trodden in the apostle's footsteps and endured to the end, may be allowed to adopt his triumphant exclamation, 2 Tim. iv. 6—8.

II. He proceeds to shew, that unsinning perfection is not the privilege of a true Christian.

After quoting the 15th article, and vindicating it from misrepresentation, he states the doctrine of perfection as taught by Mr. Wesley, and still maintained by his followers, and examines the passages on which they support it, particularly from the Old Testament, Ps. cxxx. 8. Ezek. xxxvi. 25. and Deut. xxx. 6. from the New, 1 John iii. 8. Ephes. v. 25. 27. Matt. v. 48. and xxii. 37; all which he shews to be misconceived and inapplicable to the purpose for which they adduce them. He next points out the evil effects of this doctrine, viz. spiritual pride, uncharitableness and fanaticism, which, he observes, were acknowledged in some degree even by the teachers of it. He opposes to it the humble language of the prophets and apostles; the faults recorded even of the best characters described in scripture; and lastly, the humble language of the excellent Hooker on his death-bed, as pathetically described by Isaac Walton; closing the discourse with his declaration, that "the strongest in faith that liveth on the earth, hath always need to labour, strive, and pray that his assurance concerning heavenly and spiritual things may grow, increase, and be augmented."

The 9th and concluding discourse is on the same text with the introductory one, namely, 1 Cor. ix. 16.

The preacher sets out with observing, that he had endeavoured to impress his hearers with a sense of the solemnity of the charge of not preaching the gospel brought against those whom he defends, and to state and defend the substance of their teaching on the controverted points. He quotes a passage from Bishop Horne, foretelling the growth of antinomianism, and accounting for it from the neglect of the ancient writers and the attention paid to modern sectaries. He then proceeds to offer some remarks on the general character of the charge in question.

I. It is *arrogant* and *presumptuous*; those who make it are unqualified to judge; the doctrines on which it rests (particularly predestination) are so controverted that it is not modest to decide hastily, nor to condemn the great body of the clergy, as well as many eminent characters of former times, such as Chrysostom and Jerome, Melancthon, Arminius, and Grotius, Latimer and Cranmer, Jackson and Taylor, Leslie, Beveridge, and Barrow, who are involved in the censure. Even allowing the Calvinistic doctrines to be probably true, it is presumptuous to represent the preaching of them as the criterion of ministerial fide-

lity. Mede justly teaches that communion is not to be broken except for fundamentals, and Bishop Andrews blames the perplexing the people with such questions.

2. The charge is accompanied with much *misrepresentation*, and therefore is *uncharitable* and *unjust*. The clergy of the church of England consists of several thousands of individuals, with whose style of preaching the accusers can be acquainted only on very disputable authority.

3. The temper with which the charge is brought is of the same character.

4. The charge is *vague* and *undefined*. Mr. Mant remarks on the variety of sentiments amongst those who bring it, particularly between the founders of methodism, and between minor subdivisions of the same sect.

5. Mr. Mant, after remarking that the clergy are accused of "abandoning the doctrines of the Reformation, the doctrines of the church of England," admits that some persons in the earliest period of the Reformation did hold the doctrine of perfection which was censured in the 15th article, also in the Augsburg confession, and by Latimer, and quotes Heylin, &c. (Hist. Quintart) to shew that the calvinistic doctrines were disapproved.

6. Connected with this charge is that of preaching pelagianism and popery. As to the former Mr. Mant observes, that the clergy have subscribed the article in which it is condemned; as to the latter, he shews that the papists are as much divided concerning predestination as the protestants.

7. He says, "meeting our accusers on the ground of their own characteristic and avowed principles of absolute predestination, we may demand what conduct they would wish us to adopt?" and maintains, that on those principles arguments and exhortations are nugatory. He then declares, that the motive with which these lectures were undertaken was "a sincere desire, with the blessing of Almighty God, to maintain against gainsayers the sound orthodox doctrines of that gospel which we are accused of corrupting or forsaking;" he expresses a hope, that nothing has escaped him unworthy of the assembly addressed, of the station occupied by him, or of the cause he has espoused; and closes by two important practical remarks, which we devoutly wish may be engraved on the minds of all who heard, and all who may read them.

1. That the activity of their enemies and their propensity to disparage the clerical character, should stimulate ministers to "take heed to themselves," by a diligent discharge of their professional duties, since those who cannot judge of controverted topics can judge of external conduct.



2. That the same consideration should operate as an additional caution to "take heed to their doctrine," and preach the gospel of Christ in its original purity and simplicity.

We will now with sincere diffidence offer our sentiments concerning the charge from which Mr. Mant has endeavoured in these lectures to vindicate his brethren. That it has been advanced in a very unbecoming manner by a large party of sectaries is but too notorious, and certainly when brought *against the whole body of the clergy*, it must at *any time* have been, as he maintains, presumptuous, uncharitable, and unjust. It appears to us, however, that there was a period when the conduct and manner of preaching of many amongst the clergy afforded but too much foundation for it. In our article on the life of Mr. Whitefield, we have shewn that after the Restoration such was the abhorrence of puritanism generally entertained, that every doctrine which had been maintained by its followers was avoided as much as possible. Natural religion was, in consequence, much exalted, and the peculiarities of Christianity kept in the shade. It was represented as much more necessary to inculcate morality than faith, and the morality which was inculcated was much more that of the heathen philosophers than of the gospel. These remarks might be supported by the testimony of Bishop Burnet, and other respectable writers of that period, and illustrated by a reference to the great mass of printed sermons which have been handed down to us. In those, indeed, of Barrow, Tillotson, Beveridge, and some few others, we find rich treasures of divinity; but amongst the remainder real spiritual religion will be found comparatively in few: nay, even in later times, it was confessed by Archbishop Secker, that many who were once members of the church had been lost to sectaries, in consequence of a style of preaching too little evangelical. The late Bishop Horsley, and several eminent modern prelates, have made similar confessions, and each of our English universities (if we mistake not) has been compelled to appoint a body of select preachers, in order to secure to their members the privilege of hearing more edifying discourses than those which used to be delivered (in ordinary cases) from their pulpits. There was therefore some appearance of foundation for the complaint, that the gospel was not generally preached at the time the Methodists arose; and however great their error, or alarming the progress of their schism, we cannot resist the persuasion that they have been instruments in the hand of Providence, for awakening amongst the clergy of the establishment a spirit of enquiry and a zeal, till lately unknown, in contending for the doctrine once delivered to the saints. We join, however, most sincerely with Mr. Mant,

in blaming them for the contemptuous manner in which they too often speak of their brethren, and cannot admit it to be a sufficient excuse that they have been provoked to this conduct by a similar treatment of themselves by others. Abhorrent as we feel from all fanaticism, enthusiasm, or presumptuous assurances, we lament that such a work as Bishop Lavington's (of which he is himself said to have expressed strong disapprobation on his death-bed, though Mr. Mant often refers to it without any censure on the improper spirit it displays) was ever given to the world.

There are many passages in the discourses before us which, if printed separately, would have caused the author to be placed in the same class with those whom he appears to condemn; and we think it far from improbable, that he may himself be looked upon as a Methodist, or perhaps a Calvinist, by the profane and immoral (if there be any such) amongst his parishioners. We have heard the title of Methodist bestowed on the late venerable Bishop of London; we have even heard the ominous name applied to the present highly respected Dean of Canterbury, and other eminent living characters, whom no well informed reflecting persons would consider as obnoxious to it. This, then, is what we deprecate; we deprecate the continuance of attacks upon a body of laborious men, many of whom are among the best supports and ornaments of the establishment to which they belong.

After all, to quarrel about points of divinity which we do not understand, would be ridiculous for its absurdity, if it were not lamentable in its consequences. There must unavoidably be some things in a dispensation so exalted which can only be imperfectly understood, and which, perhaps, could only be imperfectly revealed to beings of our limited capacities. The minds of the best men may innocently differ, if they differ with charity and modesty, concerning those sublime speculations on which they are not bound down by the plain declarations of scripture. There are other doctrines of a fundamental nature, doctrines so clearly revealed and of such vital importance, that they cannot be too strenuously defended within the limits of mutual tenderness, forbearance, and respect. Let these be taught with the force and precision they deserve, and let them be pressed on to their practical consequences; but with respect to those higher mysteries, which we can only hope to understand in a nobler state of living, surely every man may be permitted to retain his private judgment.

We hope to live in heaven with many whose opinions whilst

on earth are likely to continue very different from ours : why then should we not live with them here in peace and amity ?

It is the humble but earnest supplication of him whose hand has been thus tremblingly engaged through the pages of this painful article in tracing unhappy disputes among children of the same family, that the ministers of the church of England, sensible of their real danger, *which is from themselves*, and minding better things than vain altercations, may labour to deprive their adversaries of all pretence for repeating that accusation which Mr. Mant has endeavoured to repel, by attending to the exhortation, which he gives them in conformity with the charge of the apostle, to "take heed unto themselves and to their doctrine." If the doctrines of the church of England be the best, as we feel they are, let them be the most adorned, and let not that most fatal of all heresies prevail, which teaches that the interests of sound faith and doctrine can be promoted by any methods which exclude the exercise of that charity which "thinketh" no evil. How lamentable a case it will be if this tenacity on points unprofitable to salvation, and of dangerous speculation, should still divide the church against herself, and thus continue to weaken her supports until her only resource will be in her secular privileges, her dignity, her antiquity, her opulence, and her erudition ! We have better hopes : but our hopes are built less upon the security of her establishments, or even the orthodoxy of her tenets, than upon the excitement of her alarms, her industry, and her circumspection, by the daily desertion of her altars, and the gathering cloud that frowns upon her battlements.

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ART. XV.—*A full Report of the Trial of John and Leigh Hunt, Proprietors of the Examiner, on an Information filed ex officio by the Attorney General, decided by Lord Ettenborough and a special Jury, in the King's Bench, Westminster, Wednesday the 9th of December, 1812. To which are added, Observations on the Trial, by the Editor of the Examiner. Printed by and for John Hunt.*

We do not know in what light we stand before the public as politicians. We have discussed some measures of government, speculative and some practical maxims of policy, and the characters of some of our statesmen. From these testimonies we must leave our readers to make out our political principles as

they may; being perfectly aware that if we have reasoned like men of prejudice, or meanness, or turbulence, it will be to no purpose for us to assert, in vague and general terms, our patriotism, and public purity.

At a moment when our hands were empty, the above report fell in our way, and we determined to lay before our readers, in a very small compass, such thoughts as it stirred in our minds. Whatever may be said on the one side or the other of the ultimate object of the publication which was the subject of the conviction in the Court of King's Bench, we think we may safely venture to affirm, that it was (we pay no regard to any thing said by counsel on the trial, it being their business to use every argument that may legally exculpate their client,) an attempt to render ridiculous and odious in the eyes of the people at large, the person and character of its actual ruler. In vindication of this proceeding much general stress is laid on the benefits of a free press; on the salutary consequence of exposing to public censure the misconduct of those whom the laws cannot reach; and on the awe under which others, whose rank and influence might promise them impunity for vice and crime, are kept by the dread of having their characters denounced, and their infamy recorded.

This is what every body can understand, and very many will be sure to approve. To be thus constituted reciprocal checks upon each other, and the summary judges and punishers of each other's delinquencies, may be considered by some as conducing to that state of things in which a moral sensibility to public opinion may do the work of laws and tribunals. We are sharers to a large extent in this general admiration of the benefits arising from what is called the liberty of the press. In the midst of this admiration, however, we are checked by the recollection that the press is not bespoken by virtue; nor is it the devoted agent of philosophy and truth. It is equally assisting in the propagation of what is useful, virtuous, and wise, and what is the direct contrary to those noble ends. We are satisfied, therefore, that it will never answer to let it alone to do what it will with us,—to exercise uncontrouled its wayward rule over our reason and our passions. We cannot doubt that this proposition will be conceded on all hands. There can scarcely exist a thinking person among the civilized communities of the globe, who will assert a right in every individual to say and publish what he lists of every other. This would be making it one of the rights of man to do wrong. But it is no violation of natural justice, say some of the latitudinarians on this subject, to speak the *truth* of another; and here the proposition being placed on a basis

consistent with the supposition of a political and social organization, one can deal with it without going into the question, whether a state of nature, or a state of political and social regulation, be the preferable condition of man;—a question on which we are firmly resolved never to enter into any controversy with man, woman, or child.

Independently of the principle upon which our law treats a defamatory libel as a crime, namely, that it has a tendency to induce a breach of the peace, and which is said to be the reason for excluding the consideration of the truth or falsehood of the charge, we do not think that the members of a well-ordered community would have all the protection consistent with the character of such a state, were he liable without redress to have his whole life open to be ransacked for charges against him, whenever the interest or revenge of another required the sacrifice. If he asks, indeed, for a compensation in damages, whether he deserves any, or not, will depend upon the worth of that which he has lost; and if his character was already forfeited, or ought to have been, on account of the truth of the allegations or reports he complains of, the law refuses to consider him as entitled to pecuniary reparation; which might ultimately make him a gainer by his own unworthiness. It is true, that the injury received by the assertion and diffusion of what cannot be altogether denied, may greatly exceed the amount of the misconduct itself; but the law will not permit a man to be recompensed in money for an ill report concerning himself, of which he has laid an actual foundation by his own ill behaviour. But as the dispersion of *truth* concerning others may, under a great variety of supposable circumstances, produce the cruellest and most oppressive consequences,—accomplish the most malicious designs,—and provoke the most fatal resentments, the law is ready to punish as wrong-doers against peace and good neighbourhood, those who, in the place of legal redress or private remonstrance, take the remedy into their own unstable hands; a remedy often worse than the disease, and the source and stimulant of a variety of new mischiefs.

We have made these one or two general remarks upon this much mooted question of the justice of our law, in its exclusion of the truth of the imputations from being a justification of them on a charge of libel, because in the observations subjoined to the above report, not only are all the bitter things which the defendants have said concerning the regent assumed as undeniable and even admitted truths, but it is considered that a subject may, in conformity with the principles of a constitution, of

which it is a maxim, that no wrong is to be imputed to the sovereign, come into the court of the prince himself, and offer evidence in derogation of his honour, virtue, and integrity.

If there be any thing of prudence and wise economy in restraining the publication of degrading truths, by one man of another, when their purpose is manifestly that of defamation only, the reader will consider whether the reason of the law does not press with vast additional weight in the case between the sovereign and the subject. Or even if he should be of opinion, that as between the subject and subject, the proof of truth should justify the loudest vengeance of the press, we would still ask him (if he be, not a man made for revolutions,) whether he is of opinion that the publication of violent attacks upon the character of the chief magistrate, should originate a right (which in no other case can exist) to bring witnesses to destroy in open court, and before a jury of the country, the credit and capacity of the person upon the throne. But if it be admitted, as doubtless it must, that the truth is not to be proved *in this way*, how is it to be established, or *officially* made known? Surely the assumption of it by the author and publisher of the imputed libel is not sufficient of itself to decide the fact. And if there be no way of deciding it, as clearly there is not, then, *true or false* can have no part in the question, and the only point which can possibly remain for discussion is this, viz. whether there be any other shelter under which, in this free country, a man can legally or reasonably claim to be protected from the penal consequences of a violent attack upon the character of the reigning prince.

The arguments of an advocate in his address to the jury ought not, as we have before remarked, to be made the subject of criticism: we have, however, on the present occasion, some motives to a slight consideration of one or two of the topics treated by the learned gentleman, who pleaded with great eloquence for the defendants, on the above trial, which we trust will excuse us to him, and to our readers, for a short deviation from that rule of forbearance to which we have above alluded.

In one of those periodical collections of essays, which of late years, under the form of Reviews, have attracted so large a share of the public attention, (and among which, from a feeling of which it would be fulsome to boast, but which, if challenged, they will be ready to avow, the British Reviewers have ventured to range the humble products of their reflections,) we find an article on the liberty of the press, which argues not a little from speeches delivered at the bar\*. From which example we are

\* See Edin. Review, No. 35.

induced to infer, that what falls from a counsel may sometimes be adopted as the basis of very morbid conclusions, on a subject on which sound principles are of the utmost importance. We observe, too, with some pain, that in the speech alluded to, as well as in the essay to which we have directed the reader's attention, resort is had to the writings of that great man, on whom we have said so much in the first article of this number, for supporting propositions and sentiments on which, if understood with reasonable limitation, or rather in their sound and just application, we are very willing to let his fame and his memory repose; but which, in the extent to which the reviewers in question appear disposed to carry them, we do not conceive would at all agree with the character of his political feelings.

It seems to us to be by no means a fair way of representing the leading and abstract opinions of Mr. Burke, to produce short passages, and sentences from his works; especially from those of his writings which had an immediate reference to the particular state of temporary politics, and the special exigencies of a crisis in the country. Even the inspired writers might be greatly traduced in this way: and it is in this way that their authority has been so frequently abused, to the support of very dangerous creeds. But where a man has given to the world so voluminous an exposition of his mind as Mr. Burke has done, we can have no right in fairness, we were going to say, in conscience, to borrow the authority of his opinions in maintenance of any of our own, which do not agree with the general tenour and spirit of his mind, as developed in his works taken together. Still less right have we, by the rules of common candour, to extract for this purpose opinions found in his earlier performances, when it appears with irresistible clearness, that in his maturer works these opinions have been qualified or disclaimed, and in their crude forms impliedly struck out from the political code of the writer. As well might we quote the early impressions of the late Mr. Soame Jenyns, as arguments against the Christian religion. Let us not forget, however, how Mr. Burke, in one of his earliest productions, has described the turbulent abusers of a free press\*. "A species of men," says he, "to whom a state of order would become a sentence of obscurity, are nourished into a dangerous magnitude by the heat of intestine disturbances; and it is no wonder that, by a sort of sinister piety, they cherish, in their turn, the disorders which are the parents of all their consequences." We will conclude our remarks on this point with a passage from a speech of Mr. Burke's, made by him

\* Thought on the Cause of the present Discontents, p. 57.

so early as the year 1771, on Mr. Dowdeswell's bill for explaining the powers of juries, on which occasions that excellent person was, as, indeed, he always was, the advocate of the real bulwarks of our freedom. "Undoubtedly the good fame of every man ought to be under the protection of the laws, as well as his life, his liberty, and his property. Good fame is an outwork that defends them all, and renders them all valuable. The law forbids you to revenge:—when it ties up the hands of some, it ought to restrain the tongues of others. The good fame of government is the same; it ought not to be traduced. This is necessary in all governments; and, if opinion be support, what takes away this, destroys that support." He concludes with saying, that "the liberty of the press is necessary to *this* government." And so say we.

It would be scarcely fair or just, unless upon the grounds on which we have already excused ourselves, to make any further comments upon the speech alluded to, to the general eloquence of which we are very ready to do justice; but as it is reduced into a permanent form, and has obtained a wide circulation, we cannot forbear, with the greatest deference, suggesting that the defence set up for the publication in question, on the ground of a supposed right vested in the public individually of arraigning the conduct and principles of those who are placed by the constitution in so sacred an elevation as to be considered as being even above the laws, points to the most obviously fatal results.

In the view of this subject, which is taken in the journal to which we have alluded, we admired nothing so much for its vanity and absurdity, as the proposal to define libel by a legislative enactment, in imitation of the great statute made against constructive treasons in the twenty-fifth year of Edward the Third. Surely no mind of common reflection could be so blind as not to perceive that on a charge of treason the case was naturally open to such a variety of implications of guilt, and so much ingenious oppression in the modifications of crime, that no man could stir in any political matter without danger of stumbling upon a capital offence. It was necessary, therefore, for the safety of the subject, to declare with the authority of law what the law considered as the criterion of treason. The statute was, therefore, without doubt, a signal blessing to the people of this country; but its benefit principally consisted in this—that all the world considered it as denouncing for the future all constructive treason, and as imposing on the courts of justice a rule of interpretation more favourable to liberty and security. As the character of the nation advanced in the spirit of freedom, and



the principles of humanity, this wholesome interpretation of the statute became enlarged and confirmed by precedents, and a system of law has gradually accumulated about the statute, enclosing it as a citadel with works much stronger than itself.

But the truth must be obvious to every one capable of reflection, that there was really no safeguard against constructive treason specifically provided by the statute, and that in arbitrary times, the crime of compassing and imagining the king's death, being always considered as completed by the commission of an act leading by natural consequence to that catastrophe, opened wide the gates to constructive imputations of treason. It is plain, however, that treason being in itself a word of no definite sense, and depending, moreover, upon the tendencies and distant consequences of actions rather than their immediate effects, called at least for some advance towards a definition of its legal meaning. But libel, in the sense of slander, can have but one meaning, and no man can want to be informed what it is to rob another of his good name; neither the medium, the quality, or the amount of the mischief is ever a question of any difficulty, the circumstances which qualify the act or deprive it of its malignity, are the problematical parts of every case. Does the Reviewer think that these points of discrimination can be settled by any statute? Such a law must have been made up of negatives, and would after all have been the longest and shortest statute in the whole book, excluding by its omissions much more than it comprehended in its expression. We venture, therefore, to hazard an opinion, in opposition to these speculators in legislation, that, since a licenser is no longer known, and the criminal matter of libel has been happily brought within the cognizance of the jury, it is impossible for the question, "*whether libel or not*," to stand submitted to a better test than it stands at present submitted to, viz. to the natural, unsophisticated feeling of twelve men, indifferently chosen, assisted by the judge, and superior, if rightly chosen; to all suspicion of prejudice, malice, or favour. It is with the country that the party complaining conceives himself damaged in his character; let the country then take the question into their own hands, and measure the different parts of the case in the scales of their prudence and experience. What is really, however, amusing in the essay on which we have been commenting, is the consoling assurance which the Reviewers give at the conclusion, "of not admitting their efforts, till the *sort of legislative provision* which they had been describing should take place. It may be before we leave this subject, to suggest that it seems to have been forgotten by these gentlemen lawyers, and ana-

teurs of legislation, that they have in truth described no sort of legislative provision; for which we do not blame them, because the thing was impossible: we only take leave to wonder at their supposing it to be possible, and still more at their persuading themselves that they had done it. They put us in mind of the crazy philosopher in *Rasselas*, who imagined himself busy in settling the polity of the stars.

One thing, however, we must request of these aerial legislators, that, as they have in page 116 seriously complained that no punishment has been inflicted upon the panegyrist of vicious great men, they will, in the sketch they may probably draw up of a new libel act, take care to adjust the lines and limits of both praise and calumny in all their possible ratios, characters, and modifications. Above all, let them be sure to take libel out of its present compounded state, and prohibit it in *specie*, not in *genere*, going distributively and in detail into all the infinite variety of particular cases which all the relations of man in society can generate. Their task will, for some time to come, hold them in a state of inoperative abstraction, and harmless industry.

Until these things are settled, as we may hope, one day, to see them, by the help of such well-directed exertions, as we can strike out nothing of ourselves, we shall, in the mean time, sit down in the old prejudice and persuasion that the policy of the law of England, which, as it were, embodies the government of the realm in the person of the first magistrate, invests that person with a peculiar sacredness, so that all slander directed against him contracts the highest guilt of which the crime is capable. And we shall venture to surmise, that a person entrusted by the prince with the administration of the government, ought to have as much fair play, as much protection from the laws of his fame and honour, as any other gentleman in the land. It is well known that our law, if the greatest and gravest expounders of it are to be believed, considers an attempt to defame such a person a great aggravation of a libel; but we will say nothing of that: we know and feel the incalculable importance of the free and unshackled-discussion of public measures, and the conduct of public men in respect to such measures, and it shall not be said that we have raised a finger against this right. We claim only for ministers of state, as they are men, and fellow subjects, that this liberty may not be used as a cloak to disguise malicious hostility, or the prostitute calumny of those who live by the virulence of their invectives.

Concerning the defendants in the prosecution, the trial of which is reported in the pamphlet, which we have stated to have

been but just accidentally put into our hands, and which we have for the sake of introducing a few thoughts upon the subject placed at the head of this article, we forbear to say any thing, because we know nothing. The observations which are added to the trial are unquestionable proofs of ability. They exhibit much spirited writing, and some just reflections. After what we have said above, we must of course think them profoundly and perilously wrong in their dogmas on the liberty of the press. In their whole vindication they assume the truth of all the charges against the Prince Regent. We have thrown together in great haste some remarks upon the utter absurdity of treating the truth of the charges as any thing like a legal defence, in a case between the sovereign and the subject. But, even if we admit the right of a subject to complain publicly and in print of the misconduct or profligacy of his prince, and that this could be justified by the notoriety of the facts charged, and ought to be tolerated in a free country for the sake of the public morals, and for the sake of reforming the object of the satire (for this is the sort of reasoning which the Examiner puts forth in the vindication of the libel), yet, surely, these patriotic motives, or that enthusiasm which the counsel attributed to his clients in the cause of virtue, would not have suggested the expediency of an endeavour to cover the person carrying on the government of the country with scorn, ridicule, and abhorrence. If such an endeavour were to be successful, nay, if the laxity or weakness of government inclined it or compelled it to tolerate such an endeavour, we should consider ourselves and our families on the brink of that anarchy out of the depths of which the voice of despair invokes the relief of despotism.

If admonition be necessary, why is it not to be conveyed to the ear of a prince in terms of the same decency which modifies and softens the conveyance of it in the communication of social life, according to that law of comity which governs the intercourse of gentlemen? Is there no way, but through the medium of scurrilous abuse, that the English people can express their disapprobation of the conduct or measures of their prince or his administration? The road of petition and remonstrance is open, and other dignified, respectful, and salutary channels of advice and reproof. Ridicule and abuse are seldom known to work reformation. Their more usual effect is to irritate the temper and to harden the heart. But where injustice is mixed with reproach, its object, if it be really correction, is sure to be disappointed.

The subject is extremely delicate, but truth calls upon us to say, that we do not see any thing in the actual state of things to

make us uneasy, except, indeed, the unfortunate success of late attempts to fix opprobrium upon that family, to whose mild and paternal sway of the government of this realm we are indebted for so much internal peace and prosperity. Is it true that the prince who now sways that sceptre is surrounded by ministers of profligate lives? and is it *not* true that the administration, whether able or deficient, (their capacity is not now in issue before us; let their measures and the condition of the country abroad and at home decide the question) was the only one of a consistent and stable character, which, when parties were left to try their strength, and the nation to make its choice, could be ultimately formed?

We will not suffer this Review to become the vehicle of any party objects, and we trust we have not given vent in these few observations to any of that violence and injustice which are the melancholy characteristics of all political partizans; we trust, too, that we shall not be accused of party temper, if for the sake of that justice which is due to our governors (and this is in fact a justice we owe to ourselves and our country), we put the public in mind that during a period of many years,—during all that period of close connection between the Prince of Wales and the party in opposition to his Majesty's government, the same flattery and abject praise, which the Reviewer in the article to which we have been alluding, proposes to be treated as libellous, was accumulated upon the royal patriot, till in an unlucky hour the new political arrangements disappointed eager expectation, and converted flattery into that rank and malevolent abuse into which it easily slides, gratifying its rage at the expence of all consistency, and precipitating character down the stream of its vengeance.

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ART. XVI.—*Elements of Musical Composition, comprehending the Rules of Thorough Bass, and the Theory of Tuning.* By William Crotch, Mus. Doc. Prof. Oxon. London, 1812.

There is, perhaps, scarcely any thing more unpropitious to the favourable reception of an author than the remembrance of premature excellence. He who is more than a child in the age of childhood, is expected to be more than a man at the age of maturity; and, therefore, when such a person comes before the pub-

he as an author, he must expect that his works will be perused with the jealous eye of retrospect, and that (whatever may be his merits) some will be still found to say,

“*Cœpisti melius quam desinis ; ultima primis  
Cedunt ; dissimiles hic vir et ille puer.*”

To such Dr. Crotch has made a full answer in the oratorio which he has lately brought forward ; a species of composition which more than any other rests upon mere musical merit. The length of such a performance, and the total absence of action, and every external embellishment, make a much larger demand upon the composer for taste, science, variety, and originality, than most are able to answer. The genius of the nation, the low state of musical taste, and the prejudice which exists with many against any one who dares to follow Handel in the path which they deem exclusively his own, are also obstacles.

These obstructions may well account for the rarity of this species of composition, and may shew why it is that only one oratorio is ever performed throughout. To have overcome these difficulties in any degree is no small proof of ability ; and while we are gratified by such an attempt to raise the public taste, and the pursuits of his brother composers by example, we are no less pleased to find him by precept lightening those labours, and softening those difficulties for others, which his intuitive genius scarcely suffered himself to feel.

The want of such a work as the present has been greatly felt. Much credit is due to Mr. Kollmann for his “*Guide to Thorough Bass ;*” and perhaps the elements of mere thorough bass are nowhere more simply and clearly set forth. The same author in his *Quarterly Musical Register*, (which might with more propriety have been called a quarterly advertisement of his own works,) claims to himself the merit of discovering a new system of harmony.

We confess ourselves unable to perceive the great discovery which he has made, or the novelty of his system. Perhaps he might have been contented with the praise which is due to him for his simplification of the old one. He has likewise attacked, with considerable indelicacy, the grammar of Dr. Callcott. Admitting in some degree the responsibility of the editors to which Mr. Kollmann alludes, we cannot help thinking that it would have been better had he left the task of criticism to one whose impartiality might have been less questionable. Without, however, adverting to Mr. Kollmann’s criticism, and with great respect for Dr. Callcott’s grammar, we do not think that it su-

perceived the necessity of the work now under review. It is by no means a first book for a student, especially if unaccompanied by a living instructor. That it evinces great science and research, and will be found extremely instructive when a sufficient stock of preparatory information has been gained, cannot be doubted, but for the mere learner (excepting the first part, which is entirely on notation, and leaves the subject just where Dr. Crotch takes it up,) it is too concise, too scientific, and too much embarrassed with technical and foreign terms.

The learned are apt to write only for the learned. Those who have been long immersed in the subtleties of science, of whatever nature, are prone to forget that a precise definition of terms, and a clear explanation and arrangement of principles, (however familiar to them,) is the most useful and acceptable offering which they can make to the student. Of this Dr. Crotch appears to be sensible; and all which he requires of those who wish to profit by his work is, to know the situation of musical sounds on a keyed instrument, and the characters by which they are expressed in writing.

To enter into the detail of a book wholly elementary, is as unnecessary as it would be tedious both to ourselves and our readers. In a work which does not profess, and cannot be expected to display taste or originality; all that we can look for are lucid arrangement and perspicuous diction, and where these are to be found little can be said. Yet when we consider the present state of music, and the general ignorance of its principles, we cannot wholly overlook a work which appears to us so well qualified to prevent a science from becoming a mere sleight of hand, and are tempted to offer one or two remarks which have been suggested to us by its perusal.

There appears to us to be considerable clearness in the method which Dr. Crotch has taken to exhibit the constitution and connexion of the different keys, (p. 17) which we will extract for our readers.



We are glad to find Dr. Crotch (page 80) recommending to the student to acquire a knowledge of "all the clefs in general use." These, however, have now (to please the indolence of amateurs) dwindled into two only. It is not our wish to revive those which have been long discarded; a multiplicity of them can only tend to perplex the student. But it is now the custom to write every part of a score, (how many soever there may be,) either in the bass or treble clef, without any regard to the false notation which must be the consequence. Considering also how much of the best music now exists only in the tenor and soprano clefs, it seems rather curious that so few amateurs should read them with facility.

We do not feel by any means satisfied with the definition which Dr. Crotch has given of a canon. Easy as it is to express this composition in musical notation, it is perhaps impossible to give a concise verbal definition of it.

"A canon," says Dr. Crotch, "is a melody performed by two or more parts of a score at the same time, (viz. one part must not wait till the other has concluded, but begin before it has finished,) subject to all the foregoing rules of harmony and music in real parts." (P. 94.)

It does not appear to us so clear that this excludes some catches; and we are inclined to think that it would be difficult, in strict definition, to draw the line between a canon on the unison and a catch. But, at all events, this definition does not seem to include canons by inversion. Dr. Crotch indeed says, that in canons of this description the answer consists of the *same melody* as the subject, but *all the motion inverted*. We really do not see how an inverted answer can be called the same melody as its subject; or how such compositions have a better claim to the rank of canons than those *per recte et retro*. This is an inaccuracy, the effect of which may be easily removed by turning to the examples; but we notice it (as we shall one or two more equally trifling), because it is inconsistent with the general accuracy and perspicuity of the work.

This is a species of composition which we should recommend to the young composer upon the same principle that we should recommend the making of Latin verses to the classical student;—not because he will be likely to derive either fame or pleasure from his compositions, but merely as an exercise to be written with care, and burnt when finished. In each case the composer will be led to a more intimate knowledge of the language in which he is writing, from the accuracy of construction which will be requisite, and the restraint imposed by the species of compo-



sition which he has chosen. Crude and harsh as most of the compositions of the old canonists now appear, it is perhaps to their insatiation more than to any other cause, that the rapid progress of harmony during their reign may be attributed. Enchanted with contrivance, and proud of multifarious distortion, they were frequently checked in their progress by the narrow limits of infant harmony, and reduced to the alternative of breaking their self-imposed chains, or admitting disallowed counterpoint. By such means they discovered new resources in harmony, and admitted, to please the eye, agreeable but interdicted combinations, for which the ear might have pleaded in vain. Thus the stock of musical ideas was increased, and their followers with more genius and temerity threw off the stricter shackles of their predecessors, to indulge in the more rational and dignified luxuries of fugue and imitation.

To what Dr. Crotch has said, (p. 107,) we cannot help adding one or two observations which he has elsewhere\* made on musical imitation in its popular sense, because we think that they comprise all that is necessary to trace its limits and detect its abuses. We do not pretend to give them verbatim, but we believe that the language, as well as the sentiments, are nearly correct; and if our readers admit the truth of them, we wish they would use them as a rule for judging of some of our modern and popular compositions.

“The limits of musical imitation may have been exceeded;—composers have been, by the daring attempts of their predecessors, induced to make attempts yet more daring; and have thus brought upon themselves the ridicule, not only of professors, but of those who, though they are deaf to the beauties of music, are not blind to the absurdities of musicians. It has been said that the powers of expression in vocal and instrumental music are different; but we shall find this to be absurd by separating the words from the music; and shall discover music to be but an imperfect language, consisting of adjectives, and capable of representing only the general qualities of objects, and not the individual objects themselves.

“The chief objects of musical imitation are sound and motion. Thus music has been employed to represent the gliding of a stream, the bellowing of a storm, and the confusion of a battle;—that is, music can represent gliding, bellowing, and confusion, but whether of a stream, a storm, and a battle, the words must declare.

“Since music is the modification of sound, and rhythm is the regulation of that modification, music may represent sound, and rhythm, motion.

“In Handel's song, ‘*I know that my Redeemer liveth,*’ the ac-

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\* Lectures at the Surry Institution, February 1812.

accompaniment to that part, 'The first fruits of them that sleep,' is adapted to represent the stillness of death: and in the anthem, 'My heart is inditing,' the same music is set to 'The king shall,' &c. to represent the beauty of the queen. Again, we find the same music to 'Where the soft seasons all their blessings shed.' These notes, although they must always be beautiful in themselves, cannot be considered as exactly representing the stillness of death, the beauty of a queen, or the blessings of the seasons, although the general emotions which they excite in each of these cases are applicable to the subjects. When, however, music is used to express *particular* objects, such as the rising of the sun, 'the moon riding near her highest noon,' the trampling of horses, the firing of a gun, and fall of a wounded bird, &c. musical imitation is carried beyond its proper limits."

If this be true, what shall we say to balloons, executions, and sky-rockets? What shall we say to General Picton's troops led on by Wesley? Are we to suppose that Mr. Wesley is an admirer of the species of music to which we allude, or is it because science and genius must stoop to ignorance and vitiated taste? It is bad enough when the blind are the leaders of the blind, though in that case (whatever may be the event) there can be neither degradation on the one hand nor triumph on the other, and they may walk together into the ditch pleasant and undivided; but the absurdity is greatly aggravated when the blind are the leaders of those who see;—when they who know the use, and can estimate the value of their eyes, suffer themselves to be led into the ditch merely to make themselves "good company" to those whom they despise.

We do not take upon ourselves the task of fixing the standard of musical taste. Every general edict in matters of taste must contain a clause in favour of ignorance and genius, because it is impossible to raise the one and to confine the other to a general rule; and say what we may upon harmony, we must still permit Habald and Guido to admire their fourths, and Corelli and Scarlatti to defend their fifths. Musical taste is however, perhaps, of all tastes the most variable. The works of many whom their admirers have flattered with the hopes of immortality have quickly followed their composers into oblivion, and that composer is indeed,

"Vetus atque probus qui centum perficit annos."

Milton in his sonnet to Mr. Henry Lawes, (a composer of whom all his contemporaries speak with enthusiasm,) says,

"Thy worth and skill exempt thee from the throng,  
"With praise enough for envy to look war;

"To after age thou shall be writ the man  
 "Who with smooth air couldst humour best our tongue.

"Dante shall give fame leave to set thee higher  
 "Than his Casella, whom he woo'd to sing,  
 "Met in the milder shades of purgatory."

Perhaps, if we had the means of comparing Mr. Henry Lawes's "Ayres" with those of Casella, this justice might be done to him. Allowing, therefore, for the difference of tastes, where taste is sole judge, we are willing to suppose that there are persons who perceive beauties in the description of music to which we have adverted, which we are unable to descry; and we wish them much enjoyment in the exercise of a penetration which nature has denied to us.

It has been well observed, that there is a period in the progress of every art in which *difficulty* will be considered as a sure voucher, or at least a sufficient substitute for *excellence*. This, with respect to music, may be placed in the sixteenth century,—a period to which we have before adverted. It was then sufficient if the eye was satisfied with the score, however the ear might be offended with the performance; and he whose parts were the most numerous, whose canons were the most recondite, and whose habits of inversion, diminution, and augmentation, were the most confirmed, was the best composer. And if in the present day we cannot bestow upon many of the works of that period the unqualified praises which contemporary writers have showered upon them, we must at least admit that they are monuments of unconquerable patience and indefatigable perseverance. In order to qualify this we must subjoin the observation of Tartini. (Tratt. de Mus. 144.) "Bisogna confessar certamente esser servene qualcheduna talmente piena di gravità, maestà e dolcezza congiunta a somma semplicità musicale, che noi moderni duraremno fatica molta per produrne de equali."

If that was the age of crudity, may not this be characterized as the age of inanity?—We do not wish to recall those times;—we are content that Dr. Bull and his worthy compeers in instrumental music should sleep undisturbed in the virginal book of their royal mistress; and that their church music (almost the only part of their works which survive) should be confined to the sacred purposes for which it was composed. But why are the works of Haydn, Handel, and Mozart, to be banished from our houses? Why is the name of Bach,

whose volant touch  
 "Instinct through all proportions high and low  
 "Fled and pursued transverse the resonant fugue."

scarcely known?—Why must our *musica da camera* consist of favourite rondos and admired variations, (favourite and admired only where the ignorant composers have palmed them upon their more ignorant pupils,) or of simple ballads dignified with unbounded applause by the motley contents of a playhouse?

One reason is most clear: we mean the indiscriminate manner in which the practice of music is taught to all those of the other sex whose parents can afford the expence of instruction. By these means (not to mention the vast number of hours misapplied by those whom nature has precluded from proficiency and enjoyment,) music, instead of being considered as a science, is looked upon merely as an accomplishment; and the practical part (because the most capable of ostentatious display,) is alone thought worthy of attention. Having brought this charge more particularly against the fair sex, we dare not adopt the censure of Guido, even though it is in Latin.

“Qui facit, quod non sapit, definitur bestia.”

But who can unite ignorance and discrimination? How can such performers be sufficient judges of the works which ignorant and interested instructors may place in their hands? And what is to direct the composer? The deference which was paid to the eye is transferred to the fingers, and absurdities as displeasing and less scientific are the result.

With respect to a great part of our vocal music of the same class, we cannot wonder at its present state, when we consider its source. Much of it may be traced to that unnatural species of medley which is dignified with the name of the English opera. Every lover of music must consider the institution of the Italian opera as one of the most important eras in musical history;—as the period when graceful melody began to assert its claims, and display its fascinations; and when taste, feeling, and expression began to soften the rigour, not to say the *barbarism*, of pure science. The Italian, however, in this country differs essentially from the English opera, because in the former the music being continued throughout, and the language for the most part unintelligible to the audience, little stress is laid upon the dramatic part of the performance; whereas in the latter there are many scenes much too difficult to be filled up by a mere singer, and to be supported by “*vox et præterea nihil*,” and as it does but seldom happen that good actors are also good singers, and it is still less frequently the case that singers of the first class will enter into a theatrical engagement, the matter must be compounded, and deficiencies, both dramatic and vocal, must be overlooked for the sake of obtaining something tolerable on the

whole. The audience too being generally better judges of acting than of singing, we may easily conjecture in which of these two necessary qualifications the greatest deficiency will be tolerated. For such performers are our sweet, simple, pathetic ballads written;—by such performers are they sung, until degrading plaudits consign them to the variationist, that they may again assail us under the forms of favourite airs and rondos.

We have mentioned the English opera, because it is to that source that most of our vocal music is to be traced. Of the Italian opera we say but little; we have not time to recount the various degradations into which fashionable apathy has permitted it to sink. To sum up our ideas in a few words, we conceive that the Italian opera in this country never had a better leader, a better band, worse composers, or more negligent supporters. It has been said by a sagacious ancient, that “music, like Libya, produced some new monster every year;” and it may be recorded as the musical wonder of this annus mirabilis, that the *Clemenza de Tito* and *Boadicea* were produced at the same house, and tolerated by the same audience. †

As we have adverted to the present state of our *musica da camera*, we trust it will not be thought wholly irrelative to say a few words of the Irish melodies, a work which has greatly obtained in that department, and which has already been the subject of critical examination\*. We are sorry that we cannot join in saying, that “these volumes retain no trace of Mr. Moore’s original and fatal error—the sacrifice of decorum on the altar of love.” That they contain nothing grossly obscene, and are by far the least indelicate of Mr. Moore’s works, we readily admit; but we are for that reason the more desirous of noticing them, because from being comparatively purer they have found their way, and maintained their character, where his other works would not be tolerated. Even in the passage quoted, to evince Mr. Moore’s “grace and facility of narration,” (which we do not deny,) we cannot help wishing that he had chosen another subject, especially when we recollect “that of the poetry which women usually read, the verses which accompany their music form by far the most important portion, the flexibility of the female mind in early youth, and the readiness with which it receives a good or an evil impulse, and the extreme sensibility of women to the charms of music, and their *sympathy with the tone of feeling which the words connected with that music breathe* †.”

Let us then see what is the tone of feeling breathed in the following verses:

\* *Vide Quarterly Review*, No. 14.

† *Ibid.*, p. 337.

" 'Twas but to bless these hours of shade,  
That beauty and the moon were made."

And in the same song,

" Fly hot yet the fount that played  
In times of old through Ammon's shade,  
Though icy cold by day it ran,  
Yet still like sons of mirth began

" To burn when night was near.  
And thus should woman's heart and looks  
At morn be cold as winter brooks,  
Nor kindle till the night returning,  
Brings the genial hour for burning."

Vol. i. p. 31.

" Come, send round the wine, and leave points of belief  
To simpleton sages and reasoning fools;  
This moment's a flower too fair and too brief,  
To be withered and stained by the dust of the schools."

Vol. ii. p. 92.

It is not our wish to regard Mr. Moore as a person holding such sentiments. In fact, he has cautioned us (vol. iii. p. 32.) against supposing such to be the case, and so receiving a *jeu d'esprit* for a confession of faith. This does not appear to us a ground for complete acquittal; at the utmost it can but reduce the verdict to "guilty of publishing only," and after we have admitted that the sentiments are such as Mr. Moore cannot be supposed to hold, the question still remains whether they are such as a woman of delicacy should sing. We are not blind to the fascinations of Mr. Moore's poetry; but we hope we shall not be thought fastidious, if we consider elegance of language as no excuse for laxity of sentiment, especially in a work which may be said to have been written chiefly for the use of the other sex. In the mind of innocence an attack commenced by insulting its delicacy is likely to produce but little mischief; and on this principle we have always considered the elegant obscenity of Congreve or Rousseau as more dangerous, because less offensive, than the gross ribaldry of Swift or Rabelais. Mr. Moore has adverted to the dagger of Hamodius; he will recollect that it found its way to the heart notwithstanding its covering of myrtle, and owed its efficacy to its concealment.

In recommending to our readers the work before us, and the study which it is intended to facilitate, we do not mean to have recourse to the numerous miracles which have from time to time been produced by enthusiastical writers in favour of music. We will not pretend to say with certainty what effects music may be capable of producing, but are we to believe that in the hands of Orpheus or Amphion it could change the course of nature? To

subscribe, with Polybius, to its miraculous powers of civilization; with Martianus Capella, to its efficacy in removing almost every disorder to which humanity is liable; with Plutarch, to its power of controlling every motion of the mind; or with Pythagoras, Plato, and Ptolemy, to its empire over universal nature? Are we to believe, that

“ The man that hath no music in himself,  
And is not moved by concord of sweet sounds,  
Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils?”

or to take Mr. Mace's word, that the common chord is an evidence of the existence of the Trinity, and that music is a specific against atheism?

The stories of enchanted beasts and walls have long occupied their proper places among the traditions of remote antiquity; the miraculous stories of better authority have been either explained or confuted; and the speculations of the later philosophers are only interesting to the metaphysician, as demonstrating the degree of obliquity which the greatest minds may contract in the pursuit of a favourite study. There have been men of great talents, enlarged minds, and cultivated taste, who have been wholly destitute of musical feelings, and incapable of musical enjoyment; among them may be mentioned Dr. Johnson and Mr. Hume; and perhaps characters may be found in the annals of music which may render the truth of Mr. Mace's hypothesis suspected.

Much has also been said upon the moral effects of music. We do not believe that it is capable of producing any permanent effect upon the mind or character. That it has the power to elevate the spirits, no man who has done duty in a camp or a ball-room can doubt; and that it possesses a similar power of depressing the mind we are not inclined to dispute; but we cannot think that it is able of itself to raise any particular passion, or inspire any particular sentiment. We are inclined to believe, that the whole of musical efficiency may be traced to its power over the spirits, and that the same music will always, and under all external circumstances, produce the same immediate effect upon the mind. The gaiety, melancholy, or devotion which may be the ultimate consequence, we conceive to be the effect of a second impression, arising from the operation of external circumstances upon the state of mind produced by the first. Thus, were the same piece of music to be performed as a *miserere*, and as the dirge of a hero, the ultimate effect in the former case would probably be awe, solemnity, and devotion; and in the latter, pity, tenderness, and melancholy; but the primary and if unattended by

external circumstances the only) effect would be depression of spirits.

With these sentiments we must take a different ground from many of its admirers on which to recommend the study and practice of music, and we give up the arguments for it which have been adverted to with the less regret, as we conceive that sufficient reason will remain to justify the light of importance in which we have considered it.

To the female sex, indeed, there is no necessity for recommending the *practice* of music. The vanity of fond parents has decreed, that every female whose circumstances are above absolute servitude shall receive some musical instruction. It is not our intention here to add to what we have already said upon that point, and we hope that we shall not be considered as meaning to frighten our fair readers, who have leisure and ability, from their musical pursuits. No science is more consistent with the delicacy of the female character, or has an air of greater elegance as a female accomplishment: but we hope they will excuse us if we take the liberty of recommending to them to devote some of that time to the science, which is now given to the legerdemain of music; to substitute, in some cases at least, expression for execution, and to acquire sufficient knowledge of the rules by which their music is or ought to be composed, to enable them to understand and feel what they practise.

It has been much the fashion of late years to regard music as of too trifling a nature to occupy the attention of the male sex; although most ages and nations have considered it as a part of education. Let those who study it without meaning to make it their profession cultivate it at least with the attention which belongs to a liberal amusement, not with a view to rival the learning or dexterity of those whose lives have been devoted to the study or practice of it (though even this would be a nobler ambition than that which places the summit of ambition in being the *Dans* or the *Phidippides* of the day), but that as an amusement merely it may assume its proper rank among the tasteful pursuits of a gentleman. This may appear to some too trifling a ground for the serious recommendation of music; but there is a time in every man's life when he is too old to have his playthings given to him, and too young to choose them for himself. And those who have the task of watching over this season will admit that it is a thing of no little importance or difficulty to provide recreations of merely negative merit. May we not then seriously recommend one which is capable of affording the most innocent and exquisite pleasure, most of all suited to the arduous



of youth, and entirely consistent with, and conducive to social and domestic habits?

The observations of Aristotle (de Rep. lib. viii. c. 3.) appear to us so much to the purpose, that we cannot help presenting them to the notice of our classical readers. “φανερὸν ἔτι δεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ διαγωγῇ σχολῇ, μανθάνειν αὐτὰ καὶ παιδεύεσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ παιδεύματα καὶ ταύτας τὰς μαθήσεις εαυτῶν εἶναι χάριν· τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀσχολίαν, ὡς ἀναγκαίας καὶ χάριν ἄλλων. Διὸ καὶ τὴν μουσικὴν οἱ προτερον εἰς παιδείαν ἐτάξαν, οὐχ ὡς ἀναγκαῖον· ἔθεν γὰρ εχει τοιοῦτον οὐδ’ ὡς χρησιμον, ὡσπερ τὰ γράμματα πρὸς χρηματισμον, καὶ πρὸς οἰκονομίαν, καὶ πρὸς μαθήσιν, καὶ πρὸς πολιτικὰς πράξεις πολλὰς· Δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ γραφικὴ χρησιμος εἶναι πρὸς τὸ κρίνειν τὰ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἐργα· καλλιον ἢ αὐ καθάπερ ἡ γυμναστικὴ πρὸς ὑγιειαν καὶ ἀλκίην· ἑδτερωτων γὰρ τετῶν οῤῷ μὲν γιγνομενον ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς. Λεπιταται τοιουν πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ σχολῇ διαγωγῇ· εἰς ὅπερ καὶ φαῖνονται παραγοντες αὐτήν. Ἦν γὰρ εἰονται διαγωγῆ· εἶναι τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἐν ταύτῃ τατῆσι.

To those who think with us that music is at least a rational entertainment, and who wish to see it become something more than mere legerdemain, we can confidently recommend Dr. Crotch's work as a clear and perspicuous elucidation of its principles.

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ART. XVII.—*Horace in London, consisting of Imitations of the first two Books of the Odes of Horace.* By the Author of the Rejected Addresses. London, printed for John Miller, 1813.

THE authors of *Horace in London* give the following account of their book.

“These imitations of the odes of Horace,” say they, “were originally written without any regard to regularity of succession. Many of them made their first appearance in a monthly publication, and the odes best calculated to illustrate the topic of the day were, from time to time, pressed into the service. They are now classed and drilled afresh; new troops drafted from the Roman battalions have raised them to their proper complement, and *Horace in London* is in readiness to take the field.”

*Horace in London* has taken the field, but it seems he has not been able to maintain it, and has fairly been beaten out of it by the Cossack in London, and other heroes and heroines of the

The success of the publication called “*Rejected Addresses*” has produced an effect the most natural in the world. Finding themselves in such favour with the public, these lucky writers have resolved to turn the disposition in their favour.

to good account, and calling in the various attempts at imitating Horace, which had been dispersed abroad in some periodical publication, they present them again to the public under the sanction and shelter of the great reputation acquired by the "Rejected Addresses." To know how to profit by the prejudices of the public, is one of the profoundest arts in the mystery of authorship, and by the dexterous application of this knowledge, many a man has raised himself above the frowns of fortune, before it has been discovered that he never merited her favours.

These poets seem aware in their preface, that it would have been wiser, if reputation alone were consulted, to have rested on the fame they had acquired in their first trial of skill, and in this opinion we entirely coincide. To attempt that in which Pope can scarcely be admitted to have succeeded, was not a little adventurous in these city candidates for the laurel. Johnson observes by way of apology for Pope, that his imitations of Horace were the relaxations of his genius. To Pope it was permitted to trifle, but the day is not yet arrived when the authors of the "Rejected Addresses" may do as they please with the public, and put us off with their second-hand intellectual wares and the faded frippery of their muse's warehouse.

Before these authors enter upon their task, so modestly undertaken, of imitating the odes of Horace, they represent his ghost and themselves in familiar conversation upon the mode in which he is to be treated, and after the great ancient has warned them of the difficulty of the task, and the just indignation he shall feel if not adequately represented, he is appeased in some measure by being told that they do not intend to translate him literally, but to write a book which they purpose to entitle *Horace in London*, consisting, as they say, of parodies and imitations of his odes. After assenting to this proposition, the insulted bard is made to submit to the indignity of being addressed in the following terms: "As long as you are pointed and witty I shall feed my Pegasus at the same manger; when you are flat, prosaic, and insipid (which under favour you sometimes are, especially at your conclusions where you ought to be most epigrammatic, witness your *animumque reddas, inmeritumque vestem, mercuriusque, &c. &c.*) I shall take the liberty of starting from the course, and being as pointed and poetical as I please."

We trust the British Reviewers have never incurred the suspicion of entertaining any malice against authors. The Reviewers of the present time have too much of the characters of authors themselves, not to sympathize with the fears and hopes,

the pains and anxieties of their feverish employment. There have, indeed, been callous and tasteless minds among us, capable of drawing forth the sighs of youthful genius, just emerging from want and obscurity, and endeavouring to tear from the aged brow the laurel still verdant amidst grey hairs. The treatment of Henry Kirke White in one Review, and of the venerable Mrs. Trimmer in another, have added greatly to the prevailing prejudice against the disposition and principles of Reviewers in general. Such a practice is as ungenerous as it is injurious. But to dissipate those delusions of vanity which are so treacherous to the fame of an author, which engage him in speculations above his means, and flatter him to his destruction, is eminently the duty of those who affect to watch and to correct the aberrations of taste, and the misdirection of talent. It is a part of that stern benevolence which belongs to the censor's office. Thus, it is our duty to tell the gentlemen who have not merely undertaken to rival Horace, but to supply what he has left deficient, to keep on a level with him when he mounts, and to soar where he sinks, in a word, to be poetical where he is prosaic, and pointed where he is flat and insipid, that they have egregiously miscalculated their own ability, have mistaken burlesque for imitation, and the prurience of their pens for the promptings of genius.

After saying thus much, it will not be expected that much more will be added on a work of the character of Horace in London. Our classical readers, who might be hurt by a degrading representation of Horace, may spare their chagrin, as there is not enough of resemblance in what here sets up for an imitation, to give it the effect of burlesque; and our English mothers and country gentlemen may be assured, that the Horace, to whose acquaintance their sons are to be introduced in their academies, is a very different sort of man from the person who has assumed the title of Horace in London.

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ART. XVIII.—*A View of the Progress and present State of Animal Chemistry.* By Jöns Jacob Berzelius, M.D. Professor of Medicine and Pharmacy, &c. Translated from the Swedish by Gustavus Brunnamark, D.D. Chaplain to the Swedish Legation at the Court of St. James's. Sold by John Hatchard. London. 1813.

NATURE, which is incomprehensible to man when extended to immensity, escapes no less his penetration when contracted

into too narrow limits. At both these extremities a boundary is set to his experience, which succeeding ages may extend without ever being able to comprehend the whole." Such is the natural reflection of a mind, which having made animal chemistry its peculiar study, and having acquired much information and experience in this branch of physiology, is arrested in its progress by the minute ramifications of the vessels of the human body, and the inexplicable mazes of the nervous system. Impressed with the justness of the observation, we further agree with the learned author of the little treatise now before us, in considering that, "in the present state of our information, it is no small merit in a lover of the science, if he distinctly lays open what is really known, and determines with equal distinctness what is yet unknown to us, without filling up the chasm with conjecture."

Man is become, at least, as much an object of curiosity to himself in his material as in his moral or metaphysical state, and there is scarcely any principle stronger in him than the desire of developing the mysteries of his own nature. This reflex curiosity cannot be otherwise than laudable, when soberly indulged, since there is no attribute belonging to us that carries us to a greater distance from the lower animals. But in proportion to the dignity and difficulty of the employment is the danger and mischief of gratuitous assumptions, precipitate conclusions, and conjectural theories. At present, it does not appear that we are furnished with experimental knowledge, sufficient to support any satisfactory general results on the subject of animal chemistry; and the numerous medical hypotheses which are furnished to us, however plausibly systematized and maintained, do not seem, to speak in our author's own words, to have advanced the human understanding a hair's breadth nearer the truth. It ought not to surprise us that animal chemistry should be more exposed to these deceptive reasonings than other branches of natural philosophy, when we reflect upon the inexplicable connection which subsists between its processes and that unknown and hidden power which we call life. The ultimate particles of all bodies, whether vegetable, mineral, or animal, are alike; but their agencies are so altered and modified by the vital power, that we seek in vain to apply to matter submitted to its influence, the laws which we have derived from the consideration of inanimate nature.

"The chain of our experience," observes Dr. Berzelius, "must always end in something inconceivable. Unfortunately this inconceivable something acts the principal part in animal chemistry, and enters so into every process, even the most minute; that the highest

knowledge, which we can attain, is the knowledge of the nature of the productions, whilst we are for ever excluded from the possibility of explaining how they are produced. But is it not probable, (continues he) that the human understanding, which is capable of so much cultivation, which has calculated the laws of motion for distant worlds, and explored in so many instances the beauty and wonders of surrounding nature, and has even attained a degree of perfection, the summit of which is concentrated in God, may one day explore itself and its nature? I am convinced it will not."

Hitherto shalt thou come and no further, is clearly and legibly written upon the barrier; and we must be content to class the living principle amongst those, which we can only discern in their operations. Innumerable are the phenomena which can never be understood until we can trace the reciprocal agency of matter and spirit; and we are apt to forget that the nature of both the substances must be understood separately before we can know them in their relation to each other. Success seems, it is true, to be more attainable on the hypothesis of materialism; but even this wretched doctrine, could the mind be reconciled to it, would afford no facility in practice to our investigation. Though these boundaries are affixed to our research, the range within is wide, and it is both useful and entertaining to expatiate wherever our footing is secure.

On entering upon the enquiry, our first attention is attracted to the two kinds of analysis applicable to animal substances. The one, which is more strictly chemical, assists us in resolving them, as we do unorganised substances, into oxygen, hydrogen, carbon, nitrogen, and other elementary constituents. By the other we become acquainted with their proximate principles, and distinguish them into gelatine, albumen, mucus, urea, and the like. These latter, which may be extracted from the animal body in the same state in which they previously existed there, are composed of the former, and are resolvable into them; but in what proportions they are combined, and in what way new productions are formed in the body, from the disturbance and re-arrangement of these elements, we are totally ignorant. We are acquainted with but very few analagous processes in the vegetable world; in the animal, we have not made one step towards so desirable an elucidation of the processes of nature.

In contemplating the wonderful fabric of animal structure, the nervous system is that which first claims our attention. It is by this intricate and nearly incomprehensible organization that the vital energy diffuses itself. The power of assimilation is the power of life, and by the nerves is this power impelled. That the brain is the seat of government, and dispenses the economy

of the nervous system, is deducible from proofs innumerable of its influence and necessary connection: the intimacy of which connection has been successfully illustrated by recent experiments, shewing the instant cessation of the functions of this noble organ by the action of poisonous stimulants applied to the furthest extremities of the nerves. So close, indeed, in this instance, is the connection of the effect with the cause, as to leave us no chance of developing the process of the communication, or to borrow illustration from chemical analysis.

The matter of the brain has, however, been the subject of examination, and the result of it has been to ascertain that it consists of a matter wholly different from any other, moistened by a fluid analogous to serum. This matter ramifies through the system under the protection of a tubular membrane.

“The discovery of the possibility of dissolving by means of caustic alkali the medullary part of the nerve, so that its membrane should remain as a hollow tube, has afforded a good opportunity for separating the membrane, and has given us some information concerning the nature of the channel which the *neurilemma* forms.”

The only plausible conjecture which has yet been formed of the nature of the nervous influence, transmitted by this medium, has been founded upon the discoveries of Galvani, and the action of electricity upon animal muscles. This hypothesis appears to derive some confirmation from the power of a proper alternating arrangement of muscles and nerves to produce a current of this subtle fluid. But granting the truth of the theory, we obtain nothing towards the explanation of life, or the development of the influence of will. We appear to be advancing toward the discovery, but the object recedes at our approach.

The glands form points of connection between the nerves and the next great system of the body, the vessels of the blood; and it is at these junctions that the power of life, transmitted by the former, perfects the more complicated processes of assimilation at the expence of the contents of the latter.

The blood is the grand pabulum of the animal frame; but besides the important office which it performs of furnishing the necessary materials for the reproduction of the different solids and fluids of the body, it performs the no less important function of generating and diffusing animal heat. The theory of this process is one of the most beautiful ever established by the researches of chemistry. By respiration, atmospheric air is inhaled into the lungs, where it is brought into contact with venous blood, most artfully arranged in the vessels for exposing a large surface to its influence. The oxygen of the air abstracts a portion of carbon

from it, and being converted into carbonic acid is again expired. The colouring matter is by this mean converted from a purple to a bright vermilion red, and receiving at the same time the power of stimulating the heart, is propelled by it through the arteries to the furthest extremities of the body. Experiments have proved that arterial blood is possessed of a greater specific heat than venous, so that when venous blood is turned red in the lungs, it must be considerably cooled, unless heated by the very process which renders it arterial. Oxygen gas is also possessed of greater specific heat than carbonic acid, and thus the quantity set free from the change of the former into the latter, furnishes exactly the quantity required by the simultaneous change in the blood. In its passage through the arteries, this is exposed to the processes of secretion, which separating the different substances necessary for the reproduction of the parts, produces at the same time a surplus of carbon as an excretion, and again becoming venous in every part of the body disengages the retained heat, and restores what has been lost by means of transpiration, and the access of the ambient air; whereby the body always preserves the same degree of temperature. This is the only process of the animal body that we can satisfactorily trace in its origin and progress; and even this is in some measure subject to the influence of that same nervous agency whose operations elude our investigation; for it has been ascertained, that although the circulation may be maintained for some time by artificial means without the brain, yet that this can only be done for a very limited period. The change which the air undergoes during the process of respiration has been the subject of many accurate experiments.

One great anomaly at present remains unaccounted for, viz. the production of nitrogen gas in any artificial atmosphere which did not before contain it; it has been found upon examining the air, after it has been exposed to respiration, that nitrogen has always been present in much greater quantity than could possibly be accounted for by any previous contents of the lungs. We know that nitrogen is a principal constituent of animal bodies, and from hence we account for the large production of ammonia in all products of their decomposition; but it is difficult to conceive what part it is destined to act in the process of respiration, and still more by what decomposition it is produced when its presence is required. The cause of pulsation, and the means by which the contractions of the heart are communicated instantly from one extremity to the other, have been the subject of controversy. It was for a long time thought that the blood-vessels were entirely composed of annular muscles, and that their dilation and contraction might be accounted for in the same manner as that

of the other muscles of the body. Dr. Berzelius has, we think, satisfactorily proved that this is not the case. From his experiments he draws the following conclusion.

“As the arterial fibre neither has the structure of a muscle nor its chemical properties and composition, it cannot be a muscle, nor perform the functions of a muscle, which is besides sufficiently evident from its elasticity. This elasticity in the arteries however compensates fully the muscular power. From hence the fibrous membrane of the arteries dilates during the systole of the heart, and resumes its original size during the diastole; and it follows that the quickness of the pulse in the same individual can never vary in different parts of the body. All other disparities, except this, may be possible.”

But although we think that it has been satisfactorily proved that the action of the pulse does not depend upon any voluntary contraction of the membrane of the vessels, yet we are still inclined to believe that the blood acts as a stimulus throughout the whole of the vascular system. We are confirmed in this opinion by the peculiar sensation which is experienced from the returning flow to any part where the circulation has been impeded.

Dr. Berzelius has found that it is impossible to extract from the blood, or from its charcoal, the iron, or the earthy phosphate which are so abundantly contained in its ashes; from whence he infers that neither of those substances exist in it in the state of salt, but supposes that it contains the elements of the salt, united in a different manner.

“From this circumstance, I further concluded, that the subphosphate or bone earth, which was supposed to be contained in the blood, did not really exist there; for I found that it could not be extracted from dried blood by any diluted acid; on the contrary, that bone earth must always be a production of the decomposition of its immediate constituent parts, and that it is generated just on the very spots where its presence is required.”

The non existence of gelatine in this fluid has very lately been confirmed by some most decisive experiments, whereby it appears that that abundant proximate principle of animals is not merely separated from the blood, in which it has been supposed to exist ready formed, but that it is an actual product of secretion\*.

That portion of the blood which goes to the reproduction of the various parts of the body is void of colouring matter, and penetrates

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\* Brande's Experiments on the Blood, *Philos. Trans.* 1812.



the last fine ramifications of the arteries, from whence it cannot return, but must exude through the openings of the capillary vessels. Just at this point those parts are generated which are to be reproduced; whereupon the remaining part is either absorbed by a particular system of vessels, which from their functions bear the name of absorbents, or discharged by means of secretions and excretions."

These important vessels are extremely small, and not only take up the remainder of the uncoloured blood after the reproduction, but conduct from the intestines the matters prepared there for its regeneration. About four hours after an animal has taken food, a fluid is found in the thoracic duct, resembling, in its chemical characters, blood deprived of its colouring matter. It is nearly of the same specific gravity, and, like it, separates itself into two parts upon being allowed to stand, namely, a solid coagulum, and a transparent fluid. This is chyle, the product of digestion. It is taken up into the vessels, and is perfected into the nature of blood by the secretion of the colouring matter. This colouring matter, which we have seen above, acts so important a part in the animal frame, was long erroneously thought to owe its peculiar property to the presence of iron, and it is with no small degree of surprise we find that Dr. Berzelius shares with an ingenious young chemist of our own country the honours of having experimentally proved the fallacy of the idea. Our limits will not permit us to follow our author as diffusely in the latter part of his discourse as we have through the preceding pages. Indeed the detail of experiments upon the chemical constituents of the different productions of the animal body would not be very attractive to the generality of our readers, however interesting to those more deeply engaged in the enquiry. And from this point the mere results of chemical analysis is all that is furnished by the subject. Even bare hypothesis is silenced, and we must be content to know that "the nervous system determines the state of all the remaining processes of the animal frame."

The fluids which are concerned in the process of digestion are the saliva, the gastric juice, the fluid of the pancreas, and that of the intestines. The first is an aqueous solution of mucus, together with the usual salts of the serum, and is destined to form a slippery mass with the food to promote its being more easily swallowed. Of the gastric juice all that we know is, that it dissolves the nutriment which an animal swallows, and possesses the property of coagulating milk and albuminous substances. The facility of obtaining it to examine its properties arises very probably from its only being secreted at the time that it is wanted.

The fluid of the pancreas has never been chemically examined, but it something resembles saliva, and is probably destined to act an analogous part in the animal œconomy. The bile has often been analyzed, but Dr. Berzelius states that when he undertook the analysis of it, the result was the discovery that none of his predecessors had properly ascertained its composition. He found that it contained no resin, and that the matter which is precipitated from it by the action of mineral acids is nothing more than a combination of its basis with an excess of acid, and in the instance of the sulphuric acid he restored its original properties by treating it with carbonate of barytes. He likewise ascertained that it had the same proportion of alkali and salt as the blood, that it contained no albumen, and that the matter which had been mistaken for it was nothing more than mucus. It appears probable that the bile by its action upon that part of the food which is precipitated from the chyme forms fat, and the idea has lately received confirmation from an ingenious experiment in which, by digesting of flesh in bile at a proper temperature, it was completely changed into a fatty substance.

“A summary idea of the formation of the chyle may thus be expressed in a few words. The alimentary matters are accurately triturated in the mouth, received into the stomach, and there converted by the gastric juice into an uniform fluid which is precipitated in the duodenum by the bile. The solution is filtered in the intestines by means of the absorbents, and the precipitated matter is washed by the intestinal fluid, which is again absorbed in the same manner as precipitates are edulcorated in our common filtering apparatuses, after which the washed mass is coagulated.”

Much attention has very recently been paid to the nature of chyle, and it has been ascertained that in most of its properties, it much resembles milk. It has a sweet taste, and is coagulated by diluted nitric acid, and the curd then produced resembles that of milk, in being convertible into *gelatine* by sulphuric acid.

Urine is the most complex secretion of the body. More attention has been paid to its analysis than to any other of the animal productions, with a view chiefly to obtain some knowledge of those concretions in its receptacle which arise from the decomposition and precipitation of its salts. Accurate information has thus been obtained of the nature of different kinds of calculi, and though no means have hitherto been found of curing or preventing this dreadful disease, yet this knowledge has been of use in alleviating the symptoms, and stopping the progress of the disorder.

Urine contains seventeen different substances when in a healthy state, and it contains also occasionally other ingredients.

The most singular of these, and that which constitutes it what it is, and to which the greater part of its very singular phenomena may be ascribed, is urea. By proper treatment it may be obtained in crystals, and its properties examined. It is very prone to decomposition, and to this the very quick putrefaction of urine may be ascribed. Dr. Berzelius has discovered many substances in this fluid, which were not before suspected, such as free lactic acid, fluato of lime, and silex. Phosphate of lime is held in solution by the lactic and uric acids, and when, from any disordered temperament of the body, there is a deficiency of the latter, the former becomes precipitated, and forms one of the kind of concretions so terrible, both from their symptoms and their mode of cure. The ingredients of animal calculi are much less numerous than those of the urine:—pure uric acid, phosphate of lime, a triple combination arising from the mutual decomposition of the urea, and the earthy and phosphoric salts called ammoniaco magnesian phosphate, oxalate of lime, and silex. To these the cystic oxyd has lately been added by Dr. Wollaston, but this is a very rare production. It is very seldom that any of these are found separate, and they are generally bound together by an animal matter, which acts the part of a cement.

In cases of the stone arising from a surplus of the acid secretions, alkalies have been administered with success; but much mischief has often been done by the use of these when the disorder has arisen from a precipitation of the earthy salts, arising from a deficiency of their acid solvents.

Mr. William Brande has lately been very successful in some trials which he has made with magnesia, when the disorder has arisen from superfluous uric acid.

In the analysis of bone, our author has shewn the same unwearied accuracy as in other animal productions. Besides the constituent parts, phosphate of lime, and cartilage, he discovered by minute analysis in human bone, fluato of lime and phosphate of magnesia\*. The muscles or the flesh have never been submitted to any very accurate chemical investigation. They consist chiefly of a fibrous texture, and a peculiar extract, the nature and use of which is thus ingeniously suggested:

“I have endeavoured to prove that this extract is not a constituent part of the flesh, but that it has belonged to the absorbents, and that it consists principally of the decayed particles which have

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\* The phosphate of lime and other salts may be dissolved by the action of an acid, when the animal matter will remain, retaining the form of the bone, but so brittle as to be capable of being tied into a knot.

either been absorbed by them, or were ready to be absorbed when life was extinguished. The fluids of the flesh abound much more in this syrupy extract, and contain more phosphate of soda than the blood; from this I have concluded that those matters which are formed by the decay of the parts, are absorbed and introduced into the blood in order to be discharged with the urine, in which they are again discoverable in a considerable quantity."

The solid muscular flesh as well as the whole series of vessels is interwoven with the cellular texture. This serves to connect and fill up the interstices of the different parts, and prevent any unnecessary vacuity in the body. It is moistened by a humour of the same kind as that which is met with in the cavities of the body, in blisters, dropsy, &c.; and in some places is interspersed with a semifluid fat. The skin, which covers and protects these wonderful organizations of animal mechanism, is likewise an organ of secretion. It differs from all others by presenting an extended surface, from which the greatest part of the secreted matter must be discharged by means of evaporation. This excretion answers the important purpose of equalizing animal temperature, by carrying off all superfluous heat by its evaporation. The matter of perspiration bears a very strong analogy to urine, and it has been proved that when the secretion of the former is most abundant, that of the latter is greatly diminished: a strong instance of the wonderful adaptation of nature to the necessities of different circumstances. The skin likewise performs a kind of respiration over the whole body, for it has been found that if the hand be confined in oxygen, a portion of carbonic acid is generated, besides a considerable degree of moisture, and it is an admitted fact that some inferior animals breathe solely by means of this organ.

We have thus followed our author through some of the principal functions and productions of the animal body; and have laid before our readers a short sketch of the little that is yet known of the processes of animal economy. The treatise before us, from its very nature, cannot be expected to contain those minute details, which are desirable in the narration of experimental investigations; but the lover of science will find in it much new and important information. It contains, indeed, more precision and minuteness than we could have expected from so rapid a view of the subject. The author has done full justice to the discoveries of others, and has recorded the results of his own labours and drawn his conclusions with great diffidence.

This science is yet in its infancy, but from the ardour with which it is now pursued, we may reasonably expect that import-

ant results will be the consequence; important not only in physiological disquisitions, but to the sanative art\*. The great guides in the investigation of this science are certainly comparative anatomy, and comparative animal chemistry. It is by collating the component parts and productions of different animals, of the same animal at different stages, and different states, and in ascertaining in what particulars they differ from each other, that we may hope to throw light upon the obscurest parts of animal economy. While recommending perseverance in the track in which so many ingenious experimenters are now engaged, we will conclude our observations by introducing a further extract from Dr. Berzelius's sketch, which does great honour to the goodness of his heart, and which may furnish a hint not unworthy of the consideration of those of our own countrymen at present employed in the prosecution of this science.

"I have often determined to examine with a compound microscope the contraction of a naked muscle in a living animal, being convinced that by that means something might be obtained towards a nearer explanation of this highly interesting progress of animal mechanics, but I have always been deterred by an insurmountable aversion to see a wounded animal suffer under the hand of an experimenter, much as I at the same time value the important physiological truths which have been discovered in this way."

We acknowledge the power which has been given to man over the lives of the brute creation, and we do not affect to have over-nice sensibilities about the expenditure of animal life, when any adequate object of research is thereby attainable. But let the sufferings of a being, as susceptible of pleasurable and painful sensations as ourselves, be, if possible, momentary. Let not the excruciating torments of slow working poisons, or the lingering sufferings of partial mutilation be inflicted, with-

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\* The morbid productions of the body, the contraction of disease, and the diffusion of contagion, are not mere speculative subjects of curious enquiry; they solicit the attention of the learned upon the superior motives of humanity. What is contagion? What constitutes the peculiar aptitude of a body to contract disease more at one time than another? Why is it that an animal which has once been attacked by certain disorders is not again subject to the same? And in what way does the contraction of one disease act as a preventive of another?

The first of these questions has lately appeared to receive some elucidation from an ingenious experiment. Glass balls, filled with some purging mixture, were suspended in places exposed to putrid exhalations and effluvia of hospitals, and it was found that along with the moisture upon their surfaces a considerable portion of animal matters was deposited. This would seem to sanction the supposition of a true solution of purulent matter by the atmosphere; but the experiment still wants confirmation. The whole of this interesting subject is enveloped in the deepest obscurity, but presents a field of research as inviting as it is extensive.

out a very high probability of some practical benefit. The mere gratification of scientific enquiry can never justify barbarity; and we must own, that however we might be disposed to place discretionary power in the hands of those, who, we are conscious, would not abuse it; yet we dread to see the time, when the advancement of animal chemistry shall be attempted by experiments upon animal sensations, rather than the analysis of animal productions.

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ART. XIX.—*Journal of a Residence in India.* By Maria Graham. Illustrated by Engravings. Edinburgh: Printed by George Ramsay and Co., for Archibald Constable and Co. 1812.

THE lady who has betrayed sufficient energies of mind and body for the production of a journal of her own travels in quarto, may be supposed to have forfeited in some degree the claim to leniency of criticism, which even the hardened Reviewer is inclined to concede, in the spirit of gallantry, to the fair sex. Aware, perhaps, of her danger, Mrs. Graham has recovered by the modesty of her pretensions that benefit of sex which she had abdicated by the boldness of her undertakings. In proof of this, we will lay before our readers an extract from her preface, which does credit to the writer's good taste and judgment, as it raises no false expectations with respect to the work, to which it serves as an introduction.

“Almost all our modern publications on the subject of India are entirely occupied with its political and military history, details and suggestions upon its trade and commercial resources, and occasionally with discussions upon the more recondite parts of its literary or mythological antiquities. Notwithstanding the great number of these books, therefore, and the unquestionable excellence of many of them, there still seemed to be room for a more popular work on the subject of this great country, a work which, without entangling its readers in the thorny walk of politics or commercial speculation, should bring before them much of what strikes the eye and the mind of an observant stranger, and addressing itself rather to the general reader than to those who are professionally connected with the regions it describes, should perform the same humble but useful office as to India, which tolerably well written books of travels have done as to most of the other countries of the world.

“This purpose, it has been suggested to the writer of the follow-

ing pages, might be accomplished in some degree by their publication, and it is with these, and with no higher pretensions, that they are now offered to the public. They were really and truly written, nearly as they now appear, for the amusement of an intimate friend, and without the remotest view to the destiny they have now to encounter; having been prepared for publication merely by the omission of such private details and trifling anecdotes of individuals as could not with propriety be obtruded on the world. The writer is afraid that she secretly means this statement to be received as a kind of apology for some of their imperfections. But the truth is, that she is extremely doubtful whether she could have made the work much better by digesting it with more labour. Its merit, if it have any, must consist in the fidelity and liveliness of a transcript from new impressions, and this she has found it would have been in great danger of losing, if she had ventured to change the character of her original sketch, by attempting (perhaps after all not very successfully), to reduce its redundancies, or to strengthen its colouring."

Mrs. Graham's movements were too devoid of system, and defined object, to allow of our tracing her steps with any degree of accuracy through her various rambles; but this we reckon no disadvantage, as it allows us the greater freedom in selecting the scenes to which we are most tempted to accompany her. It may be a relief to our readers, to pause awhile in the discussion of more important topics, and make an excursion or two with this lively and intelligent companion, who will not forbid our glancing at subjects of deeper interest, should they fall in our way. Profiting then by the freedom allowed us on this desultory plan, we will at once introduce our readers to the garden of Sir James Mackintosh, in Bombay. It belonged to his country-house, in which the writer spent some time.

"Our garden is delightful; the walks are cut in the wood on the side of the hill, and covered with small sea-shells from the beach of Back Bay, instead of gravel, which, besides the advantage of drying quickly in the rainy season, are said to keep off snakes, whose skins are easily wounded by the sharp edges of the broken shells. On each side of the walks are ledges of brick, chunamed over, to prevent them from being destroyed by the monsoon rains. We are always sheltered from the sun by the fan-like heads of the palmyras, whose tall columnar stems afford a free passage to the air, and serve to support an innumerable variety of parasite and creeping plants, which decorate their rough bark with the gayest hue, vying with the beautiful shrubs which flourish beneath, and affording shelter to birds more beautiful than themselves. Some of these build in the sweet-scented champaka and the mango; and one, small as the humming bird, fixes its curious nest to the pointed tips of the palmyra leaf, to secure its young from the tree-snake, while

flights of paroquets daily visit the fruit-trees, and with their shrill voices hail the rising sun, joined by the *mina*, the *kokeels*, and a few other birds of song.

At the lowest part of the garden is a long broad walk, on each side of which grow vines, pamplemousses, figs and other fruits, among which is a jumboo, a species of rose-apple, with its flowers like crimson tassels, covering every part of the stem. Our grapes are excellent, but we are obliged to make an artificial winter for them, to prevent the fruit from setting at the beginning of the rainy season, which would destroy it. Every leafy branch is cut off, and nothing is left but the stump, and one of two leading branches; the roots are then laid bare and dry for three or four weeks, at the end of which a compost of fish, dead weeds, and earth is heaped round them, the holes filled up, and the plants daily watered.

At one end of this walk are *chunam* seats, under some fine spreading trees, with the fruit-walk to the right hand, and to the left flower-beds filled with jasmine, roses, and tuberoses, while the plumbago rosea, the red and white ixora's, with the scarlet wild mulberry, and the oleander, mingle their gay colours with the delicate white of the moon-flower and the mogree. The beauty and fertility of this charming garden are kept up by constant watering from a fine well near the house. The water is raised by a wheel worked by a buffalo; over the wheel two bands of rope pass, to each of which are tied earthen pots, about three or four feet from each other, which dip into the water as the wheel turns them to the bottom, and empty themselves as they go round, into a trough, communicating with *chunam* canals, leading to reservoirs in different parts of the garden. In short, this would be a little paradise, but for the reptiles peculiar to the climate. One of them, a white worm of the thickness of a fine bobbin, gets under the skin, and grows to the length of two or three feet. Dr. Kier thinks the eggs are deposited in the skin by the wind and rain, as they are seldom found to attack those who never expose their legs or feet to the external air, and generally appear in the rainy monsoon. If they are suffered to remain in the flesh, or if they are broken in taking out, they occasion unpleasant sores. The native barbers extract them very dexterously with a sharp pointed instrument, with which they first remove the skin, then gradually dig till they seize the animal's head, which they fasten to a quill, round which they roll the worm, drawing out eight or nine inches daily, till the whole is extracted.

Snakes, from the enormous rock-snake, who first breaks the bones of his prey by coiling round it, and then swallows it whole, to the smallest of the venomous tribe, glide about in every direction. Here the cobra-capella, whose bite is almost every instant mortal, lifts his graceful folds, and spreads his large many-coloured crests; here too lurks the small bright speckled cobra munda, whose fangs convey instant death.

Should the reader have been tempted by the former part of



this extract to wish himself in Bombay, the snakes in the grass will probably have served to cool his ardour for emigration. But in case they should have failed of this effect, we will subjoin a still more powerful antidote in an account of the society there, which is certainly not a little repelling.

I found our fair companions like the ladies of all the country towns I know, under-bred and over-dressed, and, with the exception of one or two, very ignorant and very *grossière*. The men are, in general, what a Hindoo would call of a higher caste than the women; and I generally find the merchants the most rational companions. Having, at a very early age, to depend on their own mental exertions, they acquire a steadiness and sagacity which prepare their minds for the acquisition of a variety of information, to which their commercial intercourse leads.

The civil servants to government being in Bombay, for the most part, young men, are so taken up with their own imaginary importance that they disdain to learn, and have nothing to teach. Among the military I have met with many well-informed and gentleman-like persons, but still the great number of men, and the small number of rational companions, make a deplorable prospect to one who anticipates a long residence here.

The parties in Bombay are the most dull and uncomfortable meetings one can imagine. Forty or fifty persons assemble at seven o'clock, and stare at one another till dinner is announced, when the ladies are handed to table, according to the strictest rules of precedence, by a gentleman of a rank corresponding to their own. At table there can be no general conversation, but the different couples who have been paired off, and who, on account of their rank, invariably sit together at every great dinner, amuse themselves with remarks on the company, as satirical as their wit will allow; and woe be to the stranger, whose ears are certain of being regaled with the catalogue of his supposed imperfections and misfortunes, and who has the chance of learning more of his own history than in all probability he ever knew before. After dinner the same topics continue to occupy the ladies, with the addition of lace, jewels, intrigues, and the latest fashions; or if there be any newly arrived young women, the making and breaking matches for them furnish employment for the ladies of the colony till the arrival of the next cargo. Such is the company at an English Bombay feast. The repast itself is as costly as possible, and in such profusion that no part of the table-cloth remains uncovered. But the dinner is scarcely touched, as every person eats a hearty meal, called *tiffin*, at two o'clock, at home. Each guest brings his own servant, sometimes two or three; these are either Paraces or Muschmaws. It appears singular to a stranger to see behind every white man's chair a dark, long-bearded, turbaned gentleman, who usually stands so close to his master as to make no trifling addition to the heat of the apartment; indeed, were it not for the *panja* (a large frame of wood covered with cloth), which is suspended over every table, and

kept constantly swinging in order to freshen the air, it would scarcely be possible to sit out the melancholy ceremony of an Indian dinner.

This dull and uninteresting society seems to have driven our traveller to other sources of amusement, in discovering which she displays both sagacity, and a spirit of enterprize. We could have fancied ourselves taking a nocturnal ramble with Haroun Alreschid, and his vizier Giafar, when we were introduced to a night-scene in a barber's shop, with a minuteness of incident in the description, that marks the hand of an eye-witness.

"But it is the barber's shop that is always most crowded, being, particularly at night, the great resort for gossip and news; the barbers themselves seem to enjoy a prescriptive right to be lively, witty, and good story-tellers. I have seen some excellent buffoons among them, and a slap given to a bald new-shaven pate, in the proper part of a story, has set half a bazar in a roar. The barbers keep every body's holidays—Hindoos, Jews, Musselmans, Armenians, Portuguese, and English; and reap a good harvest at each by their comic way of begging."

However entertaining this scene may have been, we were more inclined to envy Mrs. Graham the following sight.

"With one procession, however, I was much pleased; it took place a month ago in the breaking up of the monsoon, when the sea became open for navigation. It is called the cocoa-nut feast, and is, I believe, peculiar to this coast. About an hour before sunset, an immense concourse of people assembled on the esplanade, where booths were erected, with all kinds of commodities for sale. All the rich natives appeared in their carriages, and the display of pearls and jewels was astonishing. At sunset one of the chief Bramins advanced towards the sea, and going out a little way upon a ledge of rock, he launched a gilt cocoa-nut in token that the sea was now become navigable; immediately thousands of cocoa-nuts were seen swimming in the bay; for every priest and every master of a family was eager to make his offering. The evening closed as usual with music, dancing, and exhibitions of tumblers, jugglers, and tame snakes."

Would that this were the general cast and colour of their religious rites! Would that the Bramin were never engaged in a less offensive mode of worshipping his false deities! We might well expect this to be the case from the favourable impression which it has been the endeavour of many to excite, with respect to the character of the natives of India. Such a religious ceremony would be exactly consonant to the gentle and inoffensive dispositions of the inhabitants, with whom fancy has peopled that favoured clime. Considerable pains have been taken, of late years, to correct the mistaken notions entertained on this

head, and to lay open to the eye of the British public the state of moral degradation in which that vast region really lies. But since every thing which is advanced by the avowed advocates of a new system, with respect to the diffusion of religious knowledge in that quarter, is received with a certain degree of qualifying suspicion and cautious reserve, under the notion of their being influenced by prejudice, let us see what testimony we can gather from a writer, who scarcely makes any allusion to the subject of missions, and consequently cannot be suspected of this undue bias in their favour.

“My expectations of Hindoo innocence and virtue,” says Mrs. Graham, “are fast giving way; and I fear that, even among the pariahs, I shall not find any thing like St. Pierre’s *Chaumiere Indienne*.”—P. 15.

“In short, I every day find some traces of the manners and simplicity of the antique ages; but the arts and the virtues that adorned them are sunk in the years of slavery under which the devoted Hindoos have bent: these people, if they have the virtues of slaves, patience, meekness, forbearance, and gentleness, have their vices also. They are cunning, and incapable of truth; they disregard the imputations of lying and perjury, and would consider it folly not to practise them for their own interest.”

After describing the worship of the Deo of Chimchore, she ends with this reflection.

“I returned to our tents, filled with reflections not very favourable to the dignity of human nature, after witnessing such a degrading instance of superstitious folly. If I could be assured that the communication with Europe would in ever so remote a period free the natives of India from their moral and religious degradation, I could even be almost reconciled to the methods by which the Europeans have acquired possession of the country.”

Again,

“Perhaps there is something of pride in the pity I cannot help feeling for the lower Hindoos, who seem so resigned to all that I call evils in life. Yet I feel degraded, when, seeing them half-dressed, half-fed, covered with loathsome disease, I ask how they came into this state, and what could amend it, they answer, ‘It is the custom;’—‘it belongs to their caste to bear this;—and they never attempt to overstep the boundaries which confine them to it.’”

And the following sketch affords no very favourable symptom either of their notions of relative duty, or of their state of moral feeling.

*Barrackpore, Dec. 20, 1810.*—I am once more at this charming place; but notwithstanding its beauties, I look anxiously forward to returning to my friends at Madras. The other night, in

coming up the river, the first object I saw was a dead body, which had lain long enough in the water to be swollen, and to become buoyant. It floated past our boat, almost white, from being so long in the river, and surrounded by fish; and as we got to the landing-place, I saw two wild dogs tearing another body, from which one of them had just succeeded in separating a thigh-bone, with which he ran growling away. Now, though I am not very anxious as to the manner of disposing of my body, and have very little choice as to whether it is to be eaten by worms or by fishes, I cannot see, without disgust and horror, the dead indecently exposed, and torn and dragged about through streets and villages by dogs and jackals. Yet such are the daily sights on the banks of the Hoogly. I wish I could say they were the worst; but when a man becomes infirm, or has any dangerous illness, if his relations have the slightest interest in his death, they take him to the banks of the river, set his feet in the water, and, stuffing his ears and mouth with mud, leave him to perish, which he seldom does without a hard struggle; and should the strength of his constitution enable him to survive, he becomes a pariah; he is no longer considered as belonging to his family or children, and can have no interest in his fortune or goods. About thirty miles from Calcutta there is a village under the protection of government, entirely peopled by these poor outcasts, the number of whom is incredible."

Though these are merely faint sketches of the picture which Dr. Buchanan, and other writers, have given us in deeper lines, and in greater detail, they may serve to corroborate the leading evidence, and increase the light of conviction, which must, in the end, we trust, dissipate the unnatural darkness conjured up by the powerful wand of self-interest.

But while we fall in with this popular line of argument with that sort of feeling with which we sometimes obey reluctantly the pressure of a crowd, we cannot but reprobate it as beneath the tone which the Christian is warranted to assume. Were Christianity merely an improved system of ethics, it would be right to take this ground; but if we believe that faith in Jesus Christ is the only mode of reconciliation between God and man, it is comparatively of little signification to the strength of the argument in favour of missions, whether an idolatrous system of worship be more or less debased with immoral and inhuman practices, or what may be the manners and habits of a heathen population. It should be enough for us to know, that they are ignorant of "that worthy name, by the which we are called." Did we estimate, with the feeling conviction of true believers, the consequences of that ignorance, we should want no additional stimulus to the duty of using our best endeavours to

spread the glad tidings of salvation by Jesus Christ through every region of the known world. The sacrifices of Sagar and the abominations of Jaggernaut may work upon the feelings, and excite a temporary zeal for their abolition, but the only ground-work for a steady and persevering pursuit of the great object of christianizing India must be a firm and lively persuasion that Christianity is *exclusively* a saving faith. However this may be disrelished by the very liberal spirit, which attributes equal efficacy to the religion of "the saint, the savage, and the sage," it is pretty strongly confirmed by the valedictory charge of our Saviour to his apostles, and by the indiscriminate zeal, with which they and their immediate successors attempted the conversion of "all nations," in compliance with it. But we are often told, in answer to this, that the case is altered now, and that the present times are very different from the earlier ages of the Christian era. But how is this proved? What chemical process has heathenism undergone to infuse new virtues into it, and give it powers hitherto unknown? Or, on the other hand, how has the religion of Christ forfeited one tittle of its importance? Why is that mighty stream, which has been gradually extending its fertilizing influence for eighteen hundred years, to the joy of all countries which it has reached, to be confined at length within its present boundaries, or at least to be fenced in by embankments, and prevented from irrigating the "dry and thirsty land" towards which its current is setting? Let us hope that the stream will prove too strong for the opposing force, and that the country, which has given bodily freedom to the natives of Africa, will not keep its Asiatic dependents in worse than Egyptian bondage,—the bondage of the soul.

Our readers will pardon this digression on so interesting a topic, and we will now return with them to Mrs. Graham, though we cannot in our present state of feeling accompany her into the cavern of Elephanta, or dwell on the fictions of Braminical superstition. Those who want a compendious knowledge of its leading points will find her a sufficient guide. She has, on all occasions indeed, the desirable faculty of conveying clear and distinct notions of what she wishes to describe. She writes like one, who is more addicted to sketching than filling up a picture; but her lines are sufficiently strong to give the general effect, and gratify the reader of taste. We will select one or two of the instances in proof of her having regarded the scenes, through which she passed, with a painter's eye.

"*Compauli, Dec. 16.*—This village is two stages from Parwell; the first, to Chowk, we travelled last night, and reached our tents

too late to write. We passed through a very beautiful country, among hills that form the outskirts of the ghauts\*. Rich valleys, now wide, now narrow, closed in by amphitheatres of hills, some wooded up to the top, and others exposing their weather-stained rocky summits to the skies, are here and there crossed by streams, that, though now scarcely more than rills, bear evidence that they were mighty torrents during the monsoon. Upon the bank of one of these, we encamped under the shade of wide-spreading banian trees, opposite to the little bazar of Chowk. Immediately facing us, a troop of Brinjasees had taken up their residence for the night. These people travel from one end of India to the other, carrying salt, grain, and asafoetida, almost as necessary to the natives as salt. They are never molested by any army. I have seen at least five hundred bullocks belonging to one troop. You can imagine nothing more picturesque than our station: the Brinjasees' fires were reflected in the stream between us; and our own hamauls, in about a dozen different parties, were cooking their food along the bank, while at a little distance some of our people were keeping up a blaze with straw to keep the flies from the horses, the bright light from which, falling on our tents, illuminated them, while the under branches of the trees remaining in shadow, formed a striking and beautiful contrast.

We left Compowli in the dark, at five o'clock, and reached the foot of the ghaut at sun-rise. The ascent was so steep and rugged, that I soon left my palankeen, and with one of my companions walked up the mountain. It is impossible to describe the exquisite beauty of the landscape. High mountains and bold projecting rocks overhang deep woods of trees unknown to Europeans. Flowering shrubs of most delicious perfumes, and creeping plants of every various hue, form natural bowers as they hang from tree to tree, and now shewing, now concealing the distant ocean, delight the eye at every step; while here and there an opening like a lawn, with herds of antelopes, makes you forget that the tiger prowls through the overhanging forest, and that the serpent lurks beneath the many-coloured bower.

It became dark before we reached home, when suddenly the wood seemed in a blaze; eighteen or twenty of the inhabitants of a village, concealed by the brushwood, ran out of their houses with bundles of lighted cocoa-nut leaves, and preceded us to the next hamlet, where they were relieved by others, and so on to Pointe de Galie. The effect of this illumination surpassed that of any I ever saw. Sometimes the straight tall trunks of the palm-trees, whose fan-like heads remained in shadow, seemed to represent a magnificent colonnade; sometimes, where the creeping plants had

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\* A ghaut means a pass; and though it literally applies only to the accessible passes through the mountains, the name is given to the range of mountains that reach from Cape Comorin nearly to Guzerat along the west coast of India.

entwined themselves round them, and hung in festoons from tree to tree, they appeared like some enchanted bower, dressed by fairy hands; while the graceful figures of the torch-bearers, scarcely clothed, yet glittering with barbaric gold and pearl, with their joyous shouts, recalled to our imagination the triumphs of Bacchus."

While our eye is on this page, we cannot but favour our readers with an extract, which must be highly gratifying to all who rejoice in the discovery of a ready road to knowledge. Ignorance of the Chinese costume will certainly henceforth be unpardonable.

"The dress and air of the Chinese is so exactly what we see on every China cup and dish, that it is needless to describe them."

Sometimes we are treated with information rather more minute than the general reader may deem necessary, though it may be interesting to those who are bound for the island of Ceylon, to know that (p. 97,) "potatoes and onions are imported from Bombay; and sometimes, but very rarely, cabbage and peas are brought from Bengal." This is by no means, however, a prevailing fault in the volume before us.

The following extract is a description of the mode of taking elephants in Ceylon.

"When we reached the craal it was near ten o'clock, and we found the collector and Mr. Daniel awaiting us in the breakfast-bunfalo, where the attention of the former had literally spread a feast in the wilderness. The craal is in the shape of a funnel, the wide part of which extends several hundred feet into the forest, leaving the trees within standing. It is composed of strong posts made of whole trunks of trees driven well into the ground, and lashed to others, placed horizontally, with strong coier ropes. To defend this wall from the fury of the elephants, small fires are lighted near it on the outside, which intimidate the animals so that they do not approach it. The trap is divided into three parts, the outer one of which is only inclosed on three sides, and communicates with the next by a gate made of strong poles, fastened together by ropes so as to permit it to roll up. When the elephants are once driven into the outer chamber, they are prevented from retreating by men stationed at the entrance with different kinds of weapons, but chiefly sticks, on the ends of which are bundles of lighted straw. When a sufficient number are thus collected on the outer inclosure, the hunters close in upon them, and drive them by their shouts and weapons into the second chamber, the gate of which is immediately let down, and they are confined till it is convenient to take them out. When every thing is prepared for that purpose, the elephants are driven into the third and last inclosure, which is also the smallest. One end of it terminates in a long pas-

age, just wide enough for a single beast; and the moment one of them enters it, the hunters thrust strong poles through the interstices in the walls of the craul, and close him in so that he cannot move backwards or forwards. Two tame elephants are then stationed one at each side of the outlet, and, putting in their trunks, they hold that of their wild brother till the hunters have passed several bands of rope round his neck, and fastened nooses to each of his feet. A rope is then passed through his neck-bands, and those of the tame animals; the stakes in front are gradually removed; the ropes drawn tighter; and the prisoner is led out between his two guards, who press him with their whole weight, and thus lead him to the tree or the stake where he is to be fastened. If he be refractory, they beat him with their trunks till he submits; he is sometimes tied by one leg, sometimes by two; if he be very strong and furious, he is fastened by the neck and by all his limbs. I never saw grief so passionately expressed as by one of these creatures; he groaned, tried to tear his legs from their fetters, buried his trunk in the earth, and threw dust into the air. Not even the choicest food, the plantain tree, or the leaf of the young palm, could tempt him to eat or to forget his captivity for several hours. It sometimes happens that they starve themselves to death; but a few days generally suffices to calm their fury, and their education is immediately begun."

We have dealt so largely in quotation, as the best way of doing justice to a work of this kind, that we must pass by Madras, only noticing the lively picture of the process of getting on shore, which our fair traveller must have contemplated with a coolness of attention which does credit to her nerves.

"A friend, who from the beach had seen our ship coming in, obligingly sent the *accommodation-boat* for us, and I soon discovered its use. While I was observing its structure and its rowers, they suddenly set up a song, as they called it, but I do not know that I ever heard so wild and plaintive a cry. We were getting into the surf; the cockswain now stood up, and with his voice and his foot kept time vehemently, while the men worked their oars backwards till a violent surf came, struck the boat, and carried it along with a frightful violence; then every oar was plied to prevent the wave from taking us back as it receded, and this was repeated five or six times, the song of the boatmen rising and falling with the waves, till we were dashed high and dry upon the beach. The boats used for crossing the surf are large and light, made of very thin planks sawed together, with straw in the seams, for caulking would make them too stiff; and the great object is, that they should be flexible, and give to the water like leather, otherwise they would be dashed to pieces. Across the very edge of the boat are the bars on which the rowers sit; they are naked all but a turban, and a half handkerchief fastened to the waist by a packthread. They are wild looking, and their appearance is not improved by the crust of salt left upon their bodies by the sea-water, and which generally whitens



half their skins. At one end of the boat is a bench with cushions and a curtain for passengers, so that they are kept dry while the surf is breaking round the boat."

As our readers may not have had an opportunity of seeing a genuine Asiatic card of invitation, we will treat them with one.

"Maha Rajah, Rajhissen Bahaudur presents his respectful compliments to Mrs. Graham, and requests the honour of his company to a nautch (being Doorga Poojah) on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of October, at nine o'clock in the evening."

The society at Calcutta seems to have had much greater attractions for Mrs. Graham than that of any other place she visited. But we must refer the reader to the work itself for a description of it, recommending particularly to his notice the entertaining account of a scene at the governor's palace, given in the Appendix, by Ibrahim, the son of Candu the merchant.

We must not forget in this day of education to point out the following proof, that what is called the "Madras System" is generally known to the continent of India. The writer is speaking of Bombay, when she says,

"Attached to each mosque there is a school where Arabic is taught; the master only attending to the elder boys, while the others are taught by their more advanced schoolfellows: instead of books, there are alphabets and sentences painted on wood for the younger scholars."

We think our quotations will have proved that this volume makes good the modest pretensions with which it sets out; and we can assure our readers, that the authoress is always clear and lively, and for the most part exhibits the unaffected ease, which is suited to that privacy of communication for which its contents were at first intended. Here and there the writer shews a disposition to reflection, in which we wish she had indulged more freely. In such a range of observation, many topics of moral improvement, as well as of information and amusement, must necessarily occur, and the traveller who is contented with the latter objects in the composition of a journal, must also be contented with a subordinate rank amongst writers as estimated by the scale of utility. We will not dwell upon a few trifling inaccuracies for which, perhaps, the printer may be accountable, but cannot refrain from entering our protest against the abundant and indiscriminate use of the epithet "pretty," which gives us no specific notion of the various objects to which it is applied.

On the whole, we can recommend Mrs. Graham as an intelligent and entertaining guide, and should be glad to see the very considerable talents she evidently possesses brought into action in a field of higher importance, and devoted to greater aims.

ART. XX.—*Remorse, a Tragedy, in five Acts.* By S. T. Coleridge. London: Printed for W. Pople. 1813.

IN the most exposed and perilous station among the ranks of literature stands the dramatist. But in the proportion in which his danger from inherent disqualifications is increased, the field of fortuitous success is widened. We are all sensible of the lucky force of stage effect, and the artificial aids of scenic representation.

Had the writer of *Remorse* composed his tragedy merely to be read, we hesitate not to pronounce that he would completely have failed in his object: but genius has more resources than one, and the dramatist who has both the eye and the ear to appeal to, where his claims are feeble with the one, knows how to make his court to the other.

We can easily imagine the triumphant feelings of the author when the plaudits overwhelmed the dismal note of disapprobation in the eventful moment that was to decide his doom; and very far is it from our wish or intention to alloy the thrillings of his self congratulations. We have, however, a duty to the public to perform, in taking a strict and impartial view of the merits of the piece under consideration; and this is the more imperative, as we are sure that none of our readers, after having seen it performed, have made it the lucubration of their closets, or can charge their memories with any very accurate account of it, however great their resignation and devotion may have been at the time of the exhibition. We are desirous of shewing them, by the short notices we shall offer, how much both in quality and quantity may have escaped their penetration, and how many have been the aberrations to which, as true penitents at the shrine of offended authorship, they will have to confess themselves guilty if ever they should be called to account.

Mr. Coleridge informs us in his preface, that his tragedy was written in the summer and autumn of the year 1797; why it has not been brought forward till now is a matter of no importance, but we question if it is a property that was, or ever will be, the better for keeping. At the present moment, however, any thing relating to the Peninsula is an object of interest; together with our victorious dispatches we have Spanish buttons, chocolate, mantles, fans, feathers, and boideros; was it then to be supposed that the zeal of managers, shouldering each other in the eager discharge of a new office, should forget to provide us with a Spanish play? Undoubtedly not. Circulars, we conclude, were distributed with diplomatic diligence by the secretaries of the green room, to

all the tributary drudges of the drama wheresoever dispersed. It is not unlikely that these poor souls, rendered desperate by the fate of their "Rejected Addresses," had flung away their slighted quills, and turned out their lean Pegasuses to grass, and their va-grant Muses into the streets. What was to be done?—the theatre had been burnt, and all the rubbish in and about it had been either consumed, or stolen, or lost.

Whether the tragedy of *Remorse* had been taken away from the theatre before the conflagration, or dug out like a precious monument from the ruins of *Herculaneum*, it is not of much importance to determine; it was found that its scene was laid in Spain; there were Dons and Donnas for the chief agents; and this was exactly what the managers wanted. The time of the story is the reign of Philip II. at the close of the civil wars against the Moors, and during the heat of the persecution in which an edict had been promulgated, forbidding the wearing of *Moresco* apparel under pain of death. The Marquis Valdez, who seems to have been a respectable old lord with an excess of credulity, which is of great service, as will presently appear, to the plot, has two sons, the elder Don Alvar, and the younger Don Ordonio, and a beautiful and amiable ward called Donna Teresa. A tender attachment takes place between Don Alvar and Donna Teresa, and nothing seems to counteract their mutual wishes. Some delay, however, is interposed by the departure of the young lord from his native country, for the purpose as it should seem of travelling; though this, like many other incidents, is left to be supplied by the good-natured reader or spectator. The younger son, Don Ordonio, who seems to enjoy the larger share of his father's affection, is secretly his brother's rival, and as he flatters himself that he has only to remove Don Alvar out of the way to ensure his own success with Donna Teresa, he engages a certain *Morescan*, by name Isidore, to murder his brother whilst on his travels; and it is upon a firm conviction of his death, that he is pressing his suit for the hand of the fair Donna Teresa, when Don Alvar returns to his native shore with a faithful attendant, whose name is Zulimez. The *Morescan*, who had been suborned to murder Don Alvar, had spared his life on the condition that he would bind himself by oath to a "year of absence and of secrecy."

Zulimez is of opinion, that his master might have returned before with great propriety, as the oath was not binding, and seems a convert to the poet's doctrine, that it is

"He who enjoins the oath that breaks it,  
Not he that for convenience takes it."

The fratricide is not wanting in an excuse for his brother's absence, and the old marquis is put off with a story which he readily believes,—that his son had been attacked on his homeward-bound voyage by an Algerine, and that his

“ brave Ordonio

Saw both the pirate and the prize go down.”

Thus satisfied of the death of his eldest son, the credulous old man uses all his influence with his ward to persuade her to accept the hand of Ordonio. Nothing, however, can shake her constant affection; she raises some queries upon the voucher; and when she is told that her union with Ordonio will make

• “ her aged father

Sink to the grave in joy,”

she replies with frankness and firmness,

“ I have no power to love him.

His proud forbidding eye, and his dark brow,

Chill me like dew damps of the unwholesome night:

My love, a timorous and tender flower,

Closes beneath his touch.”

Such being the state of affairs at the beginning of the first act, our readers may pretty well guess at the development of the piece. Do they imagine that Teresa's constancy is rewarded by the hand of her unfortunate lover,—that Ordonio pays the price of his infamy by some unlucky end,—do they guess this is the case?—because if they do they are right. And yet we will not say that they will not be disappointed. The catastrophe of this play is like a distant mark on a wearisome road, constantly in sight, but constantly inaccessible. The play has a sort of secondary story in the fortunes of Isidore and his wife Alhadra, which, however, is totally destitute of any attractions or interest of its own. We have already heard of the expedition on which Isidore had set out at the request of one brother to murder the other, and of his shrinking from the horrid act when just on the point of executing it. Isidore, it seems, had professed himself a Christian, but in some points having fallen short of satisfying the scruples or the cupidity of Monviedro, an inquisitor, he is of course consigned to a dungeon, a circumstance which very naturally inflames the irritable and revengeful disposition of his wife Alhadra. Whilst she is brooding over her vengeance, her husband is released through the interest of Ordonio, and is invited to another little piece of secret service, which however he at first refuses upon very creditable grounds. He accounts for his conduct in the following terms:

"Why, why, my lord,  
 You know you told me that the lady loved you,  
 Had loved you with *incurious* tenderness;—  
 That if the young man, her betrothed husband,  
 Returned, yourself, and she, and the honour of both  
 Must perish."

This is doing evil that good may come of it with a vengeance.  
 The upshot of the conversation is that they both agree to turn  
 conjurers, for, says Ordonio,

"We would wind up her (Teresa's) fancy  
 With a strange music that she knows not of—  
 With fumes of frankincense, and mummery;  
 Then leave, as one sure token of his death,  
 That portrait, which from off the dead man's neck,  
 I bade thee take, the trophy of thy conquest."

At last, Isidore, reflecting upon some strange things he had  
 heard drop from Alvar, (who was wandering about disguised as  
 a Moor, and thus kept himself unknown to every one but the  
 faithful Zulimez,) whilst questioned on the sea-shore by an in-  
 quisitor; and that he had called himself

"He that can bring the dead to life again;"

and thinking the assertion, upon consideration of the person ad-  
 dressed, to be very tolerable evidence of the truth of what was  
 professed, intimates that this wizard would be a desirable agent  
 in the business. Ordonio is of the same opinion, and immediately  
 sets off for the supposed conjuror's abode; and here he gets a  
 promise, after a great deal of mysterious emotion, hints, and ges-  
 tures, that every thing should be done according to his proposed  
 plan, which was no other than by some very unintelligible means  
 to play off certain illusions upon the fancy of Teresa which might  
 satisfy her beyond all doubt of the death of Don Alvar. To for-  
 ward this curious contrivance, he leaves with Alvar the miniature  
 of which he had been robbed in his travels. When the time  
 comes, the conjuror fairly outwits his employers, for, instead of  
 this miniature, he commands the spirits to represent the picture  
 of his intended assassination. At the moment while the minds of  
 Teresa, Valdez, and Ordonio are filled with astonishment and  
 horror, a band of inquisitors appear, and march off the sorcerer  
 without further ceremony, whilst Ordonio, having great reason  
 to be displeas'd at what had been done, exclaims,

"Why haste you not? Off with him to the dungeon!"

Ordonio very naturally begins to distrust Isidore, and invites  
 him to a cavern under some pretence with intent to kill him.  
 They meet accordingly, and a strange dialogue takes place. Or-

domio, who seems to have no small difficulty in working up his mind to the execution of his bloody purpose, entertains his companion, who, from some ominous dream of the preceding night, appears to be full of frightful apprehension, with a long rambling story which affords very strong hints of what was intended; so strong, indeed, that Isidore draws upon the Don by way of anticipation, and a fight and a scuffle ensue, which end in the precipitation of the ill-fated Moor down a horrid chasm at one end of the cavern. And thus Isidore is disposed of, and makes way by this abrupt disappearance for the more convenient dispatch of the business that remained.

Alhadra, who had watched her husband into the cavern, and had also seen Ordonio enter the same frightful place, and after a while come out of it flinging his torch towards the moon with a sort of wild sportiveness in his manner, soon makes a discovery which decides her conduct. She summons a faithful band of Moorish followers, of whom Isidore had been the chieftain, to whom she describes the murder of her husband by Ordonio, and engages them to revenge their leader. In the mean time Teresa had visited the dungeon where Don Alvar was confined by the inquisitors, and a complete development had taken place, with all the joy and tenderness, tears and caresses, which belong to these tumultuous moments. In the midst of these endearments the ruthless Ordonio, fresh from the murder of Isidore, bursts into the dungeon with a dose of poison which he had prepared for the supposed wizard, whom he was determined to rid himself of, as his communications with Isidore seemed to have made him too well acquainted with Ordonio's crimes. Here Alvar discovers himself to his brother, who is too far gone in the horrors of guilt and remorse to receive comfort from the assurances of forgiveness on the part of Alvar and Teresa. While things are in this state between these parties, in comes the infuriated Alhadra and her Morescan band of followers. After some efforts on the part of Teresa to incline the heart of the injured wife to pity, the voice of Valdez is heard crying rescue! rescue! as he runs towards the prison. At that instant Ordonio is stabbed by Alhadra, who is carried off by the Moors, and in a moment after Valdez enters, who of course is made acquainted with the whole truth, and receives his son Alvar into his embrace in an ecstacy of parental joy: we have only to suppose the nuptials of Don Alvar and his beloved Teresa, to make the happiness of the survivors of the house of Valdez complete.

We may add ourselves, also, to the number of the persons made happy by arriving at this consummation; for we cannot help reckoning the task of reading to the end the tragedy of "*Remorse*,"

with the attention requisite to form a judgment of its merits, among the wearisome labours to which a Reviewer submits in the discharge of his duty. . . What has made the reading of this play more than ordinarily troublesome, has been the unhappy confusion of the plot. By a singular inversion in the process of this piece, what is called the denouement takes place in the first act, and all which happens between that and the concluding scene are so many inexplicable incidents, impelling the reader's mind in a direction retrograde to the development of the story. The surrounding mist grows thicker and heavier as we draw towards the catastrophe, till at length all necessary parties are brought together by a coincidence, the cause of which is to us an impenetrable secret, in a dungeon of the inquisition; and here, where no sunshine ever found an entrance, the author on a sudden lets in a flood of light; and amidst poison, blood, daggers, tears, caresses; sorrow, joy, reconciliation, and remorse, a thorough explanation of every thing takes place, and complete justice is done, for the first time, perhaps, within the walls of the holy brotherhood. But if we have used the word "mystery" we would not be understood to advert to any mystery in the story. We have nothing to complain of in this respect. We are let at once into the whole story; and every thing is done that the most tender regard to our feelings could suggest, for preventing all surprise upon us, and to spare us the distress of eager expectation, anxious suspense, or alarming conjecture. The mystery is, how the fact and the truth could, amidst the flimsy disguises in which the incidents of the play are wrapped up, escape the immediate detection of all the parties concerned. But the duration of the piece was necessary to be provided for; and it was expedient to guard against an anticipation of the catastrophe, on which account it was clearly incumbent on the author to give to each of his characters that degree of stupidity which might be proof against the most palpable hints, and able to withstand the plainest inferences from facts and appearances.

We cannot help feeling the propriety of the author's gratitude, as expressed in the preface, to the several actors and actresses whose shoulders sustained the burthen of the performance. To the one, Mr. Coleridge gives his thanks for his full conception of the character of Isidore; to another, for his accurate representation of the partial yet honourable father; to a third, for his energy in the character of Alvar; to another, for her acceptance of a character not fully developed, and quite inadequate to her extraordinary powers, meaning, we presume, that of Donna Teresa. As we think the play extremely defective in character, the performers were doubtless well entitled to the author's gratitude, if

by the transfusion of their own energies into their several parts they could inform them with a spirit not their own. Isidore being a character of which the author speaks of the actor's full conception is probably his favourite. For our own part we are totally unable to say whether he was, upon the whole, wicked or virtuous, brave or timorous, a Christian or a Mahomedan: he consented out of gratitude to slay the brother of his benefactor, though compassion afterwards arrested his hand; and he seems to excuse the bloody undertaking on this truly equitable ground, viz. that he considered that the young lady had loved Ordonio with an incautious tenderness, and that it was necessary to prevent the return of her betrothed husband by killing him, in order to save the guilty couple from being lost, together with their honour. We must therefore join in respect for that acting which could animate this insipid sentimental assassin into the semblance of a consistent villain, a decided hypocrite, or a generous friend.

We agree also with Mr. Coleridge in the deserts of that actor who performed the part of Alvar, if, indeed, he "gave to that character," as Mr. Coleridge expresses it, "beauties and striking points which not only delighted but surprised him." We agree with him in this surprise, because we really find nothing in Alvar very striking or pointed. He seems to have been a very gentle, forgiving, well-meaning, moral Spaniard; and very strenuously in love; but not a little degraded by being made to play off the tricks of a conjuror. The fidelity of Zulimez, and the revengefulness of Alladra, we will say nothing about. If neither the one nor the other of these qualities is exhibited in its peculiar colours, it is enough that the one is called faithful, and the other confesses herself to be revengeful: as we have the facts upon such good authority, what need was there of a circumstantial and circuitous proof by any dramatic process of exposition?

Without doubt the character of Ordonio exhibits the most vigorous strokes of Mr. Coleridge's pencil; but even here there is a want of that distinguishing force of conception which is capable of bringing out a character surrounded as it were with its own moral atmosphere, and saved from being merely one of a class by certain special and peculiar characteristics. Don Ordonio is desperately in love, and stops at nothing, not even the murder of his brother, to obtain possession of the object of his passion. In him is proposed to be exemplified the full operation of the remorse that follows inexpressible crimes; and it must be admitted, that the remembrance of his villainy does not seem to sit quite easy upon him, especially when something like an exposure threatens him while in the presence of his father,



Teresa, or the inquisitor. But his remorse does not interfere with his desires, or his vivacity in the prosecution of them; nor does it stay his hand from murdering his old friend Isidore, and attempting the life of the supposed wizard in the dungeon. That the design of the piece, however, may be sufficiently present to the reader's mind, care is taken to place the word "Remorse" before the eye in capitals in the sixteenth page; and in the sixty-seventh page the word is many times rung in our ears for the same purpose.

Mr. Coleridge, though entitled undoubtedly to the praise of genius for many truly poetical and brilliant passages in this piece, sinks very much in a comparison with Miss Joanna Baillie, as a delineator of the passions. Conscious, perhaps, of this inferiority, he seems to have had recourse to a sort of wildness in his fable as a substitute for the moral vigour of his pencil; and has brought before us a sort of conjuring scene, very unfitted to the grave and lofty genius of tragedy. It is to be recollected that Miss Baillie, with astonishing art, framed her story in entire subservience to the passion she was portraying, shewing it to us in its specific operation, and developing its progress from its earliest stages through all its struggles, and gradual confirmation, to its last overbearing and fatal results. We have already declared our opinion, that, as far as this play can be admitted in proof, Mr. Coleridge possesses not the power of fixing the mind of the reader with a deep interest on the dreadful phenomena of a single passion.

Nor can we conclude our observations without adding one which it really distresses us to make, as it touches most sensibly a poet's feeling: we cannot help giving it as our opinion, that the play of "Remorse" exhibits a palpable want of taste. The thoughts are sometimes laboured into false refinement, and the descriptions are often overstrained. The poet evidently lends himself too much to his imagination, and is but too apt to forget that there ought to be a sort of sobriety in the enthusiasm of genius that keeps it within the limits of nature and just sentiment.

After delivering ourselves with so much freedom of censure, it is but justice to Mr. Coleridge to allow, that however we may think he has failed in this attempt, the attempt, executed as it is, indicates a powerful and creative mind; and induces us to hope that his muse will vindicate in some future production her tragic ascendancy. There are many passages which we think are written in a false taste, but there are others of great sublimity, and which display a truly poetical compass of thought and diction. We cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of ex-

tracting the first part of the scene between Donna Teresa and her father Don Valdez, where the old man is endeavouring to convince her of Alvar's death, and to persuade her to give her hand to Ordonio his brother.

“*Ter.* I hold Ordonio dear; he is your son  
And Alvar's brother.

“*Val.* Love him for himself,  
Nor make the living wretched for the dead.

“*Ter.* I mourn that you should plead in vain, Lord Valdez,  
But heaven hath heard my vow, and I remain  
Faithful to Alvar, be he dead or living.

“*Val.* Heaven knows with what delight I saw your loves,  
And could my heart's blood give him back to thee,  
I would die smiling. But these are idle thoughts!  
Thy dying father comes upon my soul  
With that same look, with which he gave thee to me;  
I held thee in my arms a powerless babe,  
While thy poor mother with a mute entreaty,  
Fixed her faint eyes on mine. Ah not for this,  
That I should let thee feed thy soul with gloom,  
And with slow anguish wear away thy life,  
The victim of an useless constancy.  
I must not see thee wretched.

“*Ter.* There are woes  
Ill bartered for the garishness of joy!  
If it be wretched with an untired eye  
To watch those skyey tints, and this green ocean;  
Or in the sultry hour beneath some rock,  
My hair dishevell'd by the pleasant sea breeze,  
To shape sweet visions, and live o'er again  
All past hours of delight! If it be wretched  
To watch some bark, and fancy Alvar there,  
To go through each minutest circumstance  
Of the blest meeting; and to frame adventures  
Most terrible and strange, and hear *him* tell them;  
(As once I knew a crazy Moorish maid,  
Who drest her in her buried lover's clothes,  
And o'er the smooth spring in the mountain cleft  
Hung with her lute, and play'd the self same tune  
He used to play, and listened to the shadow  
Herself had made)—if this be wretchedness,  
And if indeed it be a wretched thing  
To trick out mine own death-bed, and imagine  
That I had died, died just ere his return!  
Then see him listening to my constancy,  
Or hover round, as he at midnight oft  
Sits on my grave and gazes at the moon;  
Or haply, in some more fantastic mood,  
To be in Paradise, and with choice flowers

Build up a bower where he and I might dwell,  
 And there to wait his coming! O my sire!  
 My Alvar's sire! if this be wretchedness  
 That eats away the life, what were it, think you,  
 If in a most assured reality  
 He should return, and see a brother's infant  
 Smile at him from my arms?  
 Oh what a thought!"

We shall conclude these hasty observations on the play of "Remorse," with declaring our general opinion to be as follows: that the production is not upon the whole calculated to satisfy good taste, either on the stage or in the closet; that it is unequal to the author's general, high, and deserved reputation; and as it contains some beauties which few could equal, so its faults are in general such as too nearly approach the sublime for many to be capable of committing.

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ART. XXI.—*An Address to the Parishioners of St. Pancras, Middlesex, on the Subject of the intended Application to Parliament for a new Church, &c.* By T. F. Middleton, D.D. London. Cadell and Davies. 1812.

HAVING long considered the parish of St. Pancras as exhibiting a melancholy specimen of the weak state of our church establishment; having long looked with a mournful presage at its parochial church, capable only of containing 200 out of 40,000 inhabitants, (the other receptacles for the worshippers of God being a chapel of ease, and three proprietary chapels, with rented pews and seats), we have always hitherto somewhat consoled ourselves with the assurance that whenever a clear exposition of the case should be made to the inhabitants at large, the utmost zeal would display itself in providing a remedy for the evil; and that this zeal would be crowned with the sanction of parliament, and the blessings of all Christians of the church of England.

The strenuous opposition from the inhabitants, which the measure lately on foot for building a new and spacious church in the centre of the parochial population, though not in the centre of the parish, to be capable of accommodating 2000 persons, having half its seats left open, and a certain number reserved for the use of the different schools, was a sad disappointment of the hopes we had formed. But the grounds on which the

bill was successfully opposed in parliament were such as to make us sicken at the religious apathy among the natural protectors of our venerable church establishment. That there were plenty of chapels of one sort or another, and that the great majority of the parishioners felt no want of accommodation, notwithstanding what we have stated as to the number and condition of existing places of worship, for members of the national church, would with us have been the strongest imaginable motive to the support of the measure in question. If those whom the want of room, reception, or accommodation in our church, have driven into other communions, have, when the church has turned her mendicant arms towards them for assistance, shut their ears to her wants, this, surely, ought to be the strongest argument for seeking to secure the affections of those who still retain their attachment to the church of England, by affording them the means of attending her worship. Are meetings in open vestries assembled with their popular haraungers in the bowling-greens or skittle-grounds of public houses to determine questions of this sort by acclamation? And is parliament to become the registry of their plebiscita? Is it thus that it is to be determined whether God shall be worshipped or not in a temple worthy of himself?

The expense of heavy parochial burthens in a parish much less burthened than the surrounding parishes, has been successfully urged as a plea for leaving a parish provided only with a church capable of containing the two-hundredth part of its population; and this mighty addition to the parochial burthens would amount to sixpence in the pound! Is it thus that this happy land, which has been so long preserved from the miseries to which the other nations of the globe have been exposed, expresses its gratitude to almighty God?

Nobody can doubt that a church of twice the capacity above mentioned would be filled, supposing the duty to be adequately performed in it; and the case, when fairly considered, reduces itself to the simple question, whether that great majority who, through the melancholy remissness of the church, have forsaken her altars, shall vote away the right of those that remain steady in their adherence to her to have their spiritual wants supplied from those sources which the constitution has, under God, ordained for the maintenance of his true religion. What thinking man who contemplates the close alliance, or rather incorporation of the state with the church, can see without painful regret the neglect of the Supreme Being implied in the paltry structure and narrow room dedicated to his service in the overgrown parish of

St. Pancras? And who that sees in its true light the interests of national religion can for a moment imagine that the proprietary chapels, built upon an interested speculation, and in the very plan of their erection exclusive of the middling and lower classes, can be more than a feeble supplement to a defective religious establishment? But there are populous parts of this parish without this supplement, feeble as it is. The hamlet of Somers' Town has chapels for the Roman Catholics, and chapels for anabaptists, and, possibly, chapels of other descriptions, but the voice of the church of England is not heard by its population of 8000 souls within its own limits. On this subject, the learned and highly respectable vicar of the parish of St. Pancras, the author of the pamphlet which we have named at the head of this article, shall speak to our readers in that spirit of benevolence, moderation, and piety, which characterises all the pages of his admirable address to his parishioners.

“Of proprietary chapels, whatever praise may be due to the zeal and talents of the clergy, who officiate in them, I do not profess myself to be friendly to the principle. Wherever they exist, they have arisen out of the deficiency of our parochial establishments; for which, however, they afford but a very inadequate substitute, while they contribute to perpetuate the evil: they cannot but render the more opulent parishioners in many instances indifferent about wants, which they themselves no longer feel. The principle, to which they owe their origin, is no other than that of commercial adventure. A builder observing that the spirit of Christianity is not wholly extinct, invests a portion of his capital in erecting a place of public worship. To what particular description of Christians it is to be appropriated, needs not be determined beforehand: trade is not fastidious about the opinions of a purchaser: and such is the tenure, that it is not permanently confined to the church, even though a churchman should be the first to license it: in the failure of success it may be subsequently applied to any other more profitable purpose, whether sacred or profane.

“I am afraid, however, that the evil does not always rest here; I am afraid, that even while buildings of this kind are in the hands of churchmen, the system has tendencies, which are greatly to be deprecated. Whether the proprietor be a layman or a clergyman, while his emoluments depend upon the letting of the seats, he is under a strong temptation to give to divine service attractions, which do not properly belong to it, and which, while they recommend it to those, who are in quest of amusement, degrade it in the estimation of the serious and reflecting. Christianity, in its native and noble simplicity, addresses itself not to the taste or the imagination, but to the understanding and the heart: it is not studious to adapt itself to the variable standard of popular sentiment, but is, like its

author, "the same yesterday and to-day and for ever." In this view, nothing can be more conducive to the maintenance of its true character, than that independence of principle and practice, for which our establishment usually provides. A clergyman, who does not labour under the consciousness, that it is his interest to attract hearers, has to blame himself alone, if he deviate from the track of solid and sober instruction. The system has also other tendencies, which are not to be desired. The great variety of preachers in some of these chapels, while it stimulates the religious appetite, cannot fail to deprave it; nor is public instruction productive of the greatest possible good, where little or nothing is known of the preacher, except from his sermon. I might also add, that these chapels sometimes interfere with the province of the parochial clergyman: the parishioners are not always aware, that the preacher of a proprietary chapel has no connection with them beyond the duties of the pulpit, and avail themselves of his ministrations to the exclusion of their constituted pastor, and the extinction of order and regularity.

"In this part of my subject I desire to be understood as every where speaking of the *system* and its *tendencies*. In my own parish, these chapels appear to be very well conducted: in my occasional visits to them I have found them most respectably attended; and I have constantly rejoiced that some at least of my parishioners have such a resource: but it will be remembered, that whatever is good in these chapels is the peculiar merit of the proprietor, while that which is objectionable is connected with the system, and that the one is changeable, while the other is permanent."

We trust that what has been taken up and conducted upon such sound principles, and with so much excellent sense and temper, will not ultimately fail: that truth and reason will recommend themselves to the cooler judgments of those members of the church who have so dangerously exerted themselves in this sinister opposition. We hope, too, to see the example of Dr. Middleton followed by many others of his order, in whose parishes the like want of proportion between the population and the means of christian edification exist. For we are persuaded, that the evil will never be generally remedied, however often and loudly regretted, till the clergy in their respective places apply themselves to the case with that concentration of mind which its dominant nature requires.

We venture to hope, that the clergy, as a body, will be excited to come forward with some representation expressive of their conviction of the necessity of erecting additional churches in this widely extending capital. There can be no doubt that such a proceeding would receive that attention from the legislature which every well-wisher to religion could desire.

The journals of our two houses of parliament inform us, that

the act passed in the reign of Queen Ann, for building fifty additional churches in the metropolis, was ushered in by a proceeding of this kind. The clergy in convocation drew up a report, in which the number of churches required by the increased inhabitancy was stated. This report was presented at the bar of the house by their prolocutor, and received with every possible encouragement. An act for erecting the number of churches said to be required soon followed; and means of defraying the expense of building them were provided.

But here a melancholy history follows. From some cause which we are not able to ascertain, the intentions of this christian act of the legislature were never carried to the designed extent. Only ten additional churches have to this day been erected where, almost a century back, fifty were thought to be necessary\*.

Whatever it was that prevented the erection of the whole number of churches voted necessary in the year 1710, certain it is, that we cannot assign a reduction of the extent of the metropolis as the cause. The fact is so much otherwise, that had the present dimensions of the capital been foreseen by the legislature of that period, the aid of parliament would, without doubt, have provided for the erection of a much greater number of churches than fifty. For at that time there were no streets north of what is now called Oxford-street, nor west of Tottenham-Court-road. The fields bounded the north side of Oxford-street, from its eastern to its western extremity. On the south side, the houses were continued from St. Giles's to the corner of Swallow-street. There they terminated; the remainder of the south side of what is now called Oxford-street being country, like the whole of the north side: as was likewise all that part of the present parish of St. George, Hanover-square, which lies west of Swallow-street, and north of a line drawn from Vigo-lane to the Duke of Devonshire's house, Piccadilly, and continued from thence to Hyde-Park-corner.

The metropolis has not, indeed, enlarged itself on all sides at the same rate at which the increase has proceeded in the quarter just described. But on all sides it has extended so far as to constitute a necessity for a still greater number of churches than were voted by the act of 1710. How sad a reflection, then,

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\* These ten churches are as follows: 1. St. John the Evangelist, Westminster; 2. St. George, Hanover-square; 3. St. Mary, Strand; 4. St. George, Bloomsbury; 5. St. Luke, Old-street; 6. Christ-church, Spitalfields; 7. St. Matthew, Green; 8. St. George in the East; 9. St. Ann, Limehouse, 10. St. John, down.

that in a period when, from an augmented population, a greater number of churches ought to have been built, we can count only a fifth of the number voted to be necessary at the enactment of that statute! It is indeed affecting, when we view the metropolis from some neighbouring eminence, to observe that portion of it inhabited by the greatest number of legislators, the greatest number of the wealthy and the well-educated, that part which is inhabited by those who hold the highest offices in church and state, wearing the appearance of a quarter appropriated to persons under sentence of excommunication: the city rich in ecclesiastical structures; the west end of the town presenting a tiresome length of street, with scarcely a single edifice appropriated to religion ascending from amidst the vast mass of inhabitation.

“But have we not chapels in abundance?” There again you wound the faithful adherent to our national church. The chapel system (as generally conducted) is our reproach; as all paltry substitutes are in the eyes of those who have grave, and wise, and catholic ends in their view.

Were a foreigner to visit our metropolis for the purpose of gratifying a taste in architecture, he would naturally look for its finest specimens among the buildings appropriated to religious worship. We could show something worthy of his attention, by taking him to such parts of the town as are the least likely, from the occupations and habits of those who dwell there, to be adorned by many distinguished productions of the fine arts. “If such are the structures in this quarter,” might our visitor exclaim, “what must be those where the grandees worship!” If we conduct him thither, he will see those persons resorting for the purposes of devotion to buildings of the meanest order: with no approach to them corresponding with the transcendent purpose of their erection; with no area surrounding them, to secure religious worship from disturbances; but often so pressed on by places of secular use as to be within hearing of the barking of a confined dog, the occupations of sabbath-breakers, and the shouts of neglected children at their sports: the interior too well agreeing with these exterior circumstances; a ceiling too low for the due effect either of the music of the organ, or the voice of the minister; a style of building destitute of every feature of appropriate character; a general aspect little calculated to inspire religious thought, or to call forth any one feeling according with the purpose for which the place is entered.

These facts, however, only show upon what a starved resource the chapel system (as generally conducted) depends. There is a far worse feature to be noticed: we allude to the mercenariness



so often forcing itself upon our observation in looking into some modern chapels. Here the greedy proprietor allows the pew-renters scarcely a passage sufficiently capacious to let them pass to their seats: the aisles, for which *nothing is paid*, being narrowed to inconvenience itself, that the pews, for which *something is paid*, may contain the greatest possible number of sittings. Hence the benefits of attending religious worship in public are sold by the inch, and at such a rate as to exclude the greater part of that class of the community which is the most numerous and the most in need of public instruction. The price of a sitting is too great a demand on *their* income, to expect them to incur the expense. And as to the number of gratuitous seats in these chapels, they are so few as scarcely to deserve any notice in the account.

We feel that these are considerations of themselves strong enough to support the necessity of resorting to the measure proposed by Dr. Middleton, of providing the community with a parish church, instead of leaving them to the tender mercies of builders, or other adventurers in chapel speculation.

Among these evils, we must reckon the increase of sectaries. But non-conformity is still Christianity. And it might have been some consolation to set against the grief of seeing our people driven from the church, to observe, that they were still "*men fearing God and working righteousness.*" But we dare not indulge this qualified regret at the increase of dissenters. We have an infinitely greater evil to lament. In the vastly increased inhabitancy now covering the parish of Marybone, we see only four dissenting places of worship risen during the many years it has been forming. In other parts of the town as well as in this, even in those where the greatest number of dissenting meetings have been of late years built, the numbers who have joined the dissenters would be almost lost in the calculation, were we to ascertain the whole amount of absentees from the worship of the church of England. It is not to dissenting places of worship that we must go in search of them. Those structures are too small, and too few, to contain the thousands that are *missing*. So that the vast numbers unprovided with the means of worshipping God according to the forms of the established church, are not to be considered as so many added to the stock of *dissent*; but to that of *atheism*. There can be no doubt, that in many parts of London, and other crowded towns, there are entire streets of immortal beings living in the sullen neglect of public worship, and scarcely cognizant of the being of a God.

What a frightful consideration is this, at a period in which the principles and morals of the labouring classes of the com-

munity are known to be such as to indicate an advanced state of disaffection; while all the vehicles of information to which they usually resort are constantly feeding that disaffected state of mind with such materials as have a tendency to produce an explosion! It is a heart-breaking truth, that the mass of our artisans and manufacturers are gone from our religious assemblies. They indeed still congregate on a Sunday; nor are they without their ministers. But the public-house is their place of assembly; and the editors of our Sunday newspapers their ministers: ministers, it is to be feared, whose doctrines find a more willing reception where they are disseminated than takes place where those of a higher origin are taught.

It may not, however, be too late for the adoption of measures tending to recover these deluded, and therefore dangerous beings. But no half measures, in so advanced a state of the evil, must satisfy us. We think with our author, that a parish church is the only effectual supply to the want created by an increased population. This brings along with it a system of moral police, the inspection of schools, the catechising of youth, and many other great engines of moral improvement, unknown to the modern chapel system; though this, by the instructions of many able, active, and pious clergymen, to which it gives employment, may be, and no doubt is, the means of effecting many most important purposes.

Before we dismiss this momentous subject, we will take the liberty of suggesting to those who are desirous of serving their country in its religious concerns, not to lose sight of a measure formerly in use, but which does not seem to have sufficient prominence in our modern plans of reform,—we mean the division of a large parish into smaller ones, when the population is overgrown. There is a certain limit to which the parish boundary ought to be confined, in order to make the force of its ministry, and of its police, felt at the circumference, as well as at the centre of its inhabitancy. If the parish be too large to admit of this, it will indeed afford good incomes to those who obtain its pecuniary appointments; but, as to moral improvement, parochial authority will be only like “a whale prone on the flood;” a huge mass stretching its inertness over many a rood, while irregularities of every name, fearless of its control, sport themselves over its unwieldy bulk.

That the force of example may not be wanting here, we will mention the instances which former times have left us for our imitation in like circumstances. Out of the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, three other parishes have at successive periods been taken, viz. St. Paul, Covent-garden; St. James, Westminster;

and St. George, Hanover-square. Out of the parish of St. Dunstan, Stepney, were taken the four parishes of Christ-church, Spitalfields; St. Matthew, Bethnal-green; St. George in the East; and St. Ann, Limehouse. The parish of St. George, Bloomsbury, was taken out of that of St. Giles in the Fields. The parish of St. Luke, Old-street, was taken out of that of St. Giles, Cripplegate. St. John, Horslydown, is a parish taken out of that of St. Olave, Tooley-street. The parish of St. George the Martyr, Queen's-square, was taken out of the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn: its present church was formerly a chapel of ease to St. Andrew's, Holborn; but was constituted a parish church when the parish was formed. These precedents, we trust, will be followed, wherever an overgrown population requires the extension of those means of instruction, on the administration of which, the stability of nations, and the comfort of the individuals who compose them; materially depend.

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ART XXII.—*Things by their right Names.* A Novel. By a Person without a Name. London. Robinson. 1812.

WE are sometimes as much encouraged to give our readers some account of a work by the novelty of its design, as by the merit of its execution, for notwithstanding the observations of Demosthenes, we cannot help thinking that the “*τι κεινερ*” is a question which cannot be too frequently asked by a Reviewer. The censure cannot extend to those who must be privileged “to hear,” because they are expected “to tell some new thing.” Having therefore heard the title which we have copied above, we thought it would be inconsistent with the faithful discharge of the office which we have assumed to omit taking some notice of a work which from its title we conjectured to be rather extraordinary. It is in fact so long since we have been accustomed to hear of *things by their right names*, that we scarcely knew what to expect. Our first conjecture was that it might be a collection of those scattered definitions with which our political language has lately been enriched—a dictionary for the use of young gentlemen beginning the career of patriotism. Or supposing it to be merely a lexicon of verbal refinements, we were inclined to expect no small acquisition to the unlearned and unfashionable world. We have really arrived at such a learned and refined elevation above our

forefathers, even in our common and domestic affairs, that our very hand-bills would have been unintelligible half a century ago. Our ancestors had no Diaastrodoxon—no Panharmonicon—no Eidouranion—no Theraplegia—no Purorganon—no Pantherion. “*Omnia Græce*,” said Juvenal, and we are not inferior to Rome in this borrowed plumage. In consequence too of the large stock of exotic terms which we have imported, we have been obliged to discard many others whose homely and indigenious appearance would disgrace the splendor of their foreign companions. Our very advertisers pour upon us the sublime and beautiful, from the gentleman who “familiarises the seasons” by his “voluminous and liberal” orrery, to the showman who calls our attention to “the most elegant collection of wild beasts ever offered to the notice of the public.”

Another effect of the refinement of our language is the unmerited reproach of obscenity which it has brought upon some of our old writers. Their language (for it is of the indelicacy of the language only that we speak) was at the time of their writing, as inoffensive as that which modern delicacy would substitute in its room, and now appears coarse only because it is threadbare. No words meet with so abrupt a dismissal as those which are destined to convey ideas repugnant to delicacy. A writer or a speaker accustomed to polished society will be studious to convey his meaning when it borders upon indelicacy in terms as little used by the vulgar as possible; and these newly-invented terms becoming common are banished in their turn by the same sense of decency which gave them birth. It is, in fact, to a certain extent, more with grossness of language than of sentiment that delicacy is offended. But out of this delicacy there arises considerable danger to morals. He that would produce substantial reform must endeavour to direct the bent of this delicacy to things and realities rather than to words and images, and instruct us to dash from our lips those golden cups which present us with the poisonous essence of medicated debauchery.

Innumerable instances might be adduced, if we were not sure that they must suggest themselves to the mind of every reader at all acquainted with the language of the times to which we refer. Those, therefore, who condemn the gross language of those writers, would do well to remember the rule of the poet,

“*Judicis officium est ut res ita tempora rerum querere;*”

and we may add with respect to some of these writers,

“*Quæsitò tempore tutus erit.*”

Many words too in our language, although they are commonly used, have entirely changed their meaning: who would now

think of recommending his work (as Sheppard does his 'Touchstone) to the "favourable *censure*" of the reader? Of complimenting the church on the number of its "*painful and excellent preachers*?" Or what writer on agriculture would tell us with the translator of the *Country Farme*, that "to lay any dung to vines is a *damnable thing*?"

Of the writings of those times, however, perhaps the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer alone are read by those who are wholly unacquainted with the language of that period, and we would suggest with all that reserve and reverence which should accompany our footsteps when we tread upon sacred ground, that some slight verbal alterations would render them more intelligible by removing those words, which, in the course of time, have either lost or changed their meaning: as for example,

"I *prevented* the dawning of the morning;" and in the Common Prayer, "*Prevent* us in all our doings."—"He who now *tetteth* will *let* until he be taken out of the way."—"Therefore leaving the *principles* of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection."—"How long will ye seek after *leasing*?" a term which in those parts of England where it has any meaning signifies *gleaning*.

To come however to the work before us, which is not a dictionary, but a novel. It is said in the title-page to be written "by a person without a name," who tells us, that he has chosen the form of a novel in order to meet the taste of the age, though he might have taught the science of calling things by their right names, "in periodical essays, in weekly sermons, in evening lectures, in a poem, a play, a pamphlet, all *equally well*;" of this we have no doubt: whatever channel he had chosen for imparting his thoughts to the public, we are satisfied we should have had no reason to doubt the goodness of his intentions, and the useful tendency of his labours. We are obliged to him also for having called to our recollection the nervous language of Jeremy Collier.

"As good and evil are different in themselves, so they ought to be differently marked. To confound them in speech is to confound them in practice. All qualities ought to have ill names to prevent their being catching; indeed, things are in a great measure governed by words. To gild over a foul character serves only to perplex the idea, to encourage the bad, and to deceive the unwary. To treat honour and infamy alike is a sort of levelling in morality. I confess, I have no ceremony for debauchery; for to compliment vice is but one remove from worshipping the devil."

Some idea of our author's plan may be collected from the passage which we here extract.

"No one had a truer nomenclature than Mr. Fitzosborn, when he spoke of virtue and vice in which he had no share; he was unacquainted with, and would not have understood, the modern vocabulary. He knew not what was meant by an 'amiable weakness.' He had no conception that 'an unfortunate passion' explained the premeditated invasion of the peace and honour of a husband, or 'indiscretion' the grossest act of unfaithfulness in a wife. He knew nothing of 'vows which registered in heaven,' annulled those registered on earth; of the 'union of hearts' which superseded all other union; nor could he better understand that seduction was 'gallantry,' or murder a 'point of honour.' He did not know that 'a little derangement meant a bankruptcy,' or 'the settling one's affairs' was depriving one's creditors of half their due. He was not aware that 'candour' was the toleration of every vice; or 'freedom from prejudice,' infidelity."

Vol. ii. p. 65.

We do not however think that the writer has been happy in the choice either of the characters or circumstances by which he proposes to shew the evils arising from the misuse of language: we can well conceive that a widow might so far deceive herself as to think that habitual grief was a duty, or that the offended authority of a recluse might mistake unrelenting severity for inflexible justice; but it must be something more than an error of judgment, or a misconception of principles, that could make Lord Enville hear with such calmness of the ruin of his son, or stifle the conscience of Mr. Fitzosborn, while plundering his daughter with such barefaced rapacity. In fact, the character of Mr. Fitzosborn is altogether overdrawn: it is not that of a man who could appear even to himself to be hurried into vice by thoughtlessness or misconception, but that of one to whose conduct no courtesy or self-flattery could be so prostitute as to assign any name but that of *villainy*. With respect to the character of Mr. Fitzosborn the *elder* (whose nomenclature we have extracted), it is one of that class in which more than in any other the hand of a master is required. A man "of a reasonable good wit" may pourtray a good or a bad, an amiable or a hateful character, but to depict one "just within the verge of liking" is not so easy. In less able hands the hero of *La Mancha* would have been only ridiculous. With respect to the general plot of the work we have little to say. We have, of course, a heroine who falls in love, is long in finding it out, and when she does, sees a great many lions in the way. So far is customary, and novel readers will perhaps add, natural; but at this period of her history, we meet with a circumstance for which we certainly were not prepared. We should not have been surprised if she had had recourse to the leap of Sappho, the asp of Cleopatra, or the sword of Dido; she, however, instead of putting an end

to herself, her lover, or her history, takes the singular resolution of "dying a *bachelor*." (Vol. ii. 179.) This certainly is a turn which we did not expect, and it is our opinion, that the author has displayed more originality in this *que* circumstance than in all the rest of his work. We scarcely need add, that she is diverted from her merciless purpose, by a gentleman who has no intention of "dying a bachelor," and that the whole concludes with the utmost festivity.

We confess our ignorance of the double use of this word *bachelor*, and can only presume that there is some singular propriety in this extension of its application to be accounted for, as in the play of the Clouds Strepsiades is convinced by Socrates, that pullet is both male and female. But we leave it to wiser heads than ours to determine whether this is calling things by their right names.

For the rest of the characters we refer our readers to all the novels that ever were written, as indeed we might have done for that of our heroine, had it not been for the singular resolution which we have adverted to.

With respect to our author's style, we cannot but wonder at his skill and intrepidity in the use of long and compound epithets, which savours so strongly of the pathetic language of some of our never-enough-to-be-admired daily papers. By way of specimen we extract the following :

"At present alienated property; from his well-reported schooldays to his now full meridian of well-deserved reputation; strength-bestowing meals; evergrowing displeasure; never to be broken gratitude; newly-regained sedateness; action-directing heart-seated religion; snow-souled automatons."

It is but seldom that this writer indulges in poetical phraseology, and when he does we cannot always congratulate him upon the choice of his metaphors; for instance, "the incense of affection exhales a sweeter perfume than *otto* of roses." The rose has been poetical ever since there were poets; it has found a place in almost every poem from the Song of Solomon to the rhymes of Rokeby; it leads us to the paradise of Milton, the bower of Petrarch, and the Gulistan of Saâi; we associate with it the garbure of the groves, the whispers of the breeze, the blush of modesty, and the bloom of health; but *otto* of roses is so identified with the cosmetics of the shop, that the wings of imagination, clogged with pomatum and wash-balls, refuse to waft us out of the smoke of the capital.

It is very opposite to our habits to censure or ridicule what is seriously and sincerely well meant, as every thing in this novel ap-

pears to be. But there is a way of describing a virtuous mode of living with a sort of pompous particularity of detail, that lays it open to the sarcasms of those who are always on the alert to extract pleasantry out of that which should engage our esteem. The domestic economy practised at the house of the heroine's uncle, Mr. Fitzosborn, is not a natural or tasteful representation. We do not know that it is saying much for the proprieties of a ménage, that "the table was spread with a profusion which, if according to the modern idea, it excluded elegance, fully answered the ancient notion of magnificence." Nor have we a very definite idea of what that cookery was which was "equally apart from the refinement of luxury, and the roughness of rusticity;" and to be plain, there is something too much like what a description of persons whom we greatly dislike, and who delight in words of very mischievous use, would denominate *cant*, in what follows—"all was excellent in its kind, but all was substantial; and having been but little diminished by the regulated and moderate appetites of Mr. Fitzosborn and Caroline, furnished many wholesome and *strength-bestowing* meals for the poor." After making the above comment on this passage (which might be extended to others that occur in this work), let us declare our admiration at the boldness of this author, who has been the first novelist that has ventured to talk of his heroine's appetite, and who has suffered his readers to surprise her in the coarse employment of eating and drinking. Neither does it seem that this author thinks it necessary to sustain the fair Caroline with nectar or ambrosia. It is a remark made by her young cousins, the daughters of Lord Evville, that "she does not care whether the eggs she eats are new laid or not; and is not afraid of eating them when they are old." For our own parts, we are depraved enough to think that a young lady would not be the more interesting or agreeable for having proved her philosophy in this way.

We cannot quite approve of the sage Mr. Fitzosborn's method of securing a husband for his niece, by opening his house for the young and gay. (Page 152. vol. ii.). If this was his method, it was no wonder he was disappointed: but his remarks on the characters and manners of the young men who came under his view are such as we can with pleasure recommend. The hero of the tale volunteers the disgrace of having destroyed the peace and innocence of a young lady, to save the character of his friend, whose fortune in life would have been ruined by the disclosure; and this he does not only at the expence of his own character, but at the risk of forfeiting the hand of Caroline, and the friendship and protection of a rich and respectable uncle, of whom he



had a reasonable hope of becoming the heir. This is the cardinal event of the story, on which all the distress of situation and development of character turn. We are presented with an outrageous delicacy of friendship bordering upon chivalrous folly, if not a false feeling, which in some degree distorts the morality of the work. The story is ill imagined, and exhibits in the scenes and dialogues to which it gives birth no small quantity of sentimental common place. But after all such parts are rejected as good taste, good writing, and accurate feeling must disclaim, let it be acknowledged with all due respect, that the book abounds in just sentiments, and useful distinctions, and loses no opportunity of placing religion before the reader in a form and attitude becoming her dignity.

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ART. XXIII.—*Comedies of Aristophanes, viz. the Clouds, Plutus, the Frogs, the Birds.* • Translated into English, with Notes. London, 1812.

EVERY literary composition has its appropriate end\*, and demands a certain portion of intelligence in its reader. But it will rarely be found that the motive which acts upon the reader is exclusively that entertainment or instruction which it is the professed object of the author, or the implied object of his composition, to communicate. A curiosity to know what is said, a spirit of criticism, a desire to qualify for business or conversation, or some other extrinsic motive, operates, in general, at least as powerfully as the simple inducement to read a work for its own sake. Works of which the professed end is entertainment appear less than any other to allure readers by these extraneous attractions, and for the enjoyment of comedy in general, of which the subject is common life, the language colloquial, and the plot only a medium to exhibit character under circumstances favourable to its display, no very considerable store of preparatory information is requisite: by most classes of comic writers it has seemed to be well foreseen, that all effort necessary to understand wit and pleasantry is a proportionable diminution of its effect.

The force of this truth seems to have been sufficiently felt by the ancient dramatists. Their humour was not concealed by

too much refinement; but time, in spite of their broad endeavours to be intelligible, has drawn its veil over their wit, and placed it precisely under the same disadvantage which it was the primary object of their care to avoid. However pungent the dialogue, or ludicrous the incidents, no one, unless he has thoroughly familiarised himself with the history of the period, and the diction of the poet, can be supposed to take up Aristophanes or Plautus for amusement only. As a mirror of manners, indeed, comedy is an agreeable companion of history. Without some knowledge of their dramatic entertainments, we can scarcely aspire to a perfect acquaintance with the character, attainments, or liberties of a people. By those, therefore, who in a spirit of liberal curiosity, have devoted a portion of their time to gain an acquaintance with the history of the most polished people of Greece, without having had the opportunity of acquiring a thorough knowledge of their language, the value of a translation of the plays of Aristophanes will be gratefully acknowledged.

Scarcely any event in ancient history so teems with useful instruction, is so admirably adapted to initiate the youthful statesman or legislator, and has at the same time the advantage of being so authentically narrated, as the Peloponnesian war. With this view the great work of Thucydides has always been studied by the most accomplished public characters: and to understand the Athenian government at this period, we cannot do better than follow the advice of Plato to the tyrant of Sicily, to consult the plays of Aristophanes.

These considerations form a strong collateral inducement, without which very few, from a mere attachment to the drama, would be led to the perusal of these ancient pieces. The occasion and scope of the theatrical exhibitions of Athens sufficiently account for the decay of their interest. Representations of general character are independent of national and local variations; and in proportion as these form the staple of the drama, its victory over time is secured: but the effusions of party and personal satire, the ridicule of habits, opinions, and sects, some faint traces whereof alone remain, and which we know rather by name than quality, can have little more attraction *per se*, and by direct impression, than the festivals of Bacchus, and the vintage, which are said to have given them birth. Both comedy and tragedy in the time of Aristophanes retained many characteristics of their rude originals. The comic chorus indulged much in lampoonery and grimace, while the tragic interlude was mainly devoted to the praises of the gods and heroes: The whole exhibition rather resembled a modern opera than a play, as the chorusses sang and danced their parts, while the dialogue was pronounced in a loud

recitative. The magnitude of the theatres\*, and the difficulty of sustaining the voice at an extraordinary pitch without destroying its melody and cadence, rendered this necessary.

The plays of Aristophanes have been justly called political allegories, and such we may fairly suppose were most of the pieces of his time; so that it will be impossible to form a tolerable conception of these works without considering the state of the people of Athens at this period. The levelling principle which characterised this people, their taste for business, their commercial habits, their public assemblies, the access of every citizen to the national councils,—these peculiarities of their political and domestic habits, co-operating with intellectual qualities and with feelings and passions which the grand exhibitions of art, the harangues of orators, the tumultuary state of every thing within and without the city, the vicissitudes of war, and the agitations of hourly peril, kept always in exercise and upon the alert—all these circumstances so mixed the different classes together in interest, competition, and jealousy; made each so well acquainted with every other, and brought out folly and depravity in such bold relief, that satire, invective, and ridicule, could not but find a welcome reception among them.

The taste for satire grew more refined in its manner, but less chaste in its application as society advanced: and towards the decline of Athenian grandeur, as virtue and valour became objects of greater jealousy, the raillery of the theatre became more and more hostile to whatever was highest in merit. The absurdities of what was held to be the fabulous part of their mythology, deserved to be treated as it was; and without doubt much of their satire was meritoriously directed; but the perversion of it to the defamation of the greatest men which Greece had produced could have no tendency but to sink the estimation, and discourage the exercise of virtue. Every individual in Athens considered himself as a statesman or judge, being *immediately* concerned in public affairs, and as having an interest in public characters—a state of things which Aristotle calls the *αρχαρη δημοκρατια*; the experience of which induced that great philosopher to consider the agricultural as the best form of democracy,—*εχρει γαρ θγαζεσθων ζην, ε δυναται δε σχολαζειν*. Polit. l. iv. 6.

To such a people, therefore, the obvious and most grateful subjects of comedy were public men and measures; and to the skill and adroitness with which the task of ridiculing them was exe-

\* The number of persons assembled in the theatre sometimes amounted to 20,000. Plat. Symp. V. iii. p. 176, 175.

cuted, was their applause of the poet proportioned. The use of masks enabled them to caricature the persons of celebrated men, to represent them in ludicrous situations, and to burlesque their peculiarities. No citizen however dignified, however meritorious, or even however contemptible, if he afforded ridiculous points, was spared: he was delivered over to the merciless malignity of the people;—a people, too, it is to be remembered, among whom the ready mode of expulsion by ostracism prevailed.

One of the greatest instruments of exciting mirth among this laughter-loving people was parody and burlesque. Whatever passages in the heroic or dramatic poets were most familiar and most admired, admitted on that account of being most humorously travestied; and our ignorance of these allusions is one of the chief obstacles to our enjoyment of ancient comedy; for, from the specimens we have remaining, and have the means of comparing, no province of satire appears to have been more successfully cultivated. Not a subject which was capable of a ludicrous burlesque was untouched by the comic writers: the poetry of Euripides, and the politics of Cleon; the reveries and utopias of Plato, as well as the philosophy of Socrates, were alike exhibited under the metamorphosis of caricature. If the subject was merely allegorical, the same strain of pleasantry was preserved. The golden age, we learn, from some fragments in Atheneus, was attempted by Pherecrates and Cratinus. In that happy age\*, says the former, there was no need for slaves or workmen; the rivers rolled a delicious and nourishing liquid; torrents of wine fell from heaven in the form of rain; and man, seated beneath trees loaded with fruits, beheld birds ready dressed and seasoned flying around him, and requesting him to feast on them. That time, says Cratinus†, shall return, when, at my command, the table shall spread itself with delicacies, the bottle pour me out wine, and the fish half roasted turn on the other side and sprinkle himself with some drops of oil: the by-play of which wit was aimed at the indigent gentry of Athens.

The licentiousness of the stage did not stop at the ridicule of public men, but extended to their gods; nor did Bacchus himself escape, in whose honour the pieces were represented. But with whatever apathy and indifference the people and magistrates would allow their gods to be scoffed at and ridiculed, they were not always equally lax in the cognisance of libels more immediately touching themselves. Thus the poet Anaxandrides was condemned to die of hunger for changing the word *φύσις* in the following verses into *τάλις*.

\* Athen. vi. 258. Edit. Casaub.

† Athen. l. vi. p. 267. Edit. Casaub.

Ἡ πόλις εὐθαλὴ, ἢ νόμων ἕθεν μέλει\*.

And the ridicule of Alcibiades by Eupolis in his comedy of the "Drowned Man," brought the death of a drowned man upon himself.

No sort of composition is more the slave of the times than comedy, but this was more particularly true at Athens. The object of the poet being to get his piece represented at the Bacchic festivals; if he would entitle himself to success, his province was to follow, not to guide, the current of the popular taste. For this reason, to be striking was better than to be correct, and to be severe than equitable.

Such was the devotedness of the people of Athens to the drama, that on some occasions a great number of plays were exhibited on the same day to the same audience. The law † is well known, by which it was declared a capital crime for any man to propose that the money appropriated to dramatic representation should be diverted to the service of the war; and history suggests the observation, that in whatever way this phrenzy for public amusement manifests itself, whether as in Athens for scenic exhibitions, for the ludi circenses in Rome, the hippodrome of Constantinople, or the bull fights in Spain, in all it is decisively symptomatic of the distempered state of national character. The Athenians in the days of Aristophanes had been so familiarised to the most unmeasured and vilifying abuse of all public men and all acts of government, and their malignity had been so repeatedly feasted with an exposure of private character and infirmities, that nothing which was not highly seasoned could provoke their appetite. Thus, Magnes, who had so long reigned the popular favourite on the comic stage, as soon as age had lowered the spirit and truculent severity of his muse, was hooted from the stage, as we are told—

ὅτι τὸ σκωπτεῖν ἀκελεῖσθῃ.

Equit. 525.

It was under circumstances so unpropitious to the display of original genius that Aristophanes entered the lists as a candidate for comic fame, who, though apparently possessed of the constituent excellencies of an original poet, seems to have servilely copied, as far we can judge from the remains of the old comedy, with few variations, the models of his predecessors. His plays would now, since the principles of the drama have been more accurately defined, be denominated farces, and of the broadest kind. The plot is frequently happy in conception, though often extravagant in the detail; and is for the most part, from the carelessness of the poet, imperfectly executed. Few of the character,

\* Arist. Ethic. l. vii. c. x. Barnes in Vit. Eurip. † Ulpian Demost. Olinth. a.

can be said to be designed or drawn; they are distorted and traduced; his object being mirth rather than moral satire, the humour is often puerile, generally gross, always redundant; bringing into some suspicion the imputed refinement of the Athenian audience. But his diction is sprightly, and when not debased by the subject, polished and elegant. The cadence of no ancient poet is more mellifluous; and if we may judge by the example and success of Plato and Chrysostom; no one is better entitled to the study and imitation of those who are studious of the charms of eloquent expression. Upon the whole, we are forced upon the remark that the pictures which the comedies of the ancients exhibit of our fellow beings is mournful and degrading. Let it be matter of sober exultation, that among the blessings of the Christian religion are to be reckoned the just views it includes of the dignity of human nature, and of the real rights of men; its chastened tone of legislation and war, and its noble motives to mutual respect.

Such in general was Aristophanes, four of whose plays are now before us in an English dress. With three of them the public are well acquainted; the fourth is a new present from one of our universities. What we have above hastily remarked may serve to shew that a translator of Aristophanes has undertaken no easy task. Indeed the labour of the translator is rarely estimated as it deserves to be; and considering the discouragement and disappointment to which it is exposed, we owe much to him who with the skill of a master condescends to this humble department.

Genius, which loves to aim at perfection, can have but little recreation in a work in which it can propose to itself nothing but second praise; in which nevertheless it has to struggle with a band of difficulties that are of a description which no genius can subdue. It is a task with which the world is hard to be satisfied. To attract and please, present tastes and habits must to a certain degree be consulted, while yet the poor translator is not permitted to be unfaithful to his original. He is forced upon the alternative of repelling readers or offending critics—of dying a martyr to fidelity, or living a scandal to scholarship.

To the task of original composition belong whatever holds the highest place among the faculties of the mind; but the difficulty of translation does not consist in its especial demands upon the imagination, the judgment, or the memory, but in the equal tribute which it exacts from all the powers of the intellect—in the poise and equilibrium which it requires of all the faculties;—in its call for genius, but genius yoked to discretion,—in its call for prudence, but prudence informed with spirit; in short, in that rigour of its demands which expects an union of qualities rarely

combined;—ambition with moderate pretensions—emulation with obedience—freedom with caution—and vivacity with forbearance. Perhaps we may with confidence say, that a capital translator cannot be wholly destitute of original powers, while doubtless many men of original genius are without the qualifications of a translator: and if we look to the intellectual chemistry employed in the transfusion of thoughts and images from one language into another; if we consider that to represent with effect the pictures first produced in another's imagination, we must possess all the corresponding colours in our own, and that we must conceive fully to copy faithfully, we must acknowledge a merit in the accomplished translator peculiarly his own: we must admit that he finds and provides some of the materials with which he works; that he contributes as well as borrows; that he accompanies rather than follows his original.

The true test of good translation is the nice observation of the occasions which allow, and perhaps demand, a close adherence to the words of the original, and those which impose the necessity of using parallel idioms, or circuitous expressions. There are words in every language the exact meanings of which cannot be transplanted; there are also phrases which can neither be literally nor virtually translated. The accidental force which is communicated to words by those circumstances and incidents, those trivial localities which leave their impressions on a language long after they expire themselves, impart to certain phrases an untranslatable quality, an inherent virtue, that baffles imitation. Thus in some writers who are most intimately acquainted with the secret resources of their language, we find a delicacy which will not bear removal, a vivacity which dies in the handling, and those *αἰετὴ εἰρημνεῖα*, which can be expressed in no other forms or combinations. Where the translator comes into competition with these peculiarities, he must be content to be second best. A literal translation would, in such a case, be no translation. It will be his duty to search into the treasures of his own language for idiomatic expressions which convey a sort of parallel import. This is to emulate rather than to imitate, to represent rather than to interpret; but this he must learn to do, and to forbear to do, as occasion demands or forbids it. It is true that no perfection of intellect can remedy or supply the deficiencies of language, but the fault is often in ourselves when we blame the instruments with which we work. In many of our best specimens we must acknowledge a sufficient number of errors, for which no reason can be given but the false taste, ignorance, or pride of translators.

One of the commonest stumbling blocks of translators is the

concoit of improving upon their originals; this leads them into the widest departures from the meaning and spirit of their authors. In their rage for artificial decoration, they are but too apt to substitute a cold and lifeless enamel for the natural bloom of their prototype.

The translator should be sensible that it is a delicate and dangerous thing to tamper with a thought, under a notion of improving its effect. It must be left, indeed, to his discretion and feeling, for it is not in the compass of any general rules to define so dubious a right, or limit so precarious a liberty. But it can properly be exercised by those only, who by long acquaintance with their author's manner have learned to penetrate his thoughts, and detect in his language the secret operations of his mind.

These rules are in no case so important to be observed as where the translator's task is to import the wit and humour of an ancient author into a new idiom. Nothing is more rare than to see a flower of this kind survive the transplanting. The sources of humour lie so buried in the words, and adhere so closely to the manner, that it requires the nicest discrimination to detect and display it. The jest of the humourist lies often in his earnest, and his earnest in his jest, and it is among the commonest mistakes of a translator to interpret seriously what was jestingly meant, and to laugh out when his author only smiles severely. The literature of our country has, however, been enriched by valuable translations of Lucian and Plautus, two of the most humorous writers of antiquity; and to these we may certainly add the translation of the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, to which we shall now summon the reader's attention.

The fame of this comedy, in the original, is now so well established, that all criticism comes too late. The humour is extremely broad and farcical. An illiterate clownish man betakes himself to Socrates, who appears in this play as a character composed of the conjuror and philosopher, to be instructed by him how to sophisticate out of their just debts the creditors of his son Phidippides, whose extravagance, particularly in horse and chariot racing, had brought upon him a crowd of these unwelcome visitants. The dialogue between Strepsiades and Socrates is described with great characteristic force and humour, and the descent of the clouds as the attendants and council of the philosopher, but who assume the regular dramatic office of the chorus, is managed with very happy address, and argues considerable advancement in the machinery of the theatre, as does also the conflagration of the philosopher's house, both which were necessarily exhibited on the stage.

The ignorant credulity of Strepsiades, his introduction of his



son to Socrates, and the practical ill effects of the pupil's docility displayed in his outrageous conduct towards his own father, whom he beats, and undertakes to prove from the lessons he had imbibed his right so to do, are in the true spirit of comic satire; and we do not think, as far as we can be sure of the sense of the original, and the aim of the ridicule, that Mr. Cumberland has suffered any great portion of his author's excellence to escape his vigilant research and skilful delineation. The saturnalian freedom with which the poet tosses about his rude invectives and personalities among the greatest men of his country has filled this play with such a variety of familiar idioms, and particular appellations, that the difficulties of the translation must have been extreme: and it is impossible enough to admire the force and fidelity, the exactness and freedom of the English parallel, for so it deserves to be called. The scene of the aspirant in the truckle bed, and the philosopher waiting for the productions of his brain, is extremely pleasant in the original, and we should have judged it scarcely possible to be adequately represented in another language; but the translator has done it so happily, that we lament our want of room for an extract of the whole passage. Where all, indeed, is so truly excellent, to select is a task of difficulty. The simplicity of Strepsiades in his boasts of the early prognostics of genius in his son, when he introduces him to Socrates, is very amusing, and the English Aristophanes has rendered it happily.

“*Streps.* Come, never doubt him;  
 He is a lad of parts, and from a child  
 Took wonderously to dabbling in the mud,  
 Whereof he'd build you up a house so natural  
 As would amaze you, trace you out a ship,  
 Make you a little cart out of the sole  
 Of an old shoe, mayhap, and from the rind  
 Of a pomegranate, cut you out a frog,  
 You'd swear it was alive. Now what do you think,  
 Hath he not wit enough to comprehend  
 Each rule both right and wrong?”

We must allow ourselves to give another extract from this exquisite translation. It is part of the address of Dicaeus the personator of justice in the allegorical contest for the youth Phidippides after the manner of the choice of Hercules, in which it is the object of the author, as Mr. Cumberland observes, “to bring before his audience, the question between past and present education in full discussion; comparing the principles of the schools then existing with the pure and moral discipline of former times,” and in which the chorus performs so just and important a part as a judge between the contending parties.

" *Dicaeus*. Yet so were trained the heroes that imbued  
 The field of Marathon with hostile blood ;  
 This discipline it was that braced their nerves,  
 And fitted them for conquest. You, forsooth,  
 At great Minerva's festival produce  
 Your martial dancers, not as they were wont,  
 But smothered underneath a tawdry load  
 Of cumbrous armour, till I sweat to see them  
 Dangling their shields in such unseemly sort  
 As mars the sacred measure of the dance.  
 Be wise therefore, young man, and turn to me,  
 Turn to the better guide ; so shall you learn  
 To scorn the noisy forum, shun the bath,  
 And turn with blushes from the scene impure.  
 Then conscious innocence shall make you bold  
 To spurn the injurious, but to reverend age  
 Meek and submissive, rising from your seat  
 To pay the homage due, nor shall you ever  
 Or wring the parents' soul, or stain your own.  
 In purity of manners you shall live  
 A bright example ; vain shall be the lures  
 Of the stage wanton floating in the dance,  
 Vain all her arts to snare you in her arms,  
 And strip you of your virtue and good name.  
 No petulant reply shall you oppose  
 To fatherly commands, nor taunting vent  
 Irreverent mockery on his hoary head."

The next piece in this republication is the *Plutus*, which, among its other attractions, is interesting as the only specimen we have of what many of the historians of the drama call the middle comedy. Satire, which when decent in its demeanour, just in its object, and not malignant in its temper, is doubtless a public good, had now declined into extreme licentiousness.

" *Donec jam srevus apertam*  
*In rabiem verti cœpit jocus, et per honestas*  
*Ire domos impune minax. Doluere cruento*  
*Dente laccessiti ; fuit intactis quoque cura*  
*Conditione super communi :—*

Hence

————— Lex

*Pœnæque lata, malo quæ nollet carmine quenquam*  
*Describi—*

This law was one of the first acts of the new government which the distresses of the Peloponnesian war and the anarchy of the times forced upon the Athenians. The prohibition of naming the persons against whom the play was levelled, which had been the practice of the old poets, (*Hor. Sat. 1. 4.*) main-

tained a shew of decency indeed, but did not at all qualify the virulence of the satire. Whether it was in consequence of this law, or that age had somewhat chastened the spirit of the poet, the *Plutus* of Aristophanes is the least exceptionable (though far from being unexceptionable) of all his productions. The subject is allegorical, and is equally happy in design and execution. As Addison in the *Spectator* (No. 464.) has given an account of it, we will, to avoid the charge of temerity, refer our readers to that miscellany.

The version of this play is said to have been made by the author of *Tom Jones*. It is without grace or spirit, or even the praise of correctness, of which any one may satisfy himself by a cursory collation with the original. The notes we think few will have stomach to peruse, though one has been found tasteless enough to republish them. A detail of the pitiful squabbles of Madame Dacier and the hero of the *Dunciad*, (p. 146.) may have appeared to some a worthy commentary on Aristophanes; for our parts we are of opinion, that public morals and the rights of literature authorize us to expect, that under the pretext of trumpery annotations to Aristophanes, the British press should not be polluted with an index of obscenity. (See pages 165, 216.) A judicious selection and correct version of the emendate Scholia on Aristophanes would be a work of considerable service to the students of antiquity; and if this task be too laborious, let the future annotator (if this business of translation is to be prosecuted) take Mr. Dunster, whose labours we will next consider, as his guide.

The play of the *Frogs*, for such is the title given to the piece from a ludicrous scene in which that amphibious *βιλιωνον γενος* ravish our ears with the music of *βρεκεκεκεξ, κοαξ, κοαξ*, was composed with a view of lowering Euripides in the public esteem, by shewing his inferiority to Æschylus; and this is to be done by a solemn trial of their respective poetic talents, before the most equitable tribunal in the shades. The plot of this play is not uniform. Aristophanes was prepared at any time cheerfully to sacrifice its unity and consistency for a sally of pleasantry. It seems collaterally to aim at a general satire of the dramatic writers of that time, whom the poet appears to compare to frogs, and their compositions to croakings.

Bacchus, in whose honour plays were exhibited in Greece, disgusted at the wretched tragedies performed at his festivals, is represented as descending to Hades to bring back a good poet. The poltroonery of Bacchus and voracity of Hercules were standing subjects of Attic mirth. The god of the vintage is therefore brought upon the stage covered with the Luvian hide, and holding the Herculean club, jesting in a very contemptible way

with the slave Xanthias, who accompanies him in his expedition, seated on an ass, and weighed down under a heavy burthen. The object seems to have been to ridicule certain poets, who to please the lowest of the rabble occupied the stage with such insipid drollery. Arrived at the door of Hercules, Bacchus is made to exhibit terrors which ill become the hero whose uniform he wears. These, however, subside after the first congratulations had passed. After some mutual banter, Bacchus acquaints his brother god with the object of his visit, which, he says, is to recover Euripides from the shades. This proves a favourable opportunity for the author to abuse some obnoxious poets, and Bacchus's bad taste is exposed in the approbation he expresses of some faulty lines of Euripides. As Hercules had made so successful a visit to the shades, Bacchus solicits some directions for the conduct of his journey, as where he might find good cheer and *καρπεις ολυγιστοι*: whence we may infer that the night accommodation of Greece was not much better than that to be found in the country of Cervantes. Hercules informs him that the shortest passage is by hanging, hemlock, or precipitation from the towers of the Caramicus; but to all these Bacchus takes many exceptions, and begs an account of the way he had himself proceeded; which, accordingly, Hercules details in a style of mock solemnity, to ridicule the fictions of the poets and philosophers who had given so terrible an account of the other world. After their godships had parted we are introduced to the most singular *dramatis persona* that ever appeared upon the stage;—a dead man on his journey to the same place whither Bacchus was bound, bargaining for the carriage of Xanthias's burthen; a tolerable specimen of Attic farce. At length Bacchus and his attendant embark with Charon, and are each compelled to take an oar. The awkwardness of the god, and his rage at the vocal performers in the Styx, doubtless excited the mirth of his brother *celestials* among the audience. Having passed through the toils and perils of this gloomy navigation, the strangers are ushered into the presence of the bands of the initiated. Perhaps in no part of his works has Aristophanes given us a finer specimen of his poetic talents.

No adverse event had yet befallen our travellers, but Bacchus was now called upon to support the character he had assumed. Æacus meets him; and mistaking him for Hercules, threatens him with vengeance for carrying off Cerberus, and retires for assistance. The heart of the god fails within him; he sees no means of escape but by inducing Xanthias, by promises of immunity from future ill treatment, to change dresses. With this Xanthias, after some hesitation, complies, and while strutting in his new honours, a message is brought by a maid from Proserpine inviting Hercules

to partake of a delicious entertainment which her mistress had prepared. This the new Hercules prepares to do, and becomes imperious in his turn; but the thought of such luscious fare waiting within determines Bacchus to brave all danger, and Xanthias is compelled to resume his menial station. Scarcely is the resumption made when the news of Hercules's arrival collects those unhappy hostesses and purveyors of good things, whose larders had suffered so much by Hercules's former visit. The hope of speedy revenge wings the tongues of these thrifty housewives, their wrongs are enumerated, and the slave maliciously inflames their fury. Bacchus thinks his condition more desperate than before, and himself, unless he can succeed in his former expedient of substitution, utterly undone. Xanthias is not now so easily persuaded as before; and it is not till after many caresses and promises that he submits to accept the perilous dignity. Invested again with the lion's skin and armed with the ponderous club, he had scarcely time to receive an exhortation from the chorus before Æacus returns. Here a most ludicrous scene ensues: the metamorphosed slave having been presented by his master for examination by torture, asserts his divinity. Xanthias charges him with imposture, and proposes the discipline of flagellation as the test of their claims to celestial dignity, immortal natures being impassible. These candidates for the thong are accordingly subjected to its severity, and they both make such ingenious excuses for the interjections it extorts, that the judge of hell for once is puzzled, and refers the matter to the decision of Pluto, whose province more properly he deems it to be to determine pretensions to divinity.

This matter we are to presume was soon settled within, as we next find Æacus and Xanthias discussing the merits of their masters and the politics of the lower regions. The conversation is, however, interrupted by the high words between Euripides and Æschylus. The chorus introduces the contest by a very happy parody of the style of the two rival poets, which, considering the extreme difficulty of the task, we think the translator has very creditably succeeded in preserving. After this prelude flourish, the poets themselves, accompanied by Bacchus, appear upon the stage. Euripides reproaches Æschylus with his affected and pompous manner of introducing the heroes of his pieces, the turgid inflation of their language, and the extravagance of their thoughts. This Æschylus retorts by ridiculing the meanness, poverty, and immoral character of those whom Euripides makes the leading personages of his dramas. Bacchus proposes an examination of their respective productions, and offers to sit as moderator. To this Æschylus consents, first remarking that the contest was not on an equal footing. My poetry, says the indignant

bard, survived me; his died with him, and he will avail himself of it. In this he alludes to the memorable decree made by the Athenians, that the tragedies of Æschylus should be performed after his death. Before the rivals enter the lists, the god advises an invocation of the divinities whom they severally worship, which gives the poet an opportunity to aim a satirical stroke at the disciple of Socrates.

Æschylus addresses Ceres:

“ O Ceres! thou that nourishest my soul,  
O make me worthy of thy mysteries!”

But Euripides, hesitating, is pressed by Bacchus.

“ Now offer thou thy incense.—

“ *Eurip.* Pray excuse me;—

The gods I worship are of other kind.

“ *Bacch.* Gods of thy own, of some new coinage truly?

“ *Eurip.* Ev'n so.

“ *Bacch.* At least prefer thy vows to them.

“ *Eurip.* Thou art that feedest me, and giv'st my tongue  
It's pliancy!—and thou intelligence!

And ye sagacious powers of penetration!

Aid me, where'er I point my criticisms,

To drag his various faults to public view.”

The poets then recite different passages in their plays, and which each respectively criticise with much severity and acuteness; but these criticisms, though always pointed, and not unfrequently just, it would be tedious here to particularise. We shall only extract some few passages in which Æschylus defends his plays from the objection of his adversary, that his subjects were extravagant, and his diction tumid and unnatural.

“ Inform me, then, on what account it is

The poet claims superior admiration?

“ *Eurip.* Genius and skill; when they're employed to make  
Men better members of society.

“ *Æschyl.* But if, neglecting this, o' th' contrary,

Thou hast the good and virtuous corrupted,

Say what the punishment thou meritest.

“ *Bacch.* To go to hell, 'twere wrong t' apply to him.

“ *Æschyl.* Consider how thou first receiv'dst them from me

In stature tall, in disposition noble,

Not skulking from their duty, nor yet vers'd

In market tricks, as now, nor rogues, nor villains,

But breathing swords and spears and pluming crests,

Helmets and greaves, and arm'd with sev'nfold souls.

“ *Eurip.* This might produce more harm than good.

“ *Bacch.* This fellow

Will surely stun me talking of his helmets.

" *Eurip.* How mad'st thou them so valiant? By what means?  
 " *Bacch.* Inform us, *Æschylus*; but tell it calmly.  
 " *Æschyl.* By making war the subject of my drama.  
 " *Eurip.* Of which, I pray?  
 " *Æschyl.* The seven chiefs 'gainst Thebes,  
 Which no one ever saw perform'd, but felt  
 Himself inspir'd with military ardour.  
 " *Eurip.* In this thou didst the state an injury,  
 By giving warlike ardour to the Thebans;  
 Be therefore stripes thy only recompense.  
 " *Æschyl.* 'Twas in your power to train yourselves in arms,  
 As well as they; but you inclin'd not to them.—  
 There, when my Persians I exhibited,  
 I taught the people 'gainst their enemies  
 To burn for conquest, with consummate skill,  
 Gracing that matchless work.  
 " *Bacch.* 'Twas entertaining  
 To hear the choros in such solemn strains  
 Clapping their hands, evoke Darius' ghost.  
 " *Æschyl.* Such subjects best become the poet's song.—  
 Pluck we the colours of each generous bard,  
 From the first dawn of poesy we find  
 Instruction ever was their end and aim.  
 Orpheus the holy myst'ries and the guilt  
 Of slaughter taught; *Museus* oracles  
 And healing arts, *Hesiod* agriculture,  
 Harvest, and seed time: the god-like *Homer*  
 Whence gained he honour and superior fame,  
 But that to noblest themes he tun'd his song,  
 Heroic ardour, military skill,  
 And all the various use of arms?"

The characters in the pieces of *Euripides*, he says, were faulty objects of imitation: this attack is attempted to be repelled on the ground that they were not fictitious.

" Did I not paint that story as I found it!

" *Æschyl.* E'en so;—but surely it behoves a poet  
 Rather to hide a tale of infamy,  
 Than to produce and publish it abroad.  
 Children, indeed, are taught by schoolmasters;  
 The poet is the riper youth's preceptor.  
 It therefore much behoves us that our dramas  
 Be so compos'd as to afford instruction."

Then follows an examination of the prologues. *Euripides* takes many quibbling and hypercritical exceptions to the language of his antagonist, which *Æschylus* retorts by undertaking to shew that the prologues of *Euripides* are so uniformly and arti-

cially composed, that a concluding hemistich may be affixed to one of any three lines, which shall both preserve the measure and sense of the passage. In this he most ludicrously succeeds; but this scene, together with the next in the chorusses (though most happily rendered by Mr. Dunster), we must pass over to give the trial by the scales.

"*Æschyl.* Now to the scales I'll bring him, which alone  
Our merit in the drama shall determine,  
And prove the weight of our expressions.

"*Bacch.* Come!  
I'll weigh the skill of these distinguished poets  
With the exactness of a cheese-monger.

• "CHORUS.

"Genius and labour often join;  
By what's this new and strange design,  
The wildest folly e'er conceiv'd?  
The tale I'll swear I'd not believ'd  
If any one had told it me;  
For so improbable 'twould seem,  
The whole a fiction I should deem  
Of merriment and pleasantry.

"BACCHUS, ÆSCHYLUS, EURIPIDES.

"*Bacch.* Now stand ye round the scales.

"*Æschyl.* Behold me ready.

"*Bacch.* Let each produce his verse; but be ye sure  
Ye let not go the scales 'till I cry 'cuckoo!'

"*Æschyl.* We are prepar'd.

"*Bacch.* Approach the scales, and speak.

"*Eurip.* Ah! would to Heav'n the Argo ne'er had flown.—

"*Æschyl.* Ye fertile meads lav'd by Spercheus' stream!—

"*Bacch.* 'Cuckoo!'—There, let them go. *Æschylus'* scale  
Outweighs the other much.—

"*Eurip.* How happens that?

"*Bacch.* 'Tis owing to his putting in a river,  
Moist'ning his words, as do the wool-staplers,  
Who wet their wool to make it weigh the heavier;—  
Thy verse was but a flying one.

"*Æschyl.* Once more  
Let him produce a line 'gainst one of mine.

"*Bacch.* Take hold again.

"*Eurip.* I'm ready.

"*Bacch.* Let us hear.

"*Eurip.* Persuasion hath no spring but eloquence.—

"*Æschyl.* 'The only power that scorns our gifts is death.—

"*Bacch.* Away with them, away! 'Tis his again—

He put in death, the heaviest of all his.



- “*Eurip.* Persuasion I; my verse most excellent.  
 “*Bacch.* Persuasion’s a light word of trifling import;  
 Seek, then, another of superior weight,  
 Of strength and bulk to weigh the balance down.  
 “*Eurip.* Where can I meet with such a one? Where  
 Find it?  
 “*Bacch.* Achilles threw two aces and a quatre.  
 Come on. There’s but one trial more remaining.  
 “*Eurip.* His right hand grasp’d a pond’rous iron spear.—  
 “*Æschyl.* ‘Chariot on chariot pil’d, and corpse on corpse.’—  
 “*Bacch.* Again he’s been too much for thee.  
 “*Eurip.* How so?  
 “*Bacch.* By throwing in two chariots and two corpses,  
 A weight a hundred slaves could scarcely bear.  
 “*Æschyl.* I’ve done with single verses; but let him,  
 Taking his wife and her Cephisopho,  
 His children and books with him, get i’ th’ scale;—  
 Two lines of mine shall weigh against them all.”

Bacchus still wishes to escape the invidious task of deciding the merits of two rival poets: but, being pressed by Pluto, he determines to abide by the answer they shall make to certain state questions: this enables him to insinuate some useful hints to the turbulent democracy of Athens.—Æschylus repeating the advice of Pericles to the Athenians to abandon Attica to the enemy, and to devote themselves to the improvement of their navy and marine, and to distress the Lacedæmonians and their allies by frequent descents, at length receives the crown of victory, and with Bacchus reascends *dias in luminis oras*, the chorus chanting before him a composition from his own poetry.

We think Mr. Dunster has proved himself, by his poetry and annotations, a worthy successor of Cumberland; and we hope he may be induced to supply the desideratum of a complete version of the poet. We know of no one who can do it better.

In speaking of this and the other plays of Aristophanes, we cannot withhold a remark, in which, perhaps, every one who is not dead to moral impressions has anticipated us, namely, that great, indeed, must be the depravity of that people who could delight in, or even tolerate a ridicule upon that which is dearest to virtuous men,—the objects of their worship, the sanctions of their religion, and the authority of their rulers, their teachers, and their priests. These were indiscriminately vilified and scoffed at, till all moral distinctions were lost in one overwhelming flood of scorn and banter. Some ingenious theorists have defended the drama as a school of moral instruction; but what effect can they suppose it to have produced in that city where the tragic scenes were immediately produced by the comedy, and

whose inhabitants felt it no shock to their sensibilities to be called on to laugh at those images of sorrow, at which their tears had hardly ceased to flow. The tragedy of the *Eumenides* had assembled all those terrible descriptions of a future state, with which the sublime imagination of *Æschylus* supplied him; and the performance we know was exhibited with every terrific accompaniment. This scene *Aristophanes* has travestied in his picture of the infernal regions: and *Bacchus*, whom, at these festivals, the Athenians pretended to worship, was made the laughing-stock of every mechanic and rustic. Disobedience (p. 72.) and adultery (p. 83.) are justified by the example of *Jupiter*, and *Phidippides* urges the argument, afterwards so famous in the mouth of *Terence's Cheræa*,

*Ego homuncio hoc non facerem.*

The inert deities of *Epicurus* were surely greater blessings to society than such contagious examples invested with the radiance of divinity. In the *Plutus* and *Clouds* they are represented as descending to earth to implore a continuance of the sacrifices, lest a famine should be felt in heaven. We have the story of *Bel's* priests pilfering the offerings in a slightly altered form in the *Plutus* (p. 214).

The attacks on public men were as indecent as the manner was pusillanimous. *Euripides* is incessantly reproached for the meanness of his parentage; and the opprobrious and malicious treatment of *Cleon*, however it may display the wit, does little credit to the disposition of our comic poet. But the exorbitance of such sarcastic drollery was, in some measure, its own remedy. "The multitude laughed at the expence of *Cleon* (says *Barthelemi*), as in other pieces of the same author they had laughed at the expence of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*; but when they left the theatre they ran to prostrate themselves before *Bacchus*, *Hercules*, and *Cleon*."

The remaining play in this volume is the *Birds*, translated by a member of one of the universities, in what he calls a comico-prosaic style. Comic it may be for its rusticity and meanness, and prosaic we believe no one will deny it to be, even to the extreme of baldness. We confess we cannot summon nerve enough to attempt an abstract of this play: it has always been considered the most tedious, as it is the longest of its author, but the English dress it now wears renders it irresistibly repulsive. The translator professes to be a member of one of the universities: it would be but justice to that to which he does not belong, to let it be known to which he does. His attic words and phrases, "bung up," "work us," "tip you," "dash

it," "I am dished," and others of this tribe are, we presume, the proper specimens of what he pleasantly calls his comico-prosaic style. We shall detain our readers no longer by our observations on the performance. We really feel ourselves in low company. To decide upon the correctness of the version, we must leave to those who possess phlegm enough to compare it with the original throughout. Besides the spiritless and imperfect representation of the author's meaning, we think few critics will allow the translator the raw merit of literal fidelity who will take the trouble of comparing the translation with the original through the four or five first pages.

We shall conclude these very hasty strictures with expressing a hope that we may shortly be called upon to examine a version of the plays of Aristophanes, still untranslated, including the *Birds*, by a member of the university to whom we can conscientiously offer the humble meed of our applause.

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ART. XXIV.—*The Geographical and Historical Dictionary of America and the West Indies, containing an entire Translation of the Spanish Work of Colonel Don Antonio de Alcedo, Captain of the Royal Spanish Guards, and Member of the Royal Academy of History, with large Additions and Compilations from modern Voyages and Travels, and from original, and authentic Information.* By G. A. Thompson, Esq. In five Vols. Printed for the Author, and published by James Carpenter, Bond-street. London. 1812.

THE revolutions of the 19th century, so frequent in occurrence and so vast in their consequences, are acknowledged to have exceeded the bounds of the most sanguine calculation. Which of our readers, when we lately drew his attention to a partial consideration of the great changes taking place in the new world, had anticipated the great success of the avengers of oppressed liberty in the old? The sword which has been drawn against despotism seems to be drawn for the last time, and the cause of man appears at length to be that in which some, at least, of the rulers of mankind are sincerely engaged.

In this awful and interesting moment of suspense, we shall again bestow a few pages of observation on the continent of America, which, from the time of its first discovery to the pre-

sent moment, has never presented an attitude so striking, or a character so worthy of attention. The progressive civilization of that vast continent, as involving the fate of so large a portion of the human species, is sufficient of itself to rivet our regard; but the late revolutions of the parent country have in a manner approximated those distant realms, and made their politics a part of our own. Long before the artifice and perfidy of the French cabinet had succeeded in trepanning the royal family of Spain, Spanish America had been the object of its enterprising schemes. Had the navy of France been triumphant, neither the rights of nations, nor moral ties, would have restrained her from seizing on the riches and territories which invited her cupidity. But the noble and forbearing policy of the English cabinet, like the Christian spirit which bears meekly and dares greatly, suffered the opportunity of aggrandizement at the expence of honour and justice to pass unheeded, while her protecting arm was raised in defence of the peace, the liberties, and the happiness of mankind. Spain exists but in her American possessions: England has at least negatively guaranteed them to her. The Spanish hierarchy was threatened to be destroyed by the armies of France: England has spilt her best blood in protecting it from their outrage. This has been her honest and upright policy; and whatever may be the impression it has made on the Spanish nation, it is of no small importance to the maintenance of her national vigour, to rank high and stand clear in her own estimation. Her sacrifice of treasure and life in the support of the Spanish monarchy will deserve something, her forbearance more; because when it overcomes the temptations of power, it is the most costly present which a nation has to bestow. In return for such forbearance, to find herself at the restoration of the monarch shut out from those colonies; from the very fields on which she has won these victories over herself, and raised such chaste memorials to her honour, would tend greatly to banish from the intercourse of nations those principles of fairness and justice which are as incumbent on man in his collective and corporate as in his social and individual character. In South America we are sure her magnanimity must be felt and honoured, and will be remembered with admiration, when a temporary pressure and the influence of a crisis shall have ceased to dictate.

The remarkable scantiness of connected information on American statistics till within the last twenty years every man has lamented who has been sensible of the importance of the subject. One grand attempt, indeed, was made in the year 1786, to break through the system adopted by the Spanish government, of en-

veloping in mystery and darkness every thing that related to her transatlantic possessions.

Whether the intention of Alcedo's work was not rightly understood, when he claimed and actually received so many important communications from that government on the subject he was illustrating, or the danger of promulgating such information was only distinctly felt after the publication of his book, we are not able fully to determine; though, judging from circumstances, the latter seemed the more probable case, as the entire suppression of the work was enjoined almost as soon as it appeared: one thing is sure, that the literary world is much indebted to the liberal and enlightened views of Alcedo. But for his exertions, sufficient information concerning those countries would still be wanting as a foundation for any such superstructure as that projected by the translator; and but for the solicitude with which the emissaries (if we may so call them) of the French government have investigated the resources of the Spanish colonies, he would not have been enabled to have procured the new materials which were necessary for the perfection and symmetry of the design.

The plan of Alcedo's dictionary was, it seems, to collect all the information relative to those countries down to the time of its appearance in the year 1786, and it appears to be the intention of the present publication to add to it, in its English dress, whatever may have appeared worthy of being recorded since that period down to the present day. In its Spanish form it was certainly not free from many gross errors, some original\*, and others arising from the numerous political changes that had taken place since the date of its publication: but it was still the best digest of whatever related to America, and constituted, as we know, the *vade-mecum* of an eminent character †, all the objects of whose life were invariably blended with the concerns of that continent.

Alcedo was by birth an American, and had risen to the rank of colonel in the Spanish guards when his book first made its appearance. We regret that we are not enabled to gather from

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\* The original errors were almost all geographical. We are informed that the whole of the translation has undergone the review of Mr. Arrowsmith, so that it is to be hoped the English work will be rendered perfect in this respect. We learn also from the advertisement, that Mr. A. who has likewise corrected and added to his maps from the Dictionary as it issued from the press, is forming an *Atlas*, which will constitute an useful supplement to the work.

† General Miranda.

his preface any clue to his own biography. It is an extremely modest production, and well calculated to disarm the critic of all superfluous severity. We know nothing of his military prowess, but of his industry and perseverance in literary pursuits we have sufficient evidence. His dictionary was, as we have observed, published in 1786: he had been, according to his own statement, engaged in its compilation during a period of twenty years.

When Joseph Buonaparte first entered Madrid, Alcedo declared himself, it is believed, without any reserve, a friend to the French party; and we have good reason for thinking, that he is now enjoying a considerable confidential agency under the French government. The fact, if true (for we do not vouch for it), is of importance, as it makes for the authenticity of his work more than any encomium that we might be inclined to bestow upon it. But, if our opinion might be offered on the subject, we should say, that he was of all men the most likely to ingratiate himself with the French cabinet, because of all men the best enabled from his industry and experience to give the fullest and most authentic information. The talent and industry manifested in the execution of his design were likely to have exhibited themselves to greater advantage in any country than in Spain, and the intriguing and watchful policy of France was early in discovering an engine so calculated to scatter the seeds of revolution over the soil of America.

To say nothing of the morals of those characters who set up the complicated machinery of the French revolution, or of those who have since directed its application with such pernicious success, it is pretty generally acknowledged that they have, with few exceptions, been men of very industrious habits and leading abilities; and who, probably not finding a field for fair and honourable exertion, have under the flimsy and audacious pretexts of rescuing mankind from slavery, and breaking the chains of tyranny and superstition, made war against the principles of morality, society, and humanity, the happiness of this world and the hopes of futurity.

We cannot be the friend of Alcedo if Alcedo was the friend of this detestable system. Let him, however, have the benefit of the palliation as far as it may extend, arising from his experience of the mis-government of Spain under its former rulers, and of whose ill-treatment he may have had just reason to complain.

That it has been the ardent wish of Buonaparte to revolutionize the Spanish colonies of America, or, in other words, to bring them *under his own system*, we have seen enough to convince us. Let us consider some of the steps he has already

taken towards the execution of his project. If we take a topographical survey of the country, we can find no part of it which (if not previously known and explored) has not been statistically examined, marked, measured, and probably designated by *Frenchmen*. We may be assured the ten years residence of Azara in the provinces of La Plata and Paraguay was not an object of indifference to the ruler of France.—Depons, who has given us a description of the whole of the northern coast of South America, (that part indisputably the fittest for invasion by an European enemy,) was confessedly the er-agent of the French government; nor is it ungenerous to suppose that even the Baron de Humboldt, with all his scientific enthusiasm, had somewhat qualified and medicated his philosophical energy with the seductive expedients of mere political speculation, in the task he so well executed in his statistical accounts of the kingdom of Mexico and Nueva España. The circumstances of the viceroyalty of Peru were less a matter of secrecy than were those either of La Plata, Venezuela, or Mexico; they were indeed constantly circulated in the periodical work called the *Peruvian Mercury* (*Mercurio Peruano*). If, then, we include the captainship-general and presidency of Chili, the history of which has been perspicuously and fully given by Molina, we cannot help perceiving the nature of the resources with which the busy policy of the French ministry have furnished themselves against the moment when it may suit their convenience to throw off the mask, and to turn the sword, yet reeking with the blood of the European, against the American Spaniard. One would wish, for the cause of humanity, that the deluded people of Spain would begin to look steadily at their own interests; that they would remember how precarious is their existence without the support of their transatlantic possessions; and would in good time understand that such support, in the present circumstances of the globe, can only be secured by admitting them to a full partnership in those rights and liberties, and moral improvements, for which they themselves are contending; by feeling a paternal interest in their general improvement, and by resolving to concede to them those privileges of commerce, which must be the first great step in this generous and politic revolution.

We lament to confess, however, that we are not sanguine on this head. We do not yet discern the approach towards this enlarged policy. We feel even ourselves to be as yet too much a subject of jealousy to old Spain, to think of her displaying a generous confidence towards her own dependencies in America. She would not resign herself to the suffocating embraces of France, but she may resign herself to the influence of a foolish and dis-

ceased apprehension of her safety and integrity, from a quarter on which experience and common sense ought long ago to have taught her to place a frank and noble reliance. Had the British cabinet been less nice in its feelings, or had an immediate and selfish interest been its object, she would assuredly have coalesced with the American patriots rather than with the old government of Spain. Had Spain gained wisdom by experience, and known how to estimate national character, the following are the plain and manly terms in which she might have expressed herself towards this country.

The Spanish government is aware of the difficulties which threaten her on all sides, at home and abroad. A foreign despot, having by treachery ensnared the person of her sovereign, would place his brother, a vassal usurper, upon her throne. The revolutionary spirit manifest in her colonies is too glaring to be concealed: they seem but to wait the assistance of some ordinary power to be disunited for ever from her control. She thanks England for the assistance she so generously proffers, and she accepts it with counter-emotions of kindness and goodwill. The expences of the warfare in which she is about to engage will be great; but Spain is, in her colonies, the natural producer of nearly six-sevenths of all the valuable metals in circulation in Europe\*. She is not unacquainted with the nature of the dissatisfactions prevailing in those interesting regions, and which for the few last years have contributed to lessen the produce of her mines; but she will adopt the readiest and most liberal methods to allay them; and she will lay open to the com-

\* M. M. de Montgallard, in his pamphlet (p. 63) on the situation of Great Britain in 1811, observes, "It is generally admitted by great writers, that all the specie, whether gold or silver, in circulation throughout the various states of Europe towards the end of the last century, may be estimated at about 450,000,000*l.*: we do not speak of articles manufactured from gold or silver, for the purposes of luxury, whether civil or religious. The quantity of metallic money increases annually in Europe, in the proportion of from one and a quarter to one and a half per cent. About one-seventh part of this quantity is furnished by the mines of Russia and Germany: the other six-sevenths are supplied by the mines of South America. But a part of this wealth imported from America is not struck into coin; it is reserved for the wants of luxury: this portion is more than a fourth, and nearly a third of the weight so imported."

The best received opinions of the best informed writers, Smith, Davenant, Meggins, Georgi, Campomanes, &c. are that the quantity of bullion annually derived from America and in circulation in Europe amounts to about three millions and a half sterling. But this might be tripled or quadrupled with little exertion and at a trifling expence. There are hundreds of mines which we read of in the Dictionary under our review, the working of which is stopped, because they are *aguada-ed*, or filled with water,—that is to say, which want in all probability the assistance of an engine of a ten or twenty horse power.



mercial enterprise of Great Britain (with proper limitations for the security of her government in America and at home,) the treasures which, by any improved method of engineering, or otherwise, those mines may be made to produce \*, and which in the present condition of the circulating media might so materially assist the common cause. She further proposes that commissioners, on the part of each country, be immediately employed in drawing up a tariff of laws and regulations for the establishment of a commercial intercourse most beneficial to the parties concerned, and to the exclusion of such as are not friendly to, or in alliance with them †.

If such language had been held out and acted upon, what might not now be the situation of Spain? We call her policy niggardly and short-sighted; because she never could have expected to succeed against the common enemy but through the commensurate aggrandisement of Britain, and should, therefore, have contributed all in her power to the common cause. She has, however, in no one instance met her with that open-hearted and dignified confidence she deserved. The honour and good faith of Britain will not allow her to infringe her compact with Spain, however expensive she has found it; but we tremble for

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\* The present Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his speech on the bullion question on the 13th May, 1811, seemed to have anticipated (p. 204,) some measure of this nature. "In considering (says Mr. N. Vansittart) difficulties in which the most prominent feature is the scarcity and want of the precious metals, it is natural to look for relief to the countries of which the precious metals are the native produce. The accounts which reach the public of the state of the Spanish colonies are too uncertain and contradictory to enable us to form any distinct judgment of their real situation; and I can, therefore, only hint in general terms to the members of the government, the propriety of enquiring, whether, in the way of loan, or some other mode, a supply of bullion may not be obtained from Mexico, or some other part of America. The Spanish government would be bound by the strongest motives of interest as well as gratitude to lend all the assistance in its power to the execution of such a plan; and its application might be exclusively directed, as indeed it would naturally be destined, to the support of the war in the Peninsula."

† The steps taken to promote a reconciliation between Spain and her colonies were perhaps thought necessary forerunners to the adoption of our proposed system of trade. That the disturbances should be first amicably settled we do not dispute, but we doubt whether, even upon the treaty of Seville, our interference as mediators in the manner in which it was conducted was judicious. It appeared to us that the appointment of the English commissioners would serve (such was, then, the just pride and jealousy of the Spaniards,) only to widen the breach. And, indeed, what should we think if Spain were to appoint a commission with this title? "Commissioners appointed to go out to the East Indies, to mediate between them and the mother country respecting a new mode of government, and also to take into consideration certain articles relative to the renewal of the company's charter." What would the merchants of Leadenhall-street say to this? and yet the offer would be as kind as that of the English government to the merchants of Cadiz.

that power when we consider the vacillation and the coldness of her measures. Unless her colonies be preserved to her by the assistance of her ally, she must eventually lose them: when was assistance ever effectual without the hearty co-operation of the party protected?

A vast flood of light has been thrown in upon us by the indefatigable exertion and research of the French authors. In casting our eyes over the three quarto volumes of Mr. Thompson's translation, already published, we find a large quantity of information borrowed from those sources, with the advantage of being much compressed as to bulk, and methodized as to arrangement. We might produce many extracts of Depons' Caraccas, translations of which are given in this Dictionary, if our time and room would have allowed us.

To give, however, some idea of the value of Depons' researches in the eyes of the French government, we will lay before the reader the following specimen.

"Index to additional information concerning Guayana.

"*Portuguesc, French, Dutch, and Spanish divisions.*—2. *Importance of Guayana.*—3. *Extent and population.*—4. *Political intercourse between the Dutch of Surinam and the Spanish of Guayana, &c.*

"2. *Importance of Guayana.*—It is difficult to find, throughout all the Spanish dominions, a settlement so favoured by nature and so little valued as Guayana. Its extent, which is estimated at one thousand leagues circumference, gives it the importance of an empire. The soil is so fertile that it would yield more produce than has been ever reaped from the whole of the other Spanish settlements. The rivers, which are received into the Orinoco in its course of five hundred leagues, and which exceed the number of three hundred, are so many canals, which would carry to Guayana the riches which they themselves have contributed to obtain from the earth. The Orinoco, which crosses it, and which is the post by which an enemy can penetrate into Venezuela, Barinas, and Santa Fé, can be defended only by Guayana, which is consequently the bulwark of the provinces which she alone can guarantee.

"It might well be asked, why a country, which industry would prefer to all others, is a desert?—and why such advantages for a military position have not hitherto more engaged the attention of government? To the first of these two questions it may be replied, that the Spanish population in America possessing a hundred times as much ground as they can cultivate, have no inducement to wander in quest of more. The Spaniard is a stranger to that insatiable ambition that cannot be satisfied but by the sweat of the brow; but, on the contrary, quickly attaches himself to the place, whether good or bad, where fate has placed him; nor can consent to abandon the spot where he has procured himself ease, and formed

connections, to run after comfort which can be procured only by fatigue, the very idea of which is enough to terrify him.—The second question can scarcely be answered but by adverting to the considerable expence that the fortifications and garrisons of Guayana would occasion, unless the government should rely on the difficulty and danger of the navigation of the Orinoco, that no nation would undertake the conquest of so forlorn a country, which is defended by its miseries better than it could be by arms.

“§ 3. *Extent and population.*—Spanish Guayana, from the mouth of the Orinoco to the Portuguese boundaries, occupies a space of more than four hundred leagues. Its breadth, in the first eighty leagues to the east, is not more than thirty leagues towards the south, where it is bounded by the Dutch settlements, but afterwards the breadth increases to more than one hundred and fifty leagues.—Over this immense surface there are but 34,000 inhabitants of every condition and colour, of which 19,425 are Indians under the conduct of missionaries, 6575 are in the capital, and the remaining 8000 are in the villages. The population is thickest from the distance of fifty leagues from the sea to one hundred and thirty leagues up the Orinoco.”

“§ 4. *Political intercourse between the Dutch of Surinam and the Spanish of Guayana, &c.*—The Dutch have been thought to be much more vigilant and solicitous about the protection of their settlements in this quarter than the Spaniards; for the latter have no advanced posts on the frontiers of the former, whilst the Dutch have on the coast a body of guards, and occupy a fort called the Old Castle, at the junction of the river Mazurini with the Esequibo: they also keep an advanced guard of twenty-five men upon the river Curjuni. By means of these precautions, they are not only respected on their own territory, but they over-run with safety all the neighbouring Spanish possessions. They remove their limits whenever their interest invites them, and maintain their usurpation by force. The natural result of this is, that the Spaniards and Dutch live at Guayana not like very good neighbours. They reproach each other with injuries, some of which are very serious. The Spaniards pretend that the Dutch constantly encroach upon their territory, and respect no limits; that they destroy the Spanish trade to Guayana, by the contraband goods they introduce; that they continually excite the Coribes against them, and prevent their subjection by the advice they give them, and the arms with which they furnish them. The Dutch, on their part, impute to the Spaniards the desertion of their slaves, who meet at Guayana with a hospitable reception, with their liberty and the protection of the government. It is true, that the Spaniards have for a long time protected, more from a principle of vengeance than of humanity, all the slaves of Surinam who have sought an asylum among them. They have even peopled with these fugitives two very considerable villages upon the banks of the Cauca, where they receive likewise

the Indians who are forced by the Coribes to fly from the slavery of the Dutch."

In the additional matter respecting Mexico we find a newly methodized arrangement of the work of Humboldt. The condensed mass of information respecting the head seat of government of the Spanish colonies, and the statistical detail of its powers and resources, is what here principally merits attention.

But we must not suppose that the Spanish possessions form the only part of the American Dictionary which give it a claim to our notice, although present circumstances naturally attract our principal attention to this part of the work. The information on Canada is even more elaborate and diffuse than that of some of the Spanish colonies already quoted. In fact, the history of our own possessions in North America, together with an account of their productions, no less interesting to the merchant than to the statesman, is brought down to the present day, as far as we can judge, by authorities and from sources of information by no means of general access. The history and geography of the United States is evidently corrected and enlarged by the incorporation of almost the whole of the information contained in Morse. We could wish to have subjoined some extracts to shew the exactness with which the imports and exports of the West India islands have been arranged, especially as we are informed by the author in his advertisement, that they were made out by authority; but these, together with a minute consideration of many other parts of this voluminous production, we must, for want of room, refer to some future occasion. Scattered over the voluminous mass, we have observed inaccuracies of language and inelegancies of style,—some articles extended beyond all reasonable length, and others of such crippled disproportions as not merely to be destructive of symmetry, but to produce an appearance of mutilation.

What appears to be peculiar in Mr. Thompson's method, is, that in treating of the several kingdoms and governments of the new world, he has scarcely, in any instance, save in some of the British West India islands, followed an uniform plan of delineation. He, nevertheless, appears to shew in most cases a great fastidiousness in his method of arranging his information from the numerous authors from whom he may have derived it, and in many cases where he might have saved himself much labour by translating verbatim and in continuation, he has thought fit to annul the existing arrangement, and to serve up his communications after his own fashion and fancy. We must not call him a poacher, for he seizes with what we should denominate unblushing effrontery, and without any appearance of re-

remorse or compunction, as well on foreign as domestic publications,—complacently makes use of them whenever he thinks it expedient, as if they had been written solely and expressly with a view to his assistance; and seems to feel himself as safe and protected in his avocations as a waterman bearing the badge of some fire-office in the presence of a press-gang. He says, however, “I shall not fail, in justice to those writers to whom I am so much indebted, to give, in the preface, a list of my authorities, as well as of the original documents to which I may have had access.”—An avowal, by the by, with which if those writers be satisfied, it is not for us to be offended.

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ART XXV.—*Christian Morals.* By Hannah More. London: Printed for F. Cadell and W. Davies. 1813.

A SOLEMN subject and a beater path have but little attractions for the general reader. We have been corrected, admonished, lectured, reprov'd, and exhorted in so many ways; ingenuity has exhausted itself through so many channels in diffusing the precepts of virtue, and the lessons of Christian piety; and, after all, the Scriptures themselves so abound in persuasives to whatever is comprehended under the catholic appellation of charity, that we cannot, without a weariness which we feel remorse in avowing, listen to the dull propounders of undeniable truths many thousand years old, and many thousand times repeated. When things are in this state, nothing is more ardently to be desired than that these topics should fall into the hands of a real genius, capable of renewing their graces and attractions by immersing them afresh in the colours of heaven. For this task Mrs. Hannah More has shewn herself to be the person of all the writers of the present time best fitted and accomplished. If we are judged to be extreme in this eulogy, we desire to be informed where there is another instance of a writer, who, producing almost year after year volumes entirely devoted to the recommendation and illustration of Christian morality, has yet contrived to command an increasing attention from the public. Whenever she waves her wand, the barriers are levelled which protect folly and impiety from the invasion of truth, and an entrance is opened for religion into countries where she is, at least, sure to astonish the natives; and may, possibly, give a new

impulse towards inquiry and discovery. To a lady that, at an advanced age, can do this at her pleasure, we most willingly offer our humble tribute of admiration.

The title of the volumes now before us does not, in substance, differ from that of her last work; but if, by varying her phrases to express the same thing, she can deceive herself into writing again and again upon the same subject, and cheat the light-minded into reading her again and again for fashion-sake, we care not how often the pious fraud is practised. It seems probable that, had she the life of a patriarch, she could, without exhausting herself, mark each year of her existence with some fresh expansion and decoration of Christian verity and duty.

In a former number\* we have entered very fully into the merits of Mrs. More's work on "Practical Piety," and we then thought it reasonable to introduce some observations upon the flippant censures with which some of us reviewers, under the appearance of sober criticism, had thought fit to arraign her sentiments and her judgment, and the character of her piety. We doubted, at that time, whether it was sufficiently complimentary to this lady, to enter into any thing like a defence of her against persons who betrayed, in every line, their ignorance of the subject of which they were treating. It would be almost ridiculous to enter any more into a vindication of one whom nothing but the envy of her talents, and insensibility to her worth, has ever exposed to obloquy. Her works, which will live as long as literature lasts, are in array to defend every tenet of her religion, and every maxim of her morality against misrepresentation, mistake, or perversion; and, perhaps, there never was an author who stood less in need of comment, and less in dread of criticism. The real truth is, and we trust we shall have some credit for the confession, that Mrs. More may smile at all that any of us reviewers may say either for or against her. Declining as she is in age, and probably feeble in frame from frequent attacks of indisposition, were she yet in a frolic of intellectual supremacy to assume the office of reviewer, her vigorous pen would soon thin our ranks, and send one half of us starving to our desks and counters and pulpits for support; which, to carry our candour a step further, might not be much amiss, all things considered. If any thing like this should ever happen, if the 'sacred duty of insurrection,' when conducted by such a leader, should prove too strong for our usurped authority, we venture to hope that our early anticipation of it will prove our protection; and that in the re-

revolutionary convulsion of the critical empire, those may be the earliest victims who have been furiously valiant against "feeble old ladies," and have, on former occasions, threatened to "draw blood from them at every line," sparing neither sex nor age in the days of their sanguinary prosperity. If such a moment shall arrive, we presume to expect, that if any of these tyrants shall be found to belong to a profession of peace and piety, they will have no title to mercy on that account.

We shall comprize what we have to say upon this work on "Christian Morals" in a very few words. It is, at least, equal to the former work on "Practical Piety," (of which we gave a very detailed opinion in our second number,) in sprightliness, ease, and vigour of writing; and, to speak in the language of some of our sage newspaper-editors, we are very happy to observe that our suggestions and hints have been attended to in respect to the style which we ventured to accuse of being redundant in metaphor. The present work is greatly purer in that respect, especially the second volume, which is so thickly sown with spirited, acute, and wise observation, that we are really puzzled in the selection of extracts. What we are able to produce by way of specimen will be much less than the interests of our readers require, and we have only to lament that our room will not allow us to enrich this article as we could wish. We will, however, give no more of *ourselves*, that the reader may have more of the *author*. If any have ever imputed bigotry or a spirit of intolerance to this excellent lady, we conjure them to read and study with an earnestness of attention, short only of that which they are directed to bring to the sacred writings, the following passage.

"If we were to pursue prejudice through all its infinite variety, we should never have done with the inexhaustible subject. Observation presents to us followers of truth of a very different cast, though their uniform object be the same. These persons, while they sometimes seek her temple by different paths, are yet oftener kept wide of each other by words than by things. Whatever, indeed, be the separating principle, prejudice is always carried to its greatest height by the impatience of the too fiery on the one hand, and the contempt of the too frigid on the other. But both, as we observed, maintain their distance more by certain leading terms by which each is fond to be discriminated, and by an intolerance in each to the terms adopted by the other, than by any radical distinction which might fairly keep them asunder. Now we do not wish them to relinquish the use of their peculiar terms, because they either do, or should designate to their minds the most important characters of religion. The Christian should neither shrink from his own strong hold, nor treat with repulsive disdain him who

appears earnest in his approaches towards it, though he has not as yet, through some prejudice of education, sought it in a direct way. There are many terms, such as *faith* and *grace*, and others which might be mentioned, which subject the more advanced Christian to the imputation of enthusiasm and the charge of cant. These, however, are words which are the signs of things on which his eternal hopes depend, and he uses them, even though he may sometimes do it unseasonably, yet not as the Shibboleth of a profession, but because there are no others exactly equivalent to their respective meanings. In fact, if he did not use them when occasion calls, he would be deserting his colours, and be making a compromise, to the ruin of his conscience.

“But let him not in return fall too heavily on what are, to his ear, the obnoxious terms of his adversary. Let him not be so forward to consider the terms *virtue* and *rectitude* as implying heresies that must be hewn down without mercy; as substantives which must never find a place in the Christian's lexicon. They are not only very innocent but very excellent words, if he who utters them only means to express, by virtue, those good works which are the fruits of a right faith; and by rectitude, that unbending principle of equity and justice which designates the confirmed Christian. The abuse of these terms may, indeed, make the adversary a little afraid of using them, as the unnecessary multiplication of ordinary cases in which the more scriptural terms are pressed into the service, may make the less advanced Christian unreasonably shy of obtruding them.

“But why must we vilify in others what we are cautious of using ourselves in order to magnify what we chuse to adopt? We should rather be glad that those who somewhat differ from us, come so near as they do; that they are more religious than we expected; that if they are in error, they are not in hostility; or if seemingly averse, it is more to the too indiscriminate and light use of the opponent's terms, than to the sober reception of the truths they convey. Let us be glad, even at the worst, to see opposition mitigated, differences brought into a narrower compass. Let us not encounter us leaders of hostile armies, but try what can be done by negotiation, though never, of course, by concession in essentials. If the terms *virtue* and *rectitude* are used to the exclusion of *faith* and *grace*, or as substitutes for them, it may afford an opening for the pious advocate to shew the difference between the principle and its consequence, the root and its produce. He should charitably remember, that it is one thing for an honest enquirer to come short of truth, and another for a petulant caviller to wander wide of it. It is one thing to err through mistake or timidity, and another to offend through wilfulness and presumption. If the enquirer be of the former class, only deficient and not malignant, he may be brought to feel his deficiency, and is often in a very improveable state. It would, therefore, be well to let him see that you think him right as far as he goes, but that he does not go to the bottom.



If he professes 'to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts,' this is no small step. He may still require to be convinced that it is 'by the grace of God teaching him.' Here the two ideas expressed by your term of grace, and his of virtue, are brought into united action, with this difference; or, if you please, with this agreement, that yours being the cause, and his the effect, the Christian character attains its consummation between you. You must, however, endeavour to convince him, that though the greater includes the less, the reverse cannot be true; that faith and grace in the Christian sense involve virtue and rectitude; but virtue and rectitude, in the philosophical sense, desire to be excused from any connection with faith and grace. But the offence taken at terms creates hostility at the outset, blocks up the avenues to each other's heart, and leads men to be so filled with the things in which they differ, as to keep them in the dark as to the things in which they agree.

"The more strict disputant will, perhaps, continue to insist that no such terms as virtue and rectitude are to be found in any Evangelist. Granted.—Neither do we find there some other solemn words expressive of the most awful verities of our religion. The holy *Trinity* and the *satisfaction* made by the death of Christ, are not, I believe, in any part of the New Testament, expressed by these terms, which were first used some ages after in the Byzantine church. But can it be said that the things themselves are not to be found there? They are not only conspicuous in every part of the gospel, but make up the sum and substance of what it teaches.

"While each disputant, then, contends for his own phrases, let not the one suspect that grace and faith are the watch-words of enthusiasm; nor the other conclude that infidelity skulks behind virtue, and pagan pride behind rectitude. St. Paul expressly exhorts his converts to 'add to their faith virtue,' and if the inverted injunction was never given, it was not because faith was unnecessary where virtue previously existed, but because virtue, Christian virtue, never could have existed at all without previous faith. In enjoining virtue, the apostle, upon his own uniform principle, supposes the Christian to be already in possession of faith; this he ever considers the essential substance, virtue the inseparable appendage. Thus the divine preacher on the Mount, in his prohibition of an hypocritical outside, does not say, give alms, fast, pray; he concluded that his followers were already in the practice of those duties, and on this conviction grounded his cautionary exhortation, *when thou doest alms, when thou prayest, when thou fastest.* He taught them to avoid all ostentation in duties, to which he alluded as already established. Be it observed—by the Saviour himself no attribute is so constantly enjoined or commanded as faith. His previous question to those who resorted to him to be cured, was not if they had *virtue*, but *faith*; but never let it be forgotten, that as soon as the cure was performed, the man of faith was enjoined, as the surest evidence of his virtue, *to sin no more.*"

We confess we never heard the true practical and pervasive operation of religion more justly, and more discrimmatively, set forth than in the beautiful extract to which we again implore the attention of our readers of every class and denomination, of every age, and of either sex, for it speaks to all in words above rubies in their price and lustre.

“ Propriety and order, virtues in themselves, obtain for them the reputation of still higher virtues; all that appears is so amiable, that the world readily gives them credit for qualities which are supposed to lie behind, and are only prevented by diffidence from appearing. They carry on with each other an intercourse of reciprocal, but measured flattery; this serves to promote kindness to each other, and esteem for themselves. Self-complacency is rather kept out of sight by the delicacy of good-breeding, than subdued by religious conviction. They are rather governed by certain of the more sober worldly maxims, than by the strictness of Christian discipline. Though they fear sin, and avoid it, yet it is to be suspected they must carefully avoid those faults which are most disreputable, and that its impropriety has its full shape with its turpitude in their abhorrence.

“ As to religion, they rather respect than love it. They seem to intimate, that there is something of irreverence in any familiarity with the subject, and place it at an awful distance, as a thing whose mysterious grandeur would be diminished by a too near approach. Another reason why they consider religion rather as an object of veneration than affection, is because they erroneously conceive it to be an enemy to innocent pleasure.

“ If they are not perfectly good Christians, it is not because they are good Jews, for they do not ‘ talk of the words’ which were commanded under that dispensation, *when they sit in their house, and when they walk by the way, and when they lie down, and when they rise up.* Religion engages their regard somewhat in the way in which the laws of the land engage it, as something sacred, from being established by custom and precedent; as a valuable institution for the preservation of the public good; but it does not interest their feelings; they do not consider it so much a thing of individual concern, as of general protection. Of its establishment by authority they think more highly, than of its business with their own hearts; of its influence in maintaining general order, than of its efficacy in promoting in themselves peace and joy. In short, they carve out an image of religion not altogether unorthodox, but which, like the uninformed statue of the enamoured artist, though a beautiful figure, is without life, or power, or motion.

“ The more obvious duties being discharged, they are little inclined to think, that too considerable a portion of their time and talents are left at their own disposal. Large intervals of leisure are rather assumed to be a necessary repose and refreshment from right em-

ployments and benevolent acticas, and as purchased by their performance, than as having any specific application of their own. In short, things which they call indifferent, make up too large a portion of their scheme of life, and in their distribution of time.

“The class we are considering are apt to be very severe in their censures of those who have lost their reputation, while they are rather too charitable to those who only deserve to lose it. This excessive valuation of externals is not likely to be accompanied with great candour in judging the discredited and the unfortunate. Errors which we ourselves have had no temptation to commit, we are too much disposed to think out of the reach of pardon; and, while we justly commend innocence, we give too little credit to repentance.

“The misfortune is, they do not so much as suspect that there is any higher state of being, any degree of spiritual life, beyond what they have attained. They consider religion rather as a scheme of rules, than a motive principle, as a stationary point, than a perpetual progress. They consider its observances rather as an end, than a means. It is not so much natural presumption which roots them where they are; for, in ordinary cases, they are perhaps diffident and modest; it is not always conceit which prevents their minds from shooting upwards: it is the low notion they entertain of the genius of Christianity; it is the inadequateness of their views with its requirements; it is their unacquaintedness with the spirit of that religion which they profess honestly, but understand indistinctly. This ignorance makes them rest satisfied with a state which did not satisfy the great Apostle. While they think they have made a progress sufficient to justify them in believing they have ‘already attained,’ his vast attainments served only to prevent his looking back on them, served only to stimulate him to press forward towards the mark. Some good sort of people, on the contrary, act as if they were afraid of being different from what they are, or of being surprised into becoming better than they intended.

“Among the many causes which concur to keep them at a sort of determined distance from serious piety, a not uncommon one is, their happening to hear of the injudicious exhibition of religion in one or more of its high but eccentric professors: these they affect to believe, are fair specimens of the so much vaunted religious world. Instead of inquiring what is the true scriptural view of Christianity, that they may make nearer approaches to it, they are far more unreasonably concerned to recede, as far as possible, from persons who falsely profess to be its best representatives. They conclude, and, in some instances, but too justly, that the profession of these people has not transformed their hearts, but their connections; that they have adopted a party rather than a principle, and embraced an opinion, instead of a rule of conduct; and they observe that they are unjust in their enmities to other classes, in proportion to the violence of their attachment to their own. It

is no wonder if, with their partial view of the subject, they should be deterred, when they see these persons act as much below their system, as they themselves not seldom live above their own.

“But they do not act thus on other occasions. If they meet with an incompetent but blustering lawyer, or an unskilful but presumptuous physician, instead of calumniating the two learned faculties, instead of resolving to have no more to do with either, they avoid the offending individuals, and look out for sounder practitioners. Hence, indeed, it is to be remarked by the way, there arises a new and powerful motive, why all who make a high profession of religion should not only be eminently careful to exhibit an even and consistent practice, but should studiously avoid in their conversation all offensive phrases, and repulsive expressions; why they should not be perpetually intimating, as if *preaching the Gospel* was a party-business, and a business entirely confined to their own party.”

Let the reader now judge from what succeeds whether Mrs. More has or has not correct ideas of repentance and grace, and whether any unsound doctrines in respect to conversion, experiences, assurances, and sudden illumination, seem to have place in her sober yet fervent bosom.

“It is a proof that the Apostle considered conversion in general a gradual transformation, when he spoke of the renewing of the inward man *day by day*; this seems to intimate that good habits, under the influence of the Spirit of God, are continually advancing the growth of the Christian, and conducting him to that maturity which is his consummation and reward. The grace of repentance, like every other, must be established by habit. Repentance is not completed by a single act, it must be incorporated into our mind, till it become a fixed state, arising from a continual sense of our need of it. *Forgive us our trespasses* would never have been enjoined as a daily petition, if daily repentance had not been necessary for daily sins. The grand work of repentance, indeed, accompanies the change of heart; but that which is purified will not, in this state of imperfection, necessarily remain pure. While we are liable to sin, we must be habitually penitent.”

“A man may give evidence of his possessing many amiable qualities, without our being able to say, therefore, he is a good man. His virtues may be constitutional, their motives may be worldly. But when he exhibits clear and convincing evidence, that he has subdued all his inveterate bad habits, weeded out rooted evil propensities; when the miser is grown largely liberal, the passionate become meek, the calumniator charitable, the malignant kind; when every bad habit is not only eradicated, but succeeded by its opposite quality, we would conclude that such a change could only be effected by power from on high—we would not scruple to call that man religious. But, above all, there must be a change wrought in the secret course of our thoughts; without this interior improve-

ment, the abandonment of any wrong practice is no proof of an effectual alteration. This, indeed, we cannot make a rule by which to judge others, but it is an infallible one by which to judge ourselves. Certain faults are the effect of certain temptations, rather than of that common depravity natural to all. But a general rectification of thought, a sensible revolution in the secret desires and imaginations of the heart, is perhaps the least equivocal of all the changes effected in us. This is not merely the cure of a particular disease, but the infusion of a sound principle of life and health, the general feeling of a renovated nature, the evidence of a new state of constitution."

We lament that it is not in our power to extract the whole character of *Candidus* in the second volume, which, if Mrs. More had written nothing besides, would entitle her to be distinguished among the best and ablest supporters of Christian morality, religious discretion, and orthodox zeal.

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ART. XXVI.—*Outlines of a Plan of Finance proposed to be submitted to Parliament, 1813.*

*The Substance of the Speech of W. Huskisson, Esq. in the House of Commons, in a Committee of the whole House, upon the Resolutions proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer respecting the State of the Finances and the Sinking Fund of Great Britain, on Thursday the 25th March, 1813.*

WE are willing to take the earliest opportunity of bringing under the notice of our readers the important change which has lately been made in one of the most valuable and popular branches of the financial system of this country. Any attempt to alter the sinking fund system of Mr. Pitt has been considered in this country as a species of sacrilege; and we cannot but feel a considerable degree of surprise at seeing that so bold an innovation as the Chancellor of the Exchequer has ventured to propose should have been carried triumphantly through both Houses with so little discussion within the walls of parliament, or of controversy out of doors.

In the House of Commons (after the first general statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which could only lead to some incidental remarks,) only two debates took place, and one alone of them embraced any discussion of the political and financial considerations arising out of the plan; the other turning solely on the technical arguments furnished by the several acts of parliament relating to this subject, and on the question of good

faith due from the government to the stockholders. Our readers will of course recollect that the first of those debates took place in the committee of the whole House on the resolutions moved by Mr. Vansittart, when Mr. Huskisson delivered that distinguished speech which is now under our consideration, and which has always been considered and referred to as containing a complete digest of the arguments which could be urged against the proposed measure, and the other on Mr. Tierney's motion for a select committee to consider the laws respecting the sinking fund. It is remarkable that the latter was the only question upon which in the progress of so great a measure the opposition thought proper to divide either House of Parliament.

In the House of Lords there was only one debate, and that rather of the nature of conversation than contest; although the Marquis of Lausdowne stated some of the arguments against the bill with his usual ability.

The discussion through the medium of the press has been still more scanty, for excepting the two publications under our review, both of which are strictly parliamentary, for the one is the report of a speech, and the other an explanatory statement communicated to the members of both Houses by the acknowledged authority of the Treasury, we are not aware that any other pamphlet has appeared. Even the daily papers, either deterred by the difficulty of the subject, or unwilling to commit themselves by pronouncing any distinct opinion, remained for the most part silent, and suffered the measure to take its course through parliament with little observation.

It is perhaps still more remarkable that the Stock Exchange itself, usually so sensitive when any measure is proposed which can even remotely affect the price of the funds, was quiescent on this great occasion. The stocks were on the first mention of the subject slightly depressed, but immediately recovered and continued stationary, or rather rising, during the progress of the bill.

We must confess that we should not have been sorry to have entered upon the discussion of this question with a more ample mass of materials: yet the scantiness of the information which has hitherto been laid before the public, is one of the motives which induces us to think that a short and clear exposition of the principles on which Mr. Vansittart's measure appears to us to rest will not be unacceptable to the public, and will afford them sufficient grounds for deciding upon its general merits. For such an exposition we think we have sufficient grounds in the publications before us, together with such further elucidations as we were able to pick up from the discussions in parliament.

It gives us some additional confidence in our opinion that the

points in dispute between the contending parties are but few, notwithstanding the wide range of the general subject. Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Tierney, and Mr. Huskisson, as well as Lord Lansdowne, Lord Liverpool, and Lord Sidmouth, argued like men who knew and valued the talents and information of those with whom they were contending. There was therefore nothing of chicane or artful distortions of fact in the discussions, but the main points of the controversy were fairly brought forward, and candidly though resolutely debated. Allowance must of course be made for that degree of exaggeration which arguments delivered in a popular assembly, though upon the whole temperate and candid, seldom fail to assume, and for those differences, (and they were not a few,) which arose out of mere misapprehensions, and which were for the most part cleared up in the progress of the bill.

It may not be useless to begin our explanation by reminding our readers, that the attempts made at various times in the course of the 18th century for the reduction of the national debt having proved ineffectual, a new system was introduced by Mr. Pitt in the year 1786. By an act which he introduced in that year, an annual sum of one million was appropriated to the reduction of the national debt, the capital of which then amounted to 238 millions. This sum was vested in commissioners with the greatest precautions against any misapplication, and was directed to accumulate at compound interest, till together, with other contingent aids, it should reach the annual amount of four millions; after which, the interest of the stock annually purchased was to be cancelled, and the fund applied at simple interest to the redemption of the remaining debt, which it was calculated would be completed in about 45 years from that time.

In 1792 it was further provided, that whenever any new debt might be contracted, a sinking fund of one per cent. upon the capital stock created should be appropriated to it, unless other provision should have been made by parliament for redeeming it within 45 years. Such a sinking fund of one per cent. has, in conformity to this act, been provided for almost every loan since that time; but in two or three instances parliament has availed itself of the alternative allowed of finding other means of repayment within 45 years. In 1802 particularly, no immediate sinking fund was assigned for 87 millions of stock provided for in that year, and which consisted partly of the loan of the year; and partly of a sum of 56 millions, previously raised at different times on the credit of the income tax, which was then repealed; but the ultimate redemption of that debt was secured by a continuation of the several sinking funds provided for antecedent

loans, and which for that purpose were continued and formed into what was called the *consolidated sinking fund*. This arrangement was, by calculation, amply sufficient to effect the redemption of the debt within 45 years, and even within a shorter period than it could otherwise have been brought about; but it would, if literally carried into execution, be liable to produce inconveniences, which it is one of the principal objects of the present plan to obviate.

Some of the principal provisions of the act of 1802 are therefore repealed by the present act, and an additional sum of 670,000*l.* per annum is appropriated by it to the sinking fund, to make good the usual proportion of one per cent. on the capital stock provided for in that year, and for the redemption of which another mode had then been substituted, as has been above-mentioned.

The general idea of the plan now sanctioned by the legislature appears to be to consider the sinking fund as consisting of two distinct and separate portions, the one composed of the several grants appropriated by parliament for the reduction of the national debt, either by the original act of 1786, or in consequence of the various loans which have been raised since that time; the other by the stock purchased by the commissioners, and standing in their names in the different funds, being part of the national debt already redeemed. The first part the act considers as absolutely inalienable, until the complete redemption of the debt now existing, or to be contracted during the war. The second it considers as a treasure placed at the disposal of parliament, although with certain restrictions and limitations with respect to its application. This is the great distinction between the present plan and that of Mr. Pitt, and it is less of an innovation than at first sight it may appear; for it has always been a part of the system of the sinking fund, that when any loan should be wholly redeemed the interest upon it should cease, and the whole of the funds appropriated to it remain at the disposition of parliament. But the principal difference is this, that in the original plan of 1786 and 1792 the account of each loan was kept separate, and no one loan was considered as redeemed until the stock created by it (or an equal amount of stock) had been purchased by the sinking fund, immediately belonging to that particular loan: by the new plan the several loans are supposed to be redeemed in succession, according to the order in which they were contracted, and that no part of the loan of any year is paid off until the whole of the loans of all prior years have been discharged. This, *in practice*, is a mere difference in the mode of making up an account; for the whole of the debts



contracted at various times, being raised in the same funds, form an undistinguishable mass, to the purchase of which the whole of the sums at the disposal of the commissioners are indiscriminately applied; and the sums redeemed are afterwards distributed by calculation under the several accounts required by act of parliament. But in the result of the two modes there is this important difference, that in the old system no loan will be considered as redeemed for at least sixteen or seventeen years to come; while, according to the new plan lately adopted, the whole of the loans raised earlier than the year 1793 are considered as already redeemed; and as, according to both plans, the interest of every loan is to cease as soon as it is wholly redeemed, and the income appropriated to it to become applicable from that time to the public service; the new plan will render this resource available at least 16 or 17 years sooner than the old, as appears by the tables annexed to Mr. Vansittart's plan.

This slight sketch of the general principle of the alterations introduced by the new bill may prepare some of our readers for the perusal of the plan itself, as explained in the parliamentary papers, to which we must refer those who are desirous of taking an accurate view of the subject, as it is in its nature incapable of being farther abstracted, being already, in fact, an abridgment of the most condensed kind which could be consistent with perspicuity. It would also be impossible to enter into the details of the plan without encumbering our pages with some of the explanatory tables, which are indispensable, towards entering into any minute investigation of its merits\*.

These tables exhibit a comparative view of the system lately in force, and of that now substituted by parliament, with respect first to the amount of new taxes which would be required; secondly, to the amount of sinking fund applicable in each year; and, thirdly, to the period at which each portion of the national debt will be completely redeemed; and they are calculated down to the total repayment of all debt existing on the 1st of February, 1813.

They exhibit these results on four different suppositions. The first three suppose the war to continue without intermission for the whole period under review, that is, for about thirty years to come, but at different rates of estimated expence. The first set of tables (marked A.), supposing 28,000,000 to be borrowed every year; the second (B.) 25,000,000; and the third (C.) only 12,000,000; the fourth (D) supposes the war to continue five years

\* The plan, as delivered to the members of both Houses of Parliament with the tables annexed, is inserted in the Pamphlet, No. 1.

longer, and to be succeeded by an interval of ten years of peace; that the war is then to be renewed for ten years, and to be again followed by ten years peace, and that again by war; and that in each year of war a loan of 25,000,000 is raised.

It is obvious that of the four suppositions the last approaches much the most nearly to experience and probability; but we think that it was candid and judicious to bring into view the most extreme cases which could well be imagined.

The results of the tables vary considerably, as may be supposed, upon the different suppositions, but they are in all cases highly favourable to the new system upon the points of the imposition of new taxes, and of the ultimate redemption of debt. On the most unfavourable of the suppositions, the new plan provides for the expences of the war for four years, without any other additional taxes than those which parliament has, in fact, already imposed. The annual saving of taxes may amount before the year 1830 to 14 millions, and the total saving to that year to an aggregate sum of about 150,000,000. At the same time the new system is shewn to be capable of redeeming the whole and each distinct part of the debt, whether now existing or to be contracted during the period to which the calculations extend, sooner (and, indeed, in some cases a considerable number of years sooner) than the former regulations.

The third point of comparison, that of the progress of the sinking fund, is less advantageous to the new system; as it shews, that upon the suppositions of large continued expenditure, the sinking fund will in the earlier part of the period fall considerably short of what it would have been, which will occasion an accumulation of debt corresponding with the saving of new taxes.

This objection, the most obvious as well as the most solid which can be advanced against the new system, and on which we shall have a few remarks to make, is urged with much address by Mr. Huskisson in the speech under our consideration. It produced, however, little effect either on parliament or the public, in comparison with the prospect of immediate relief from further taxation.

If we considered Mr. Vansittart's plan (as many do who have cordially supported it) merely as an ingenious trick, to avoid the increasing difficulty of proposing proper objects of taxation for four years to come, we should by no means think it entitled to the approbation which, in our opinion, it deserves; though we by no means undervalue the political advantages of such a relief at the present crisis of affairs.

But we consider the new system not as founded upon mo-

tives of temporary convenience, but on solid grounds of public economy, and as perfectly consistent with the original principles of Mr. Pitt's institution of the sinking fund.

It must be confessed, that whatever mode of defraying the public expences least interferes with private property, and produces the least sudden and violent changes in the employment of capital and the occupations of individuals, will be the best; as least obstructing the progress of national wealth, and least deranging the habitual and regular order of society. On these grounds alone can the contracting of a national debt, by which the expences of present exertion are in part at least thrown upon futurity, be justified. In the progress of its formation great, though gradual, changes take place in the distribution of property and the employments and habits of the people. When a plan is to be established for checking the progress of public debt, which must otherwise either end in bankruptcy or by degrees absorb every other species of property, the means by which this accumulated capital is to be returned into other channels of occupation, are, at least, as important as those by which it was in the first instance taken from them. This is (as Mr. Vansittart justly observed in first stating his plan to the committee of the whole House) an experiment of great nicety, and one which has never been tried on a great scale.

From these principles it will follow, that it is highly important that the total amount of income appropriated to the purposes of the public debt, that is, to the interest of the debt and the redeeming fund taken together, should be confined within the smallest compass possible; and not less so that the redemption should proceed as equably as possible, and without great changes or sudden fluctuations, in order that the capital set free may be readily and quietly absorbed into other employments. We are of course speaking of a time of peace, and when no loan is contracted, for in war and whenever the loan exceeds the sinking fund, no real reduction of debt can be said to take place, but only that the debt contracted is so much less than it would otherwise have been.

In peace, however, and in a nation active and industrious as this is, the accumulation of capital is so rapid that it frequently surpasses the ordinary means of employment, and is either diverted into new and doubtful speculations, or forced into foreign occupations, in which it is sometimes worse than lost to the country. These evils were particularly exemplified in Holland, Genoa, and Geneva, where the accumulation of property exceeding the opportunities of profitable employment, it was in great part invested in the public securities of foreign countries, whereby

not only multitudes of families were ultimately ruined, but foreign factions were supported in the heart of the state by the interests of those concerned.

It cannot be denied, that a very rapid repayment of public debt, by throwing large sums continually into the money market, has a strong tendency to produce this danger, or to augment it where it may already exist. It would be, therefore, something worse than useless to increase the sinking fund in time of peace to such an extent, as to furnish an amount of capital beyond the means of employment, of which a judgment may always be formed by the current rate of interest. As to the amount of the sum which could in time of peace be safely applied to the reduction of public debt, experience furnishes but little guidance, and many collateral circumstances must influence the result.

We know that between 1786 and 1793, when the sinking fund never much exceeded one million per annum, the reduction of the rate of interest was at least as rapid as can be consistent with just views of public œconomy. But a variety of other circumstances concurred at that period, to produce an extraordinary accumulation of public wealth. But though no nice or exact criterion can be formed by which to estimate the possible extent of sinking fund, which can be advantageously employed in time of peace, we may safely assume that its present amount of about thirteen millions is as large as either reasoning or experience will justify us in supposing capable of such application.

Applying these observations to the subject immediately before us, they will be found highly favourable to Mr. Vansittart's system. The extreme amount of annual charge, that is, of income taken from other employments, and diverted to the purposes of the national debt, is within the period of 17 years to be diminished to a great extent, when compared with the system established by the act of 1802, in some cases not less than fourteen millions, and the amount of sinking fund applicable in each year, which, according to that system, would vary no less than twenty millions in one year, will proceed with a gradual and equable course, either in its diminution or augmentation. We have, indeed, met with few persons of much information on subjects of this nature, who have not been ready to admit that Mr. Vansittart's plan of redemption, if originally proposed, would have been preferable to that which preceded it. It has also been generally admitted, that at some time or other the act of 1802 must have been revised, for that an attempt to carry it into literal execution to the last period would have been productive of extreme inconvenience. On

these accounts we are not disposed to consider the objections made to the present limitation of the sinking fund as at all equivalent to its advantages. It is true, that so long as the war may continue at its present rate of expence, the sinking fund might be suffered to accumulate, not only without inconvenience but with advantage. But the practical question to be decided by parliament was, whether this advantage was so important, that it could be advisable to subject the nation to an immense load of additional taxation, for the sake of raising the sinking fund in time of war, to an amount which it was admitted would be not only useless but mischievous in time of peace; and those who, allowing that a change would be necessary in *future*, yet contend against it at *present*, ought to show that the inconveniences of persisting in the established system would be less than those of the proposed alteration.

We have observed, that the principles of the new system correspond with those of Mr. Pitt's acts of 1786 and 1792. All the leading features of those acts are preserved; and it is remarkable, that in the resolutions lately sanctioned by the House of Commons, as the foundation of the new act, it was unnecessary to propose the repeal of either of them. Mr. Pitt was aware of the inconveniences of an unlimited accumulation of sinking fund; and, therefore, in 1786, limited its amount to four millions: and the leading principle of the act of 1792, which was the redemption of all future debt within 45 years, is strictly adhered to in the new arrangement.

To those objections to *any* change which arise out of an alleged contract with the stockholders for the continuance of the system before established, we have not thought it necessary to advert in this summary statement, because we conceive that on *this* question the public opinion is completely at rest. It is sufficient to remark, that not only not a single petition was offered against the measure during the six weeks that it remained under the consideration of parliament, but that it did not, except for part of a single day, produce the slightest impression on the price of the funds; and though this objection was not wholly abandoned in argument, it could not be much relied on by those who used it, since Mr. Huskisson, who, in the speech before us, dwells at some length on this part of the subject, himself concludes his speech with suggesting a plan, as a substitute for Mr. Vansittart's, which equally includes an alteration of the sinking fund.

We shall here for the present close our remarks on this important subject, wishing to make this article rather introductory to a more extensive view of it, which we hope to lay before our readers in the next number. For this we shall have an oppor-

tunity in reviewing the interesting work of Professor Hamilton on the national debt.

It will be curious to combine the principles discussed by the Professor with the practical propositions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Huskisson, and with this view we shall now refrain from any more detailed examination of those propositions.

With respect to the style and manner of the publications before us we have only to remark, that with that variety which arises from the difference of the circumstances under which they were composed, they both are such as might be expected from men of sense and information.

The *Outlines* partake necessarily of the dryness of an official statement, of which the principal object is to convey exact information in the narrowest compass. We have heard them complained of as obscure, but we are disposed to think the observation arose more from the want of the necessary previous information in the objector, than from any real defect in the work. It is incredible to what a degree many men, even of high education and general knowledge, are uninformed upon subjects of this kind; and we even think it possible that to some of our readers (we hope very few) the present article will on the first perusal appear obscure. If this should be the case, we can only humbly suggest a second reading, in which we hope the difficulties will disappear.

Mr. Huskisson's speech has naturally the advantage of a more popular manner and easier style, and is composed with an urbanity which does him credit as a gentleman, and in general a correctness not unworthy of a scholar. That we differ much from him as to the merits of the question will have been seen from what has gone before; but for a more particular examination of such points as are chiefly worthy of remark we must reserve ourselves, as we have already observed, for the opportunity which our next number will afford: we consider the foregoing remarks as only preparatory to a more detailed discussion of a subject which appears to us involved in much unnecessary obscurity, and of which the prevalence of erroneous opinions might lead to consequences highly injurious to the most important interests of the public.

ART XXVII.—*Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment, being a brief View of the State of the Colonies of Great Britain and of the Asiatic Empire, in respect to religious Instruction, prefaced by some Considerations on the national Duty of affording it. To which is added, A Sketch of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India, humbly submitted to the Consideration of the Imperial Parliament.* By the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D. D. late Vice-Provost of the College of Fort William, in Bengal, and Member of the Asiatic Society. Second Edition. London: Printed for Cadell and Davies, in the Strand. 1813.

IN a preceding article we have had occasion to deplore the defective state of religious instruction, and the want of sufficient places of worship in this metropolis, but in the work before us the country is called upon to consider the same important subjects on a larger scale, and, if possible, under circumstances of still more pressing emergency. Few of our readers, we conceive, are unacquainted with the former productions of the Rev. Dr. Buchanan, whose labours have justly attracted so large a portion of public attention, and we think we may, with some confidence, predict, that the regard which the "Star in the East" and the "Christian Researches in Asia," have won for this good man in every feeling heart, will not be lessened by the present publication. With a hope of inducing our readers to peruse, with the attention it deserves, this important and seasonable publication, we shall here present them with a brief account of its contents.

To those who, forgetting that as "freely they have received," it is their bounden duty freely to impart; who, forgetting that it is to the generous exertions of the first Christians that this island was so early rescued from the pollution of human sacrifices, and the other atrocities and impurities of the druidical and heathen worship\*, can frigidly ask, whether it is the duty of Englishmen, professing the Christian faith, to labour for its exten-

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\* Before the preaching of the Gospel of Christ in this island, no church existed but the temple of a hideous idol, who, like the Moloch of the east, had his regular libations of human blood. To the cruel rites of the Druidical superstition succeeded the Roman idolatry. In Cornwall, stood the Temple of Mercury; in Bangor, the Temple of Minerva; at Maiden, the Temple of Victoria; at Leicester, the Temple of Janus; at York, where St. Peter now stands, the Temple of Bellona; in London, on the site of St. Paul's, the Temple of Uranus; and at Westminster, where the abbey rears its venerable pile, a Temple of Apollo. See a Survey of ancient British Idolatry, in a Sermon of Dr. Plafire, preached in 1573, before the University of Cambridge.

sion; Dr. Buchanan urges the last charge of our Lord to his apostles, "Go ye, and teach all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. And, lo, I am with you *alway*, even unto the end of the world. Amen." But our Lord not only enjoined this as a duty, but he has clearly predicted its fulfilment. "This gospel of the kingdom *shall* be preached in *all*, for a witness to *all* nations."

From this prediction of Christ, from his positive injunction, and from the example of the apostolic church, we deduce satisfactory evidence of the truth of the following proposition: "It is the duty of a Christian nation to propagate Christianity as long as any nation shall be found upon earth which is ignorant of it."—P. 7.

Dr. Buchanan well observes, that the church of Rome obeyed but one part of the above injunction of our Lord: she "baptised," indeed, "the nations in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" but she did not "teach them to observe all things whatsoever Christ had commanded." She taught Christianity without the *Bible*.

But while we studiously shun her example in this respect, we shall do well to emulate it in another. The zeal and labour of the "Congregation and College de Propaganda Fide" in their numerous missionaries, their foreign seminaries, and their versions and illustrations of the sacred writings, are noble patterns of imitation to the protestants of the present time. That Great Britain is called to this high office, he infers from the purity of her church, the just maxims of her government, her literary pre-eminence, her multiplied connexions with the heathen world. That the time is auspicious, he infers from the distraction and dismay which the French revolution, and the consequent convulsion of Europe, has spread amongst the professors of the Romish faith. That mighty earthquake seems to have desolated the globe only to facilitate the erection of a grander temple, in which all mankind may join in the worship of the true God. The voice of the times, so clearly heard in the institution of Bible and missionary societies, seems to call to and cheer us in the labour. By neglect or opposition to this holy cause, in the solemn day of account, may we not be found "to have fought against God?"

The means of extending Christianity, Dr. Buchanan considers as threefold: 1. To send missionaries: 2. To translate the Scriptures into new languages, and to print new editions in the languages already translated: and 3. To extend the national church. There are three missionary institutions in this country



supported by the voluntary contributions of members of the establishment.

1. The "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," incorporated by King William's charter in 1701. The labours of this society are almost exclusively directed to the British plantations in America. It has now in its lists forty-four missionaries, and forty catechists and schoolmasters in the colonies of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Canada.

2. The "Society for promoting Christian Knowledge" was established in the year 1698. The foreign objects of this society are wholly in the *East*. Its missionaries are only Danish or German Lutherans. The state of the continent has reduced the number of missionaries to four Europeans, five native priests, and four native catechists in their establishment in Hindostan.

3. The "Church Missionary Society" is also a voluntary society, and was established in the first year of the present century. Its objects are the heathen world at large, but its labours have been chiefly directed to Africa. At this time, eight Lutheran ministers, five lay settlers, five English students, and about one hundred and twenty African children, are dependent on its funds.

The actual state of existing missions of the British dominions will be seen from the following table.

Stations.	Church.			Dissenters.							Total Church.	Total Dissenters.	Grand Total.
	Society for propagating the Gospel.	Society for Christian Knowledge.	Church Missionary Society.	United Brethren.	Wesleyan Methodists.	Missionary Society.	American Missionary Society.	Anglican Presbyterians.	Baptists.				
Brit. N. Am.	43	—	—	—	14	3	—	—	—	43	17	60	
W. Indies	6	—	—	32	25	3	—	—	—	6	60	66	
Hindostan	—	9	—	—	—	10	7	1	17	9	35	44	
Ceylon	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	3	3	
S. Africa	—	—	—	9	—	19	—	—	—	—	28	28	
W. Africa	1	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	7	
	50	9	6	41	39	38	7	1	17	65	143	208	

Though from this table the number of missionaries supported by the dissenters appears to be double that of those which are

supported by the church, yet we are not to forget that the labours of the venerable society for "Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts," and for "Professing Christian Knowledge," have been continued through considerably more than a century: their zeal, therefore, is of a more ascertained character than the incipient zeal of a new society. Neither, in justice, ought it to be forgotten, that to the institution of Sunday schools, and the improved method of education, which originated with the church, is to be traced that energy which establishments of this character at present display.

There is an obstacle to the supply of our settlements with missionaries ordained in this country, which Dr. Buchanan thinks can hardly be effectually removed but by the interference of the legislature.

"Our church would gladly supply its foreign missions with a sufficient number of proper instruments; that is, with ordained ministers from England; but hitherto the following difficulty has stood in the way. A person receiving ordination as a missionary may choose to alter his mind, and, instead of encountering the peril of foreign climes, seek preferment at home. To obviate this difficulty in time to come, it is humbly suggested that Parliament pass an Act, declaring, 'That no person, receiving ordination expressly as a missionary, should be eligible to any benefice or cure of souls in England or Ireland; unless, afterward, specially licensed thereto.' Such an Act would be perfectly just in its principle, in regard to the persons to whom it would refer: it could not possibly be attended with inconvenience to the church at home; and it would be of incalculable benefit to the interests of religion throughout the world. Under the operation of such an Act, any number of respectable missionaries, properly qualified by piety and competent learning for their peculiar work, and not inferior, in any respect, to the Lutheran ministers whom the church societies now employ, might be speedily obtained from among the members of the church\*."

To our universities, which are the universities of the whole

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\* An Act of Parliament was passed, in the 24th year of his Majesty (1784), the direct object of which was the extension of our church throughout the world, in countries not belonging to Britain. By this Act, "the Bishop of London for the time being, or any other bishop by him to be appointed," was empowered to "admit to the order of deacon or priest, persons being subjects or citizens of countries out of his Majesty's dominions, without requiring them to take the oath of allegiance;" provided always, "that no person, so ordained, should be thereby enabled to exercise the office of deacon or priest within his Majesty's dominions."

This Act opens easy access to our church into every country. Why its operation has been hitherto confined to America, we cannot tell.

British empire, Dr. Buchanan observes, properly belongs the office of making accurate translations, and printing new editions of the sacred volume. At present they seem to have abdicated the trust which the constitution reposes in them, in favour of private individuals whose casual piety and learning may engage them to undertake it. We trust, however, they will shortly resume the task, and add to that celebrity to which their former labours, in this respect, have so justly entitled them.

“ Britain has, in particular, a long arrear of duty to discharge to her native subjects in the western hemisphere. To this day we have not offered a translation of the Holy Scriptures to our faithful Indians in Canada, or to our slaves in the West Indies; although both look up to us with a veneration due only to superior beings, and would receive with humility whatever instruction it might please us to impart. And yet, what is the obstacle which prevents our offering them the inestimable gift? There is none. It is only necessary that his majesty’s government should express their will, and translations would be prepared in a very short time. We ought to consider, that, until the Bible be translated into the vernacular language of a people, there can be no tracts circulated among that people, inculcating moral duties or Christian principles. Whereas the translation of the Bible becomes, in various ways, a fountain of instruction. Let the parables of the gospels alone be distributed among a barbarous people, and they will arrest their attention in a degree in which the fables of their own superstition never could. Where Christian preachers do not abound, tracts, containing extracts of Scripture, or rather “ portions of Scripture, with a few words of explanation,” are the obvious and legitimate means of instructing the people. But chiefly in our ample dominions in the East is an extensive field opened for the translation of the Scriptures. In continental Asia, and in our insular possessions, there are languages of which as yet we scarcely know more than the names. But Providence hath so ordered it, that at this day, almost every people, in this part of the world, can read and write, (which was not the case in the first ages of the church,) as if to prepare them to receive the instructions of Christianity.”

The cause of Christianity cannot be better served than by the extension of the national church. For this purpose episcopal superintendance will be essential to ordain natives on the spot; to dispense the ordinance of confirmation; to direct the labours of the missionaries; to form and regulate the growing church; and finally, to preserve as much as may be the unity of religion within our dominions.

If there is to be an effective church at all in India, there must be a facility of ordination: without this inherent power of recruit

and restoration any establishment must languish. "To come, for instance, from India for ordination, and to return again, would consume one whole year of a man's life, and perhaps the best part of his property." It would be quite anomalous to adopt one system of church government in our colonies, and another in the mother country; besides its contradicting the belief we profess, as members of the establishment, that episcopacy is the kind of hierarchy established by the founders of our faith. Our church does not, indeed, agree with Rome in considering confirmation as a sacrament, but it agrees with Luther and Calvin in considering it as an institution which ought to be retained, as being in undoubted conformity to primitive use, and a most salutary ordinance, administered at that most critical and impressive period of life, which poets and philosophers unite in representing as big with our future destiny. It is then that the young Christians vow to go forth "as soldiers of Jesus Christ, to fight under his banner against the world, the flesh, and the devil. This sacred rite," says Dr. Buchanan, "is utterly unknown in our foreign dominions, and appears to be renounced by the church, as being an observance of slight import, compared with the trouble of appointing a person to administer it."

The chief objection which has perhaps operated against a colonial church establishment is its expense, and the increase of influence it may give to the administration. But to this Dr. Buchanan observes, that the episcopal dignity in the colonies may be made more conformable to the primitive pattern. "The church of Rome manifested a wisdom in this respect (derived from early ages) which is worthy of our imitation. Though her bishops at home (in Europe) were possessed of great temporalities, her bishops abroad were ordained generally on a very slender endowment. They were exhorted to look for further aid to the sanctity of personal character, and to its effects on the minds of the people among whom they exercised their spiritual office."

The establishment which he proposes is as follows:

That there should be bishops at the seven following stations.

1. The West Indies.

2. Bengal; or, North Hindostan.

3. Madras; or, South and East Hindostan.

4. Bombay; or, West Hindostan.

5. Ceylon; the Insular Diocese, including Java, &c.

6. South Africa.

7. New South Wales.

An archdeacon, or representative of the church, with a suitable clergy, at

1. Java and dependencies.
2. Isles of Mauritius and Bourbon.
3. West Africa, (Sierra Leone, &c.).
4. Malta.

These to be supported at the expense of government, but the subordinate clergy by the Christian inhabitants of the place, and by contributions from the three church missionary societies. This body of clergy should not be at once transported to these dioceses, nor should the cures be so lucrative as to induce any persons to fill them from mercenary motives. The description of clergymen which the societies at home should send out Dr. Buchanan thus describes :

“ He ought always to be a man of learning, good temper, and approved piety ; one whose correspondence would interest the public, and throw light on the dark region which he inhabits. If his religious zeal produce no fruit, either as a writer or practical preacher, the sooner the society dissolves their connexion with him the better.”

Dr. Buchanan proposes also stations to which men of literature might be sent as representatives of the church ; their employment should be to collect information conducive to missions, to versions of the Scriptures, and the elucidation of the sacred volume. But this class of men, however valuable, seem rather appendages of a missionary than a church establishment.

In considering the demand our foreign settlements have on the mother country for a supply of their spiritual wants, Dr. Buchanan observes, that the West India islands are inhabited by three distinct classes, whites, mulattos, and negroes, whose claim to instruction varies with their relation to the parent state. To the Africans whom we have torn from their native country we owe every care and nurture of which they are susceptible. We have forcibly appropriated their bodily services to our use ; in return, we ought, at least, to administer to them that modicum of instruction, which the heathens themselves held their slaves entitled to. This description of population at present amounts to nearly one million of souls, who are held to be out of the cure of any particular pastor, and incapable of benefiting by his labours.

In Jamaica, which is the best provided of any of our colonies with the means of religious instruction, each parish or parochial cure, supposing each to have a clergyman, contains 300 square miles, and on an average 12,554 persons (including slaves). In this island a layman inducts the rector into his living, and may suspend him *ad libitum* from his office ; a subjection of spiritual to lay authority unparalleled by any sect among us, however far removed from primitive discipline. The only remedy for these

abuses, and the only means of enforcing a regular observance of the customary duties of Christianity, Dr. Buchanan conceives is the appointment of a prelate of episcopal rank to superintend the clergy of the West Indies. A medium of spiritual communication would be thus established with this neglected part of our empire, "and the great family of Africans in particular, who want a *general guardian* in those islands, whom they might know to have been appointed by the nation to superintend their spiritual state, would thus learn that they are *subjects of the king*." The state of the mulattos in the West, and the half-casts in the East, is so degraded, their numbers are so increasing, and the consequent mischief is so pressing, that it is impossible that the subject can much longer be kept from the view of the legislature. This unhappy race is of English descent; but it is a proscribed race in both hemispheres; a curse still following the immoral connexion. "The negro works, and is therefore good for something; but the mulatto," says the planter, "is good for nothing." Here again, says the Christian divine, the remedy is to instruct them in our common faith; to raise them by education above the contempt of their species; and by opening to them prospects of bettering their condition, to encourage them to respect themselves.

It has been clearly established by evidence before the House of Commons that it is a prejudice, general among the planters, and one by which the whole course of their proceedings in this respect are regulated, that the African is incapable of religious instruction. But the recent conduct of the legislative body of Jamaica has put the matter beyond a doubt. They have, in a spirit which, as the missionaries have observed, savours much of the times of Diocletian, in despite of the expressed opinion of his majesty's government in this country, persecuted with indignities never known to have been inflicted on the white population, those who preach to, or pray with, the negroes. The first alleged ground of these proceedings was, that the slaves, by being permitted to assemble at these meetings to hear Christian instruction, were in danger "of being perverted with fanatical notions; and that opportunity was afforded them of concerting schemes of much public and private mischief." But this pretence, for we can give it no other name, has since been abandoned both by the adoption of a new preamble to their second edict, and their scornful rejection of a draft Act providing against the evil, sent them by his Majesty, to which the governor was empowered on its passing the assembly to give the royal assent. The ground of the next enactments of their legislative body was much nobler—it was a zeal for the dignity of religion itself. The ordinance which was passed by the common council of Kingston on the

15th June, 1807, is "to prevent the profanation of religious rites and false worshipping of God, under the pretence of teaching and preaching by illiterate persons," (one of the silenced preachers is the reverend Mr. Reid, a regular ordained minister of the church of Scotland). The gravamina stated in the preamble are the "divers indecent and unseemly noises, gesticulations, and behaviour which are used, and take place, during such pretended preaching and worshipping of God." It was therefore enacted, that if any person, under pretence of being a minister of religion or expounder of Scripture, should "presume to preach, or teach, or offer up public prayer, or sing psalms, in any meeting or assembly of negroes," who was not duly authorised and qualified for the same, he should be punished; if a white man, by fine and imprisonment: but if "a slave should, under such pretence, presume to preach, or offer up public prayer, or sing psalms," (in doing which it is obvious that these Africans would be in danger of the unseemly noises and gesticulations above mentioned,) he should be punished by "imprisonment for six months, or by whipping, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes, or by both, as shall be in those cases respectively adjudged."

But to render this interdiction of public worship and instruction the more complete, it was prohibited before and after the times of the slaves beginning and finishing their daily labours. By another Act, the missionaries are forbidden to preach to the blacks, under penalty of twenty pounds for every slave that can be proved to have attended them. These acts, after a full hearing, have been disallowed by his majesty in council.

"We are concerned to state, (says Dr. Buchanan), that the spirit of opposition to the instruction of the slaves of Jamaica still continues, notwithstanding the repeated interference of his majesty's government. Had there been any hope that hostility would cease, the above details would not now have been given to the public. But as we apprehend public dishonour has been put upon Christianity in a part of the British empire; and as the interests of more than 300,000 hapless Africans are concerned in the event; it appeared to be a case which ought to be submitted, in its full dimensions, to the imperial parliament."

Than these facts, can any expressions more feelingly describe the dismal state of the white and black population of our colonies, as to religion? The master has been so long debarred from the light, that he envies it to his slave. Christian charity banished from his ears has fled his heart. These are the miserable consequences of making no adequate provision for the preachers of the Gospel, and what other remedy can be devised more effectual than the boon of an effective church establishment to our posses-

sions in the Atlantic? This was clearly seen by an eminent prelate in Ireland, who devoted some of the best years of his life, and a considerable portion of his property, to effectuate a somewhat similar institution in the Bermudas. Speaking of the description of ecclesiastics usually sent to America, he says:—"To this may be imputed the small care that hath been taken to convert the negroes of our plantations, who, to the infamy of England, and scandal of the world, continue heathen under Christian masters, and in Christian countries: which could never be if our planters were rightly instructed, and made sensible that they disappointed their own baptism by denying it to those who belonged to them: that it would be of advantage to their affairs, to have slaves who should 'obey in all things their masters according to the flesh, not with eye-service, as men pleasers; but in singleness of heart, as fearing God:' that Gospel liberty consists with temporal servitude; and that their slaves would only become better slaves by being Christians\*."

In considering the wants of our eastern empire, Dr. Buchanan observes, that the island of Ceylon first presents itself to our view. In 1801 it was computed that there were 342,000 protestant Christians on the island, and these were then attended by only three English chaplains, and three protestant missionaries. The churches, formerly numerous and spacious, are at this time mostly fallen into ruins, and those that stand are occupied at pleasure by Romish priests from Goa, who, with the priests of the idol Boodha, annually make numerous proselytes from the neglected population. In Java, the ancient seat of the Dutch empire in the east, there are numerous protestants of that church. These, with the other Christians in the eastern Archipelago, being now severed from every establishment, it is reasonable to suppose, would join any which the wisdom of parliament might appoint. The native Christians in the east, subject to our sovereign, are near a million; these, on the continent alone, are more than half that number. Few of this immense host are possessed of the charter of their faith, and can only obtain it by the charitable donations of individuals in this country, or as a boon from the government of which they are the subjects. In the way in which versions of the Scriptures are now made, there is no supervision by which their correctness can be warranted; nor is there now, as formerly, any pious provision made that every congregation of the faithful may possess the code of their belief.

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\* Bishop Berkeley's Proposal for the better supplying of Churches in our Plantations. London, 1725.



All is left contingent,—the church appears to have abandoned the best interests of her children to the precarious zeal of casual philanthropists. “But there is one principal reason why parliament should sanction the distribution of the Bible among our Christian subjects: namely, that governors of districts in India, unless they be men who are friendly to Christianity, will not give themselves any trouble on the subject; and the hostility of a single public officer may stop the distribution of Bibles, and shut out the heavenly gift from a whole province.”

One remarkable feature in the events of the present times is the general relaxation by the Romish priests of their prohibitions of the Scriptures to their congregations\*. We feel this to be ominous of a better spirit in that church,—it certainly is auspicious to the propagation of true Christianity. There are numerous Roman catholics in India, the remains of the Portuguese, and the Syrian convents: few even of their priests have complete copies of the Scriptures; and amongst those Christians of St. Thomas who retain their primitive faith, little differing from that of our reformed church, there is a still greater dearth of the sacred oracles. There is every reason to suppose that this venerable body of Christians would become members of any ecclesiastical establishment we might form in the east. It is the cause of those myriads of idolaters, who are our fellow subjects, and that of the neglected natives of this island, who are our immediate brethren, which Dr. Buchanan mainly advocates. Is our national aggrandisement in wealth and power simply an end sufficient to justify our subjecting by force a foreign people to our sway; and if it be, are there no *relative duties* which arise from such conquest? To say there are none would be a proposition too monstrous even for men who, in their pursuit of power and riches, pay but a secondary regard to the code of moral obligations,—*they* acknowledge that a participation in civil rights, as far as their civilization enables them to enjoy them, should be allowed to conquered provinces. Here they stop. But will a Christian legislature do so? We hope not. The question has never yet been fairly before the public,—it has never been im-

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\* “I have learnt by experience,” says a Roman catholic correspondent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, “that the catholic people are more ready to read the Bible, than the elder ministers are to permit or recommend it. For there still continues among our clergy, in many places, the pernicious prejudice, that our church prohibits to laymen, the reading of the Bible; and another, as general as the former, that Scripture reading produced more harm than good among the people. This induced me a few years ago,” continues he, “to publish Extracts from the Holy Fathers, and other Divines of the Catholic Church, concerning the Necessity and Usefulness of reading the Scriptures, by Leander Van Prae, &c. &c.”

partially canvassed. India may have been treated as a source of wealth, of military fame, or ministerial patronage; but discussion has hardly breathed on her rights as an integral part of our empire.

“What apology,” says Dr. Buchanan, “shall be offered for this omission? It is this:—the British nation, during the progress of conquest by a private company, scarcely considered the Hindoo people as her charge. Her right in them, or her dominion over them, was not ascertained. Her relation to them was dubious. She did not (that is, the nation at large did not) view them directly as her children. This was literally the case. But she will acknowledge, we trust, that she views them as her children now.”

There are political reasons also for rendering us anxious for an identity of religion in these distant territories of Britain. “Our Indian empire,” says Dr. Buchanan, “has been called an empire of opinion.” Where an European force of 30,000 men hold in subjection a population of sixty millions, indeed, this cannot be otherwise. But what does this teach us, but to labour in the most enlightened manner to raise this opinion into an operative principle of allegiance and fidelity. To render our religion respectable in the eyes of the natives by some exterior demonstrations of attachment to it, and by every prudent means to allure them to it, and to lessen the occasions of hostile collision with them. Our civil and political institutions, whatever substantial blessings they communicate, wear in the eyes of the natives a mercenary character. If these points were attended to, there could be no doubt of the effect, for it is agreeable to Asiatic principles to respect religious men and religious endowments. The Romish bishops remain even where the European people who first founded them have been driven from the settlements.

The civilization of America is an argument usually alleged against civilizing and christianizing India. But Dr. Buchanan triumphantly retorts :

“What then was the case of America? America at the time of the revolution was peopled with Indians and dissenters. Almost every religious sect had, in the progress of time, acquired a weight and celebrity in the country superior to that of the church of England. That church had not an authorised representative in the whole land. It had not the constituent privilege of the smallest sect. It was properly no visible church. When, therefore, a commotion took place, there were but few persons to vote for the church of England, or for the constitution to which she belonged. And she fell. Had a majority of the Americans been attached to the church of England, and had that church maintained its ostensible rank among the other denominations, as at home, would the American revolution have taken place? We have no warrant to be-

lieve that it would, judging from the ordinary events in the common course of human affairs."

Besides, the most short-sighted politician will hardly contend that it will be possible to erect any effectual barrier to the gradual civilization of the natives of India; he must be unread indeed in human affairs who can suppose this possible. Let them be civilized, therefore, in the only way preclusive of wild and revolutionary principles. But it is said that the prejudices and prepossessions of the natives are insuperable. How would the millions of converted heathens, who have died in a better hope, have fared, had such a dogma been recognised in former ages, to the extinction of all zeal for propagating the faith? But on this subject we will hear Dr. Buchanan.

"This unfounded surmise seems to have been well calculated to impose on men at a distance from the scene. It was first suggested by very honest, probably, but certainly not well informed minds; which, in their view of India, mistook a part for the whole; and, in considering a particular act of some native troops, for which they could not account, thought of ascribing it to motives which never entered into their minds. *Prudent and peaceable means of extending the Christian religion will not be the cause of rebellion in India; while we have a foot of land in the country.* The natives are entirely a divided people in religious sentiment. They differ from one another as well as from us. There are numerous casts of religion, and differences of religious belief amongst them. Missionaries of various sects, Christian, Mahometan, Brahminical, and Boodhist, have existed among them from time immemorial. There is no novelty, as some in England consider it, in the attempt to convert the Asiatics to Christianity. It began in Hindostan more than a thousand years ago. But such facilities as are now presented to us, for influencing the minds of men throughout these extensive provinces, were never before possessed by any Christian people."

And here Dr. Buchanan repeats that the object of his publication is not to recommend any direct attempt to convert the natives by way of expensive establishment, but for England to provide for the spiritual wants of her own children, which will itself be the best collateral means of promoting a change in the religion of the heathens. Of these persons, most of them in the prime of life, who leave this country for India, but one-tenth return: should not "their religion follow them to that inhospitable clime; to be their solace in their exile, to be the guardian of their morals, and their defence against superstition, or ultimate atheism? And is not this a proper question to be submitted to the wisdom and justice of the British parliament?"

The thirty thousand British protestants necessarily spread

through the various provinces of our eastern empire to govern and retain it, are at present left far more destitute of religious instruction than the same number would be *ceteris paribus* if concentrated. The East-India company have most humanely supplied every considerable station with a surgeon; let us hope the time will come when a chaplain will be thought not less necessary.

The disaffection of the British troops in India is notorious, and can only be accounted for by the effect of their separation from home, and the comparative luxury and ease of their situations, unchecked in its operation by any species of religious instruction. Few who leave this country for India have attained that age when men embrace Christianity from deliberate conviction.

“Under such circumstances,” says Dr. Buchanan, “can the English nation be surprised if the majority of persons who have had their education in India (where a Christian education is so rarely perfected) should vote against our offering Christianity to that country? Their prejudice is not properly their own fault, but the fault of their education, and of their country; which will send forth a number of young men, in constant annual succession, to govern a great empire, and then leave their pliant minds at the mercy of Brahminical morals and theology, of licentiousness and infidelity.”

The college of Fort William, and the establishment of Hertford college in England, have had considerable effect in remedying this evil, and indicate the probability of a great extension of the benefit, should the same plan be executed on a larger scale.

“An appeal to the justice and humanity of this nation has seldom been made in vain.” When the abominable cruelties of the African slave-trade were satisfactorily established, it was soon abolished; and it is surely not too much to hope, that when the cruelties of the Hindoo superstitions, and the facility of abolishing them, are universally known in this country, steps will speedily be taken by our government to promote their abolition. In the provinces of Guzerat and Cutch alone, 3000 infants, it has been ascertained, are annually slaughtered; and 10,000 widows, all de-luded, and most of them unwilling victims, have been computed to be annually burnt with their deceased husbands, besides the numerous aged who are prematurely put to death by their impatient successors.

The success of the government of Bombay in diminishing the frequency of these enormities, demonstrates the possibility of success if the same were attempted in a still more comprehensive manner. The Mahometans, it is well known, would never tolerate such practices in the districts subject to their government.

It is, we think, a just complaint of Dr. Buchanan, "that money taken from the idolaters for sufferance to engage in the horrid solemnities of Juggernaut should be brought into the national treasury." The legislature, we hope, will so express their opinion on this subject, that the practice may be discontinued. Dr. Buchanan concludes this part of his work by some forcible remarks on the duty of our government's legislating on Christian principles and for Christian ends. The recognition of this obligation was the basis on which, upwards of two centuries ago, our prosperity as a nation was founded. Let our minds be impressed with the excellent remark of Dr. Buchanan, "that a people are necessarily rewarded or punished, as a *nation*, in this world, since they cannot be rewarded or punished, as a *nation*, in the world to come." For the particulars of Dr. Buchanan's plan of an ecclesiastical establishment for India specifically we must refer our readers to the work itself, which for style, sentiment, reasoning, and information, though produced under the pressure of emergency, and of bodily sufferings, exhibits all that the devout can desire, the philanthropist claim, and the critic exact.

We cannot withhold, however, the following passages on the appointment of the bishop.

"It is expedient, therefore, that this spirit should be properly directed, and kept, so far as may be practicable, within the channel of the established church. If there be not a bishop of our church to ordain native priests for the people in India, it may be expected that teachers of other denominations will pervade the country in a few years.

"In the progress of the Christian civilization of the natives of India, it is proper that they should have before their eyes the nature and form of our church, and be witnesses themselves that we do it honour, and do not despise it. When a native inclines to embrace the Christian religion, if he sees that its ministers are respected by the state, and that Christianity in a Hindoo is recognised by government, he knows that he shall have *protection*. At present, he sees nothing in Christianity but reproach and ruin. He sees no native Christian recognised, as such, by government: he sees no native Christian raised to offices of trust or honour. Nay, the ignorance of the people is so great (particularly in Bengal, where there is no community of native Christians enjoying political consequence, as in the South), that they doubt whether their civil liberties are equally secure to them under the denomination of Christian, as under that of *Hindoo* and *Musliman*.

"In Bengal there are 13,308 European protestants (men); of whom, 2,589 are civil and military officers, most of them allied to the first families in this kingdom. Of these 12,308 men, a tenth part do not return to England. Their children, by English mothers, are generally sent home; but their children, by native

mothers, remain generally in the country. The parents desire, of course, to educate their children in the protestant faith; and to bring them, at the proper age, to the bishop for confirmation, to renew the vows of baptism. But, as circumstances are, they must die in the country, and leave their offspring to select such a religion, among the various casts, as they shall choose. The expression which Bishop Lowth used, in respect to this conduct of the church toward her sons, may be seen in another place: it will not be here repeated.

“When the king’s judges were first appointed to India, the measure was opposed at home and abroad. ‘What!’ it was exclaimed, ‘impose English law on a Hindoo! Restrain the liberty of the company’s servants, by the presence of a king’s judge!’ This was the language then. But what is the language now? We suppose there is not a man in India who will not confess that no individual measure was ever fraught with greater blessings to the country.—It is not too much to predict, that the measure which introduced English law into India will not be more beneficial than that which introduces the English religion.”

Our limits force us, however reluctantly, to pass over Dr. Buchanan’s account of the half-casts, or offspring of the Europeans and native women, and we shall close our extracts with a part of his remarks on the want of churches in our Eastern empire.

“In the letter from the chairman and deputy-chairman of the court of directors, to Lord Melville, dated 4th March, 1812, they state, ‘That the disbursements of the company for commerce, for stores, and for sums expended in the acquirement of territory, with forts, &c. has amounted to 51,182,127*l.*—It would have been satisfactory in this retrospect, if we could have seen that a small portion of these *fifty-one millions* had been laid out in building a church.

“But there is, perhaps, less room for crimination here than may by some be apprehended. Any other commercial body of men from England would have probably observed the same conduct in the same circumstances. But did not the Dutch and the Portuguese promote Christianity, and organize religious establishments in the East? They did, in a liberal and princely manner. But it was properly the *state* which acted; and not a private *company*. When the English East-India company were first incorporated, they intended merely to exist in a private character, and to extend commerce. They did not intend to become sovereigns of an empire. If they had, they would not doubt have given their royal pledge, that Christianity should flourish in their dominions in India, like the native palm tree. But they are *now* sovereigns of an empire; and it is only expected that, in accordance with the circumstances in which Providence has placed them, they will concur

with his majesty's government in doing what his majesty would do in their place.

"If the honourable Company be desirous to retain the government of the Indian empire, (we consider it an awful responsibility), it will be proper to shew that this may be done *without prejudice to Christianity*. It is of more consequence to the honour of our country, that the character of the Christian religion be maintained inviolate in India, than that the trade be opened or shut. It is unquestionably true, 'That the opening of the trade, and the permission of colonization, would be more favourable to the extension of Christianity, and of European civilization, than a system of exclusion.' He who shall deny this position must be able to maintain propositions (as has been already shewn) repugnant to the dispensations of Providence, and to the revelation of God. The rulers of the country will, therefore, keep this undeniable fact in mind; and endeavour to prevent the effects of this peculiar inconvenience of their government, by founding liberal institutions for Christianity.

"The tenure of the Indian empire, we repeat it, involves an awful responsibility. If the Company be willing to keep in their permanent service 30,000 Englishmen, of whom but an inconsiderable part return to their native country; if they would continue to preside over the numerous and increasing race of half-cast protestants, and over a population of 60,000,000 of natives; it will be satisfactory to the nation to know, that these, our brethren and fellow-subjects, are likely to enjoy moral advantages, under the government of the East-India company, at least equal to what they would have had, if they were under the national care."

We hope the very imperfect sketch here given of this invaluable memorial of Dr. Buchanan will have that effect on our readers for which it was solely intended,—to induce them to read, and impartially and solemnly to weigh, its afflicting and awful statements.

Some may perhaps think that it is presumptuous for persons destitute of local knowledge to hazard any observations on the important subject of giving Christianity to India, either to the heathens or to our own people; but we must remind them, that the parties whom they hold to be the sole authorities are the same men who, having embarked in a very different speculation, to justify their past indifference to this sovereign duty, maintain the inexpediency and impracticability of any attempts to supply the spiritual wants of this immense population: we therefore humbly submit that their opinion ought not to be deemed a decisive authority, but that the question should be open to discussion on its own merits.

ART. XXVIII.—*The Countess and Gertrude, or Modes of Discipline.* By Lætitia Matilda Hawkins. In four Volumes. London: Printed for F. C. and J. Rivington. 1812.

There are spots among the mountainous parts of Switzerland where the right hand may gather a full-blown flower, while the left touches a mass of ice: so it is with respect to the novel of Miss Lætitia Matilda Hawkins. We read her introductory chapter with such interest and approbation, as to render us extremely impatient to enter upon the work itself: but the glow of satisfaction which the perusal of the introduction left upon our minds was, on our first step into the precincts of the story, exchanged for a sudden chill. We found ourselves at once in the province of frigid jests, and at the congealing point of female bombast and pedantry.

As a specimen of the good sense which runs through the introductory chapter, we will, without more formality, introduce to our readers, and particularly to our readers of fashion, if it be our good fortune to have any, a passage containing very just and pointed censure on the destitute state in which the morals of servants are left by the heads of families.

“The present relaxed mode of governing a family, in too many instances deprives females of that protection which the affluent might, without injury to themselves, and certainly with a great increase of sober satisfaction, afford to the indigent. It is a very difficult matter to prevail on a woman of conscience in the ‘upper circles’ as they are called, to take the charge of a young girl on her first quitting her father’s cottage; the consequence of which difficulty is, that such girls must be content at first with the lowest mistresses, from whom they not unfrequently import into nurseries and dressing-rooms, ideas and manners that are a thousand times more inconvenient than their primitive ignorance and awkwardness.

“The objection to taking this responsibility, is made in the common-place phrase, ‘I cannot look after my servants;’ but if the proprietor of a great manufactory were to say, ‘I cannot look after my workmen,’ we should see the absurdity, and he would feel the effect of it: our duty must be done, nor can we neglect it on this point through any other mistake than that of not considering our servants as persons between whom and ourselves the distinctions necessary in this world, will cease, and for our care of whom, while employed in our service, we are to give as solemn an account as of our care of our children. How half of us can stand this scrutiny, let us ask our own consciences.

“We deny the assertion, that it is impossible to take care of a large family of servants—it may be a labour of Hercules to cleanse



an Augean stable; but we trust there are few such slovens as the king of Elis; and if it were our lot to inherit after so dirty a predecessor, there are strong streams that may even now, and in this country, be turned to the purifying purpose of the Alpheus or the Peneus. Lady Startwell has proved, that, at twenty years of age, well-born, well-educated, and boasting no peculiar powers, it is possible to take the management of a large 'ready-made family' and a noble establishment, to conciliate the love of the one, by assisting them in the government of themselves, and to regulate the other by that gentle coercion which never fails to obtain respect. The means are very easy, if the mind can be abstracted from this world's paltry interruptions; and Lady Startwell will never, unless some great calamity befall her, have half the trouble in managing her household well, that others take to ruin the morals of their servants and their own tempers; for she knows what she has to do, and she does it; yet she is not apparently more occupied in her household affairs than other women of her own rank, nor half so busy as Countess Pennywise, who entertains her friends with the generosity of her tradesman in advising her 'not to buy soap when the price had suddenly risen.' Were all mistresses of great families like Lady Startwell, there would be no difficulty in sheltering the modesty of an humble girl in a situation of protection: such girls would be received in subordinate capacities there, instead of being driven to an alehouse and the society of quartered soldiers; and from those of good habits, they would learn them.

"We should weary were we to investigate the multifold causes which contribute to make some mistresses of families worse than good-for-nothing members of society. We will only name the inordinate love of pleasure and of dress—these things meet the eye of their servants: their drawing-room follies they may enjoy more in secret; but these and their consequences, idleness and extravagance, seem to go through the hands of servants, and are not lost in their passage.

"One deleterious fruit of this corrupted soil, is that soporific of household care, called 'board-wages.' Even in the time of the Spectator, it was considered as pernicious, and certainly manners are not now such as to abate its noxious influence. It is the resort of ignorance and idleness, and the source of infinite mischief. Lady Alimony, indeed, defends it on the plea, that 'it is the only possible mode of government by which you can avoid feeding an army instead of your household;' and we doubt not she is sincere in her belief. When we have a little pushed her in her argument, her last question has silenced us: 'But how is it possible that I can take care of my servants, when, perhaps three times in the week, I am not at home till day-break?' We could have said, that something might be done by way of check in accounts; but we had been told, that three times in the year was quite often enough for 'that parody on the game of cribbage,' our housekeeper's accounts.

—Then, indeed, we could say no more, but ceased to wonder that his infirm lordship had his separate establishment in another county.

“The pride felt by some ladies in seeing their servants drest above their station in life, is another circumstance of unfitness for protection, and an injury to the lower classes, that can result from nothing but pride. The sentiment declares itself in an implied injunction to the beholders, to consider the dignity of those who have persons so dignified in appearance to wait on them. This is pure nonsense; but the effect is something worse. Many a young woman has been rejected where she might have done well, because her former employer has thus corrupted her; and it is a fact, that the stipend and more than the stipend, is spent by female servants even of the lowest description, in this worse than folly. The resource is pretty obvious ‘to the meanest capacity,’ and if ruin ensues, the mistress is not wholly excusable.” Vol. i. p. xxvi.

After patiently persevering through these four volumes, as soon as we recovered ourselves, the first general observation which it occurred to us to make upon the work was this, that its bulk should have been reduced at least by one half before it was sent to the printer, and that the remaining half ought to have been submitted in MSS. to some friend or friends of the authoress, or to any sensible man or woman standing at a sufficient distance in point of taste, erudition, and judgment, from those who have been instrumental in corrupting the natural good sense of this lady by their facetious communications.

Had the anecdotes and *bons mots* thrown together in such motley heaps at the bottom of the pages been naturally suggested by, or connected with, the subject of the page, and had they been ever so good in themselves, they would not have possessed the smallest right to be there: but the truth is, they are seldom introduced with the apology, insufficient as it is, of being fairly started in the mind by the matter of the story. The book furnishes strong internal grounds of conjecture as to the manner in which all this trash has been collected. To swell the publication to the size of four volumes seems to have been the sanguine determination of Miss Hawkins’s mind before sitting down to the task, and we cannot help suspecting that a huge common-place book, which, probably, like a merchant vessel fitted out upon an adventuring voyage, has been freighted with whatever could be scraped together to captivate ignorant wonder, appears to have unloaded its contents into this publication. If any person doubts the correctness of this remark, we are content to abandon it to the charge of unjust asperity, if upon opening any one of the volumes at any place where there happens to be a note he does not find it confirmed by example.

It is rather extraordinary that a person of unquestionable sprightliness and vigour should possess so perverse a taste in matters of wit and humour, that, although ranging without limit over whole centuries of traditionary jokes, and evidently borrowing, begging, and plundering on all sides, she has scarcely produced one tolerable piece of humour sparkling amidst the worthless heaps which she has accumulated. We will present the reader with a specimen or two promiscuously taken from among these silly *notes*, which will enable him to estimate the propriety of our observations.

“ Utterly irrelevant to what we have been saying, brought in by head, neck, and shoulders, but too humorous to be lost, we give a proof of the inaccuracy that even Mr. Sterling could fall into, and which his candor made him very willing to bring forward. He was so often right, that he could afford to be wrong;—and if he had lost by divalging his mistake, he must have gained by the ingenuousness of the confession. He had occasion to write to two persons at the same time; the one, a solicitor, the other a catcher of rats. When we have said this, it will be supposed he mis-directed his letters. No such thing: he only misplaced the *professions*: the vermin-hunter took the affront passively; but the solicitor requested in his reply, to know why he was styled a rat-catcher.” Vol. iii. p. 25.

“ The sensibility of the lower class of people, to this species of imposition, is perhaps greater than that of the higher. ‘ And, O Lord, Sir!’ said a servant-maid, who had prided herself that she was to marry a *scholar*, because she had been courted in fine language on paper; ‘ when I sced my husband sign the book in church with his mark, you mought have knocked me down with a feather.’

“ On an unfortunate failure in scholarship on another less important occasion, a young friend sitting by us, furnishes us with the following anecdote:

“ In the representation of a play in a barn at Lewisham, by some of the lowest orders of strolling players, it was in the part of one to read a letter on the stage; and to save his teachers trouble, and his memory a burden, the lines were written: he took the paper in his hand, and advanced towards the audience, but recollecting himself, he stept to the side-scene, and, to the great diversion of the house, called out, ‘ I say—you forget I can’t read writing.’”

Let the reader also turn to the note in pages 190 and 191 of the first volume, containing a list of juvenile anecdotes.

We might easily fill half the pages of this number with the same sort of absurdity if we could stoop to the task, and so far forget the interests of the reader. In the whole compass of recorded failures in attempts at humour, the work before us deserves the palm of deterioration. It is a happy circumstance, how-

ever, for the authoress, that these anecdotes and jests are so entirely foreign to the work itself, that if she can be persuaded in another edition to cut them all away with an unsparing hand, the main story will receive no sort of damage or disfigurement, and those, if there be any such, by whom this defalcation would be felt as a loss, may have the precious prunings collected into a detached folio for their special perusal and edification.

The miserable puns, such as that upon Passion week, Nottinghamshire, for Nottinghamshire, and Lady Eggshell hatching a plot; the pedantic turns and absurd phrases, such as "foremothers," "bijou occurrences," "bijou of accommodation," "climax of bed-rooms," "dehortation," "sanguinary writings," "butchering pathos," "harrowing pathos," "sonniculous misery," "a halo of anecdote," "a halo of pleasant feelings," "a halo of universal contempt," "hebdominal visit," "peripatetic rumination," "an ipso facto husband," "a quid pro quo system of commutative justice," "adjusted in his cumbent posture," "the derriere of the carriage," "gravely dissipated," "to be gratified enmass," and a thousand other phrases, pedantically, affectedly, and ignorantly used, should all, when the opportunity arrives, be without mercy dismissed. We say nothing of that species of wit which consists in giving to the subjects of the various anecdotes names descriptive of their particular qualities, characters, or professions: as Dr. Rhubarb, Mr. Lint, Mrs. Gruel, Miss Stareabout, Miss Spanglefoot, Lord Portsoker, Miss Lazy-brains, Sir Puff Ball, Sir Veni Vidi Vici, Miss Millions, and Sir Three per Cent Consols. This wretched sort of humour, which can only serve to supply a cheap fund of drollery for the giggling age of thirteen, will necessarily take their departure together with the anecdotes, jests, and detached pieces of character-drawing with which they are connected.

But the work of retrenchment and excision ought not to end here. All the foreign words, whether from dead or living languages, all remarks on classic authors, all caressing compliments to friends, all attempts at description of high life, and much of that which appertains, or seems to appertain to religion, may with great advantage to these volumes be lopped away. And we are persuaded that the trunk of sentiment and character which will remain, will be rendered infinitely more vigorous, firm, and full of sap, from this defalcation of its morbid luxuriance. The words, both from the Latin and French, are generally introduced without the only proper excuse for the introduction of them, gaiety of colouring, illustration of meaning, or accession of force, imparted by them to the subject. They are, too, it must be observed, in the use

made of them in this book, frequently misunderstood, as "*ipso facto*," "mesalliance," and many others\*. Her pictures of the manners of high life have no resemblance to the originals, and appear to be executed from such models as books, or the idle stories of common town-gossip are daily putting into circulation.

Wherever the authoress draws from the native fountains of her own intelligence and observation, her thoughts flow in a stream both deep and clear; her natural and original current of sentiment is bright, bracing, and salubrious; it is the turbid influx of other waters, the confluence of ditches and drains, and the weeds which infest the sides of the river producing an unwholesome stagnation and irregular eddies, of which we complain. Many things drop from her on the topics of religious duty to which we most cordially subscribe, and we cannot help thinking that were she to yield on this subject to the proper bent of her mind, she would be freer from self-contradictions, and fuller of useful comment. Her great error on this head appears to arise from a too strenuous endeavour to make religion, by lowering its standard, a thing of more easy attainment than those whom she is very fond of calling ascetics and methodists are in the habit of representing it. We would humbly recommend her to consider that these are things not submitted but propounded to us, and that it is not man that makes religion for God, but God that wills and dictates it to man. We must take it as we find it. Nothing appears to us to do this sacred cause more essential harm, than the apparent candour and liberality, but real cant and dogmatism, which pervades the didactical common place of Lady Mary on this subject, which we will, though it is rather long, much too long, set before our readers, because it is really one of the best epitomes of what may be called a convenient fashionable religion we have any where encountered. The intermixture of what is undeniably good constitutes the real danger of these pious institutes of good Lady Mary, as they fatally conduce to recom-

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\* We cannot conceive what could have suggested to the author the observations she has made upon the supposed mistakes of medical men in respect to the word pulse. Where can she have found the ignorance she speaks of? We will extract the note.

"We are very sorry to say, we do not caricature in making our medical man sin against the rule that 'a verb agrees with its nominative case.' It is matter of unqualified wonder to hear the most sensible men—men who are scholars, and who have every medical recommendation, adopt this almost fashionable ignorance of making pulse plural. It is descending on the horn-buck to remind them that, as pulse has a plural of its own, it cannot be a plural in its singular form.—Do, we entreat you, good gentlemen, indulge us by saying, 'Your pulse is steadier, your pulse is weak,' as used to be the fashion; or we can never talk of 'the throbbing pulses of the brain.'"

mend a system of practical employment for the Lord's day, which, upon the whole, must be very agreeable to the gay religionists of the great world, but is very loosely connected with scriptural ordinances.

“ ‘And now,’ said her ladyship on entering her house, ‘how shall I most please you? for I look on the giving rational pleasure to a young person, as one of the allowed recreations of this cheerful day; and I will walk with you, or visit with you, or take you to see the world in Kensington garden, or I will stay at home and read with you; make no scruple of being honest, for though, at my time of life, I hold my best use of the Lord's day to be the preparing myself, in the intervals of public worship, by reading and meditation, for a world on which I must soon enter, yet, when an opportunity, such as this, offers, of encouraging the good to continue good, I should prefer it to any personal solicitude.—Say, then, you like Kensington garden, and I am at your service—it will not be so gay as it was in the spring; but still the town is not empty, and the day is not too hot to enjoy it.’

“ ‘You encourage me,’ said Gertrude, ‘my dear madam, even to be wrong:—I own it is a great temptation, for I never saw Kensington garden, except from Hyde park.’

“ A few visitors, persons whose respect for Lady Mary shewed them deserving of her regard, in succession filled up the time, till they set out. Of the number, were two or three sensible men, who informed her of books or subjects of curiosity; one was her parish-priest; two were young women, whose affections seemed increased by some cause for gratitude; and the conversation with all, was equally removed from the frivolous and the formal.

“ Could we, without wearying, we would detail Lady Mary's sentiments and remarks in her promenade. She did not once thank God that she had passed the age of being easily pleased: she neither stigmatised fashions, nor encouraged folly; but she taught discrimination. She gave to beauty, grace, and elegance their meed of praise; and she shewed that the world may be our instruction, our amusement, or our bane, according to our choice. Many interesting little anecdotes she told of those whom they met, or who joined her for a few minutes, setting virtue in the fairest point of view, or the deviation from it in an awful one.

“ There was a height of manner about Lady Mary, totally distinct from pride, but bespeaking her rank; and to all she met, her deportment was so naturally, as well as correctly, adjusted, that it placed her and them in their proper situation: to her superiors she looked with dignified respect; to her equals she was frank and conciliating; whilst to those who were her inferiors, she was gracefully encouraging. The aged could not fancy that they had outlived her remembrance; the young saw themselves not beneath her regard; and towards all, there was a tone of veracity, that gave the value of sincerity to her politeness.

‘I am not yet,’ said she, ‘too old to be caught with trifles, or triffers; and, though I would not wear these fine colours, these gay decorations, these gossamer ornaments, yet they are all, in their simple state of existence, the work of an Almighty hand; and pink and purple, ostrich-feathers, and jewels, in their proper place, all catch my attention, and exert a species of admiration that is pleasant in the excitation; and as for the wearers, if they will do any thing seriously to preclude themselves from the natural effect of maturer years, they and I can never disagree; the affectation in youth of despising what belongs to its age, may, I fear, make hypocrites, but it seldom produces real wisdom.’

‘Returning home half an hour before dinner, Lady Mary said, ‘Now, if none of my Sunday friends interrupt us, we will this evening avail ourselves of the hour of service at the neighbouring chapel, and atone for our omission of public worship this afternoon; but, as I conceive it a right thing to be very good humoured to idle young men on a Sunday, I always have a plain but ample dinner, to which a few of my friends’ sons are constantly invited. In my house-keeper’s room, I have a snug table for two or three who have known better days. My guests do not keep me at home very often, for I do not associate with the very naughty; they will, if I am circumstanced as to-day, sometimes go with me to hear our young orator at the chapel. Some, indeed, I have not yet got into such good training; and with these I can do more by staying at home; this I do willingly, as, at least, I can keep them from worse company; and I own, though I wish to understand this day in the most liberal acceptance we are warranted in, I feel something uncomfortable in thinking of their resorting even to chess and billiards; they are so utterly unconnected with the business we have to do; they so preclude all recollection, and they are in themselves so innocent, that I dread them as habits rendered imperceptibly noxious, not by their own incorporated evil, but simply by their empire over us.’

‘Two young men arrived nearly at the last moment; the one had the recommendations of good sense and an ardent curiosity, which Lady Mary was equally able and willing to indulge and to satisfy; the other, related to her, seemed possessed of invincible good-nature, and a brilliant taste; he brought to her an offering of elegant sportive poetry, which she received with acknowledgment and commendation; the conversation was easy and animated; and Gertrude was not allowed to decline a share in it.

‘The party did not separate till it was nearly time for service. ‘If you are going to chapel,’ said the elder young man, ‘will you allow me to attend you?’ ‘I shall wait your return,’ said the poet. ‘I feel lazy; but I insist on your going.’ Lady Mary, with some mirth, allowed his claim to indulgence; but, before they had seated themselves in the pew, he overtook them. ‘You shame me,’ said he, ‘it is too bad;—I should not have minded it, would you have let me be quiet; but your butler, supposing the stage clear, came to take care of your wine, and he begged my pardon in such

any way, that somehow I was forced to say, I was following you, and, having said it, I felt that I must do it.

“ You will not ask me, I am sure,” said Lady Mary, “ to blame a cause that has had so good an effect.”

“ The refreshments of the evening met them on their return. Conversation arose out of the subject of the sermon; and Lady Mary, mixing historical enquiry with moral discussion, brought forward the recollections and various information of the young men; she gave to each the opportunity of doing himself credit, and by putting them into good conceit with themselves, she instructed them on those subjects that were really of the first importance with her.

“ They retired before ten; but Lady Mary would not allow them to escort Gertrude home. She detained her, to speak on the difference between following the lead of others, and indulging ourselves in the performance of our duties. ‘ I call this,’ said she, ‘ a day of great relaxation and indulgence to myself: my time of life does not allow me leisure to make all Sundays like this:’ but if we take the vicissitudes of times and seasons, as they come, we shall find that the course to which the affairs of this life are subjected by the overruling hand of a wise Providence, presents whatever we require. A rainy day, that keeps every body at home, permits me to be at home with myself; and relieving my attention by changing its object, a day of sixteen hours is not too long for me: I tell you I have a Sunday-book; that which at present occupies with me the chief place next the Scriptures, is Klopstock’s Messiah, of which those who cannot read it in the original, can have no idea. It has been most dishonestly translated and degraded; for though it has, like most great works, great faults, it has beauties not exceeded by the Paradise Lost, and an importance that makes an acquaintance with it, when it can be obtained, something more than matter of amusement. It is a work I am always reading; and, as it teaches me to look with humble hope and confidence, to a state of existence that is to recompense us for the trials of this, it is my interest to make it my *lectio-secum*: what is our interest is too pleasant to tire soon; therefore I am fond of the book; and as it does not cheat us by making our own endeavours unnecessary, I can always hope I am invigorated in my path of duty by the pious German. Besides this, I read the sermons of our best writers, and the celebrated French preachers: I have cordial friends, with whom I correspond in a way not unsuited to the day; and there is always, with such ‘ lilies of the field’ as myself, who ‘ neither toil nor spin,’ some little fanciful episodè of imagined duty carrying on, which calls for the calm exercise of our limited powers; some little lass to be put in the way to get her bread; some contrivance, similar to that in the fable of the Crow and the Pitcher, by which ingenuity may supply means we cannot command; some one to advise; some one to console; some one’s cause to plead, or somebody to whom one can give pleasure, even without quitting the fire-side.

“ With these ideas, you would not be surprised to see me very



angry at hearing Sunday vilified, or seeing it mis-used, because its use is not understood. Every thing is dull to the ignorant; and to rest, is a command of tyranny to him who never works; but to those who know what it is to persevere, even in a course of moderate industry, six days together, the seventh comes as a cordial, and is received as a friend, whom we would not meet but with a cheerful countenance. Different ranks of persons must give it different entertainment; *if the lower classes will but go to church once in the day, and forbear swearing, drinking, fighting, and such enormities, they have my hearty concurrence in their finery, their tea-gardens, and all their toil for pleasure; nor would I abridge the gratification of Sunday hospitality amongst those with whom it is the only day of leisure, if it be indulged with a due regard to the purpose of the day, and the relief of our domestics.* All this, you will say, carries the appearance of allowance and concession; and, unless I give you my most private opinion, my dear young friend, I shall, after all, mislead you. Every day ought to be to us partially a Sabbath: all who can command an interval of leisure, ought to make use of it, for the purpose of stopping the springs and wheels of their occupations, and communing with their own hearts; but if as is too much the case with most of us, the stream sets with too strong a current to be thus checked, the return of the stated period is invaluable. As an enjoined Sabbath merely, that is as a day of rest, it demands our respect, our acquiescence, and our self-command; but as the Lord's day, it has a more active character with us as parties to the New Covenant; and I conceive its fit employment to be the solemn dedication of ourselves, from the time of our rising from sleep, till our falling into it again, to the duties of religion, without admitting into it any of this world's ideas or businesses, but such as serve to connect the commandments of the Old Testament with those of the New. But abstraction from the world, is a power few possess, and fewer ought to use; for to be innocent, it must result from circumstances: as soon as it forces them, it becomes reprehensible. The ascetic virtues are depredations on society, if society has any claim on us; but there certainly are persons, who trained by misfortune, or the high character of their own mind, may presume to say on the Lord's day, 'Farewell! thou busy world,' and turn with all their heart to Him who made it. But let no one be unhappy, if this disposition, in its utmost extent, does not follow their honest endeavours. Let us do our best, and trust that we shall, as we proceed, be enabled to make that best better.

“ ‘And now, my dear young friend,’ concluded Lady Mary, ‘I have said to you what occurs to me on the subject of that day, which I would wish you to regard, not as the Jewish Sabbath, but as a day of a more active character, and substituting the equity of Christianity for the Mosaic law. We have passed it, I hope, pleasantly to us both.—Nothing remains for me to do but to join in devotion with my servants; and, as this should be the last of their employments, that the impression may not be effaced, I must know first that you

are safe at home; my chair shall convey you, and one of the men shall attend you; and, as I suppose we shall both be occupied to-morrow, our next meeting probably may be in my carriage. Should you experience any disappointment or vexation, in your equipments, let me know, and I shall be happy to assist you \*."

That this account of religion,—this pretty religious small-talk is very popular we have no doubt, and that by far the greater part of fashionable young females, as well as correct people in general, find it very consolatory, and very orthodox, is natural and probable. One thing only was wanting to give it perfection; it was without any violent abuse of the poor methodists. An opportunity, however, offers itself in the fourth volume, and in chapter 82, and, especially, in page 279, the old stories in defamation of this sect are repeated with a great air of authority and accurate information. We are told of a wretched teacher of this stamp, who "was in high confidence with persons of rank, education, and unimpeachable integrity, and who, though professing themselves of the church of England, thought it expedient to disperse over the country, as preachers of the gospel; as expounders of texts, and as advocates of moral virtue, a set of men too low, in every point of view, for any profession." We are then told of preachers of this persuasion who find their way into female schools to undermine the virtue of their young disciples under the pretence of improving them in piety. These are heavy charges against a body of men who certainly are not found in the daily commission of trespasses against the peace, the duties, and the good order of society; and every just person must agree with us, that nothing can warrant us in giving currency to such reports, but the most authentic proofs of their foundation in fact. It is, to the last degree, painful to see with what a resolute belief all such cruel gossip is vouched and transmitted.

"Not weighed nor winnowed by the multitude,  
But swallowed in one mass, unchewed and crude."

We give ourselves very little trouble about what is said of *our own partialities or principles*; Christ and his religion are the objects on which we endeavour to fix our affections; and finding these, as we think, in the doctrine, faith, and discipline of the church of England in a superior state of dignity and purity, we cheerfully give it all our attachment and obedience: but we will never display our attachment to it by listening to disparaging tales of other communions, much less by aiding in their propagation: neither will we seek to recommend ourselves by flattering

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\* The words here printed in italics are not so in the work itself. The passages on which we found our remarks are so printed here to save the necessity of noting them particularly.

the security of our own establishments, or relax from any strictures on its negligence or danger, which may appear to be useful in keeping alive in its members a tender sensibility to its interests.

If these stories to the dishonour of methodists are not rashly taken up on mere trust, as we suspect they often are, still we maintain that it can do no good to the church to promote their publicity; for, say what we will, to bring any body of men, professing religion, into contempt, is to bring some scandal upon religion itself. There is only one way which we can with safety and propriety adopt of conducting the contest against sectaries and schismatics. We have so often said what, according to our humble conceptions, that conduct ought to be; that we will not repeat it here; but will content ourselves with expressing our fears that, if the sentiments of the good Lady Mary were to settle a standard of piety for the church of England, that church must soon sink under the weight of aggregate hostility, or depend upon the mutual jealousy of its opponents for an existence by sufferance. That methodists sometimes abuse their power and opportunities, like individual members and ministers of other communions, who can doubt? But, if we reason from these particular instances to the conduct and character of a *whole* body, it is obvious to every considerate man how greatly we expose our own cause. Let us suppose a methodist to have done what is said by the writer of this novel to have been the conduct of one of that body; have they no opportunity to retort the accusation by referring to the conduct of one of our own ministers within the recollection of most of our readers; and have they not as good a right to reason from particular cases to the *general* character of the ministers of the church? Such a contest carried on, in this way, by induction on each side, would evidently be as infinite as it would be inflammatory and invidious.

We should be sorry, however, to be thought blind to the merit of many passages in this work, which afford very favourable specimens of the writer's judgment and feeling. We cannot but greatly commend many of the sentiments she puts into the mouth of Mr. Mudd,—as in page 11, vol. iv. where he declares his resolution to dedicate the best favoured of his children to the service of his Maker. The account of Gertrude's rambling progress in her studies, and the effects produced on her by the first perusal of the Bible, presents an innocent and pleasing picture, and discovers a skilful talent in sketching character in a state of native luxuriance, to which we are happy to bear testimony. The duty to parents is well and feelingly enforced by the sentiments and reasoning of Gertrude in many parts of the work; and par-

ticularly in page 226, vol. iii. The description of the family of the Franklands, in vol. iii page 202, is drawn with an amiable warmth of colouring which places the reader in the midst of them, and with a heart full of the most pleasing sympathies. There are, also, many satirical portraits, which are traced with force and humour, as in page 193, vol. iv. where the reader cannot fail of being amused by the absurdities of a parent in the foolish indulgence of her children. The little piece of sacred allegory in vol. ii. page 374, is ingenious, and very simply and pleasingly told.

Great praise is due to the ability displayed in the delineation of some of the characters. That of Gertrude is extremely interesting. We were much affected by her situation under the coarse discipline of the Countess of Luxmore, and the capricious despotism of Mr. Sterling, the countess's uncle. The gradual development of the properties and dispositions of her heart, and her casual accumulation of knowledge, under disadvantages, which, at first view, appeared to oppose insuperable barriers to her progress, give great attraction to her character. These difficulties, by stimulating exertion, and exciting intellectual curiosity, will often draw forth into fuller and more energetic action the genial capacities of a good soil. With respect to the moral utility of such an example we entertain great doubts. It is true, perhaps, that very many of the most significant characters are indebted principally for their force and vivacity to impressions produced by casual occurrences which escape observation, and can neither be anticipated, controlled, or modified by culture, or the arts of discipline: but a character so moulded suggests no practical rules for the conduct of education; and, to the extent in which it is likely to attract imitation, it is dangerous in its consequences. Upon the whole, however, the simplicity, honesty, directness, gentleness, and, we may add, piety of Gertrude, are very safe objects of admiration and imitation to her own sex of all ranks and ages. No character could be better imagined to give effect by contrast to these properties of the amiable Gertrude than the Countess of Luxmore, whose vulgarity, meanness, and selfishness, are exhibited through the whole work with great vivacity, consistency, and nature. The character of the young Lord Portargis is touched with truth and spirit. His vapidity, selfishness, and paltry feelings and addictions, and all the *strenua inertia* of his mind, are set forth in a manner that conveys a very distinct image to the reader, while he serves as most of the characters do, the subordinate purpose of illustrating the sheer goodness of heart which so commends Gertrude to our affections. Some of the features, however, in this portrait, be-

tray an ignorance, pardonable, surely, in a female author, of the ways of young fools of fashion.\* The dinner scene in page 231, vol. iv. is preposterous. The conversation between the young nobleman and the rustic footman, and the method adopted by the former to supply the deficiencies of his mother's table, by going out to purchase niceties for a concluding course, is out of all probability, and has greatly too much violence even for a caricature of that prevailing addiction to the science of eating, so base and ridiculous in the young men of condition of the present day. The observations in the note to the same passage on the sottish indecency of finishing a gluttonous repast without thanks to the Almighty Giver, are worthy of a good heart, and sound understanding. We cannot help expressing our obligations to Miss Hawkins for leaping so much deserved contempt and ridicule on fashionable stupidity and meanness in this well imagined and ably drawn character of Lord Portargis, though we can scarcely excuse the attachment of Gertrude to so despicable a coxcomb. It raises the credit of her simplicity at the entire expence of her discernment.

The other characters are, in general, well sustained throughout the work, and, for the most part, there is both chastity and fidelity in the execution of this most difficult part in the business of the novel writer. Lord Luxmore and Mr. Sterling are both examples of this skill in Miss Hawkins, though, perhaps, the unfeeling and tyrannical behaviour of the latter towards the unprotected Gertrude is carried to excess. We have no room to prosecute any further the examination of this voluminous production. It is a great deal too long, and if Miss Hawkins is desirous of giving it a place among the few *standards* in this department of literature, she will do justice to that part which is really creditable to her powers, her taste, and her principles, by clearing away the dross and rubbish with which it is incumbered.

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ART. XXIX.—*Asiatic Researches; or, Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal, for enquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia.* Volume XI. Calcutta, 4to. 1810. London, 4to. and 8vo. 1812.

HAVING so recently offered our sentiments on the general merit and utility of the preceding volumes of this work, we shall pro-

ceed without delay to the consideration of so much of the contents of the volume before us as our limits will allow us to examine in the present number.

*Art. I.—An Account of the Petrifications near the Village of Trevikera, in the Carnatic, by Captain John Warren, of H. M. 33d Regiment.*

This is an article of some curiosity, describing a greater collection of perfect petrifications than we recollect having before heard of. But the description, though sufficiently correct and perspicuous for a general reader, is not satisfactory to the scientific enquirer. Were specimens selected of the different substances which have undergone the process of petrific transmutation, with the soils and fluids on and near the spot, an opportunity would be afforded of obtaining some chemical results, curious, and, perhaps, important. Should this journal have the good fortune to fall into the hands of certain individuals at Madras, whom we could name, we might promise ourselves and our readers some advantage from the adoption of our suggestion of submitting to the test of chemical analysis various portions of the earths surrounding the petrifications, as well as of the stone-trees themselves, of which we shall proceed to extract some account. On the western declivity of a hillock of about fifty feet in height, and near its summit, lies the principal object described in this article. It is in a horizontal position on the surface of the ground, with two-thirds of its roots bare:—but no remains of branches are any where discoverable, though the knots at the insertion of the branches are visible on the trunks of many trees. Of the body of the largest tree, which has been divided by stone-cutters into three pieces, twenty feet remain, three feet thick at the root end; the root is seven feet in diameter. Other trees were noticed of thirty and forty feet in length; and one, broken to pieces, is estimated at sixty feet, measuring four feet and a half in diameter. Some portions of them “are as hard as flint, and others so soft as to be reduced to dust by the slightest pressure.” Most of these petrified trees observed by Captain Warren, in all, perhaps, forty or fifty, are prostrate within the space of half a mile, or less. He was told there were no others in the neighbourhood; but is himself of opinion that a great many more lie hid under ground, which have never been exposed to light in that state.

“I have remarked,” he says, “of these petrifications, that they are more perfect—(that is, we suppose, the process is more complete,)—at the root, and in those parts which are buried

under ground, than in those which lie exposed to the air. The petrified root, in most places, is as hard as flint: it takes a much finer polish than any part of the stem, and assumes a more variegated appearance in its veins and colours; like the flint, it easily strikes fire, and breaks short when briskly stricken. The jewellers prefer those fragments which, when broken from the tree, appear, in the interior, of a brown and purple colour, with grey or white veins. The more prevalent the purple or pink, the more the stone is valued. When polished and well selected, it assumes a great variety of colours, resembling, most frequently, agate, changing from a dark brown grey to bright red, with white veins. The red, when well chosen, might be easily taken for cornelian: it is generally preferred for necklaces when cut in flat circles. The grey looks best in beads, and is used in that shape for necklaces and bracelets, arranged in the usual way."

On the other side of the village of Trevikera is another hill much higher than those already mentioned, entirely covered with large blue granite stones, which present no distinct trace whatever of petrification; but from some other remarkable and curious objects which are noticed by Captain Warren on and in the vicinity of these hills, and from various coincidences which he details, he judges "the whole of the transformed grove to have once been the majestic and wide-spreading tamarind." Of its antiquity he could gain no information. Old Brahmans on the spot had known them fifty years; their fathers and grandfathers also knew them. It is said that no record of them exists in the neighbouring temple; nor could Captain Warren hear of any superstitions connected with such singular objects. But we may venture to assert that such superstitions or mythologic legends do exist respecting them: and extravagant as such legends are, they are not wholly to be despised; for, as their character is rather to embellish than to create, a particle of historical or physical truth is frequently to be extracted from the mass of legendary rubbish under which it is buried.

Captain Warren having left us to the full indulgence of our own conjectures, as to the origin and antiquity of these singularly situated petrifications, we may venture to say that we do not see a more plausible theory, than that the hillocks, on which they now rest, once formed part of a plain, or valley, wherein they vegetated. By some cause, inaccessible to present research, the trees may have been prostrated and submerged, or deposited in some petrifying menstrua, produced, conducted, or collected there by some equally inscrutable process. An elemental conflict may have upheaved the mass, in a state so disjointed and loosened as to admit the periodical heavy falls of rain, which, by

the operation of ages, appear to have washed down the interstitial earth, and partially bared the harder substances. Without some such theory as this, wild as it may be, it is difficult to account for such elevated petrifications in a country so exposed to deluges of rain.

*Art. II.—An Essay on the Sacred Isles in the West, with other Essays, connected with that Work. By Major F. Wilford. Essay I. Part I. chap. ii.*

In the ancient poetical romances of the Hindus, entitled the Puranas, there is, it seems, frequent mention of an island, called *Swetam*, and *Sacram*, by the former of which names is meant the White Island. It is, also, called *Tri-kuta*, or Three-peaked, and, according to the opinion of Major Wilford, not now, indeed, first promulgated, it includes the British empire in the west.

In support of this opinion, however extravagant it may at first view appear, Major Wilford has adduced many passages from the Puranas and other Sanskrit books; to which, if they have fallen short of impressing conviction on our minds, we readily concede the credit of industrious research, and ingenious application.

Major Wilford will not, we hope, deem our scepticism disrespectful, since it seems that, with all his advantages, he was, himself, rather tardy in yielding his assent to the identity of *Swetam*, and the White Sea in its vicinity, with Britain, and the Bristol Channel. We are reminded that he, at first, believed them to have indicated Crete and the Mediterranean; but, as *Tri-kuta*, or three-peaked, is not quite applicable to Crete, an idea occurred of bestowing the honour on Sicily, the Greek name of which was *Trinacria*; and hence the learned gentleman, by an ingenious etymological process, deduces the *Trinquetra* and *Targoum* of the Latins and Greeks.

For the farther illustration of the subject, a map is annexed of the north-west quarter of the old continent from the Puranas. "The shape and general outlines of the western shores, in the accompanying map," says the writer, "bear no small affinity with those of Europe, which they were intended to represent. There we may trace the Bay of Biscay, the German Sea, and the entrance into the Baltic. But, above all, the greatest resemblance is in the arrangement of the British isles, Iceland, and the adjacent shores of America; and this, surely, cannot be merely accidental. The islands of *St. hula*, or *Thule*, now *Ferro*, *Chandica*, the Shetland Isles, *Indradawpa*, or the Orkneys, are placed beyond the British Isles; and I have arranged them in



the manner they are in the map, on the supposition that they really answer to those islands."

A map "faithfully extracted" from the Puranas, or any ancient Sanskrit book, "of the north-west quarter of the old continent,"—"exhibiting the shape and general outlines of the western shores, and bearing no small affinity with those of Europe, which they were intended to represent,"—"the Bay of Biscay,"—"above all, a great resemblance to the arrangement of the British Isles, Iceland, and the adjacent shores of America," was hailed by us, indeed, as a curiosity, and we turned to the promised map with proportionate eagerness. Returning to the page above quoted, to be sure that we had put before us the right map, we found, to our great mortification, that, in the hurry of curiosity, we had not read the passage as we ought, which runs as follows:

"For the illustration of this subject, I have annexed a map of the north-west quarter of the old continent from the Puranas; and the only additions that I have presumed to make are, first, a rough delineation of the western shores of Europe; and, secondly, the polar circle."

Now such of our readers as look, with us, to the ingenious speculations of our learned brethren in Asia for real and authentic information, will share in our disappointment on this occasion; and will be induced to complain that the promise of "a map of the north-west quarter of the old continent from the Puranas," with its interesting "affinities" and "resemblances," should evaporate in mere interpolations, or "rough delineations of the western shores of Europe," from Arrowsmith, or some English geographer. The remark is perfectly just that points, so added, "bearing no small affinity,"—"great resemblance," &c. "cannot, surely, be accidental?" No more accidental, certainly, than if the author could have found room for the position of London, and the site of the monument, and then had called upon us to sympathize with his own delight in the discovery of such an extraordinary Puranic coincidence. Beside what we have noticed, the map in question has evidently many other additions of European positions and names, without which it might, to our perception, be as well taken for a representation of the moon, the sun, or any planet or star in our or other systems, as "of the north-west quarter of the old continent" of this nether world. In a former review of an essay by this learned gentleman (Vol. IV. page 162), we complained heavily, but not disrespectfully, of his lamentable proneness to interpolation. The burden of our complaint is not diminished by an examination of the article now before us, and we invite a re-

ference to its early pages for a confirmation of the justice of such complaint, rather than repeat it here.

But we will leave this unlucky map, and proceed with our ingenious essayist. We pass over the frequent parenthetical substitutions of south for north, and of north for south or west, and the like, in translations from Sanskrit authorities, and when the positions determined by such bearings do not accord with the author's hypothesis. By leaving out such amendments we have, as we presume and hope, the genuine words of the original, which is what we want, and with which we shall be satisfied, whatever may be predicated of the hypothesis.

"The whole island was not unknown to the western mythologists, but this name had become obsolete for so long a period, that they had entirely forgotten that it belonged to Britain."—"One of the three peaks is called Hiranya, and *might* be called, also, in a derivative form, Suverneya," both meaning the land of gold. "Hiranya and Suverneya are *obviously* the same with Erin and Juvernia, or Ireland."—"There are, indeed, gold mines in Ireland, which might have been more productive formerly; and the astonishing quantities of gold trinkets found daily in the bogs, seem to countenance the idea." Ireland may in this case be, indeed, called "the land of gold," and has suffered great indignity by being considered only as the land of potatoes. "Astonishing quantities" is, to be sure, an expression somewhat vague; but, as we have not had the good fortune even to hear of the gold trinkets found daily in the bogs of Ireland, far less to meet with any of them, we are not able to judge as to their quantity or quality. "The third peak-land, or Scotland, is called Ayacuta, or the Iron-peak, or island—in a derivative form we *might* grammatically say, Ayeya, though this term be never used: but that is *no reason for supposing* that the term *never* was in use; for it is the island of Aiaia, or Aœa, of the western mythologists. It might be called also, Loha-dwipa: but this denomination is *never* found in the Puranas; though there is *every reason* to believe that it was used, also, formerly: and I believe that it was really the original name. Scotland might, with equal propriety, be called the Iron-peak-land. With respect to England, it is not so *obvious*, whether formerly, it abounded with silver, or had mines of that precious metal." But, notwithstanding these modest doubts, England is, in like manner, etymologically proved to be the "Silver island" of the Puranas.

This prepares us for another "obvious" deduction.

"We read in Plutarch, that a certain *Thraspeus* of Soli was transported in the spirit to the islands of the departed, where he

saw three *genii* sitting in a *triangle*. He saw there, also, *three lakes* of melted gold, lead, and iron. The first looked like gold; the second, of lead, though in fusion, was exceedingly cold, and looked white. This was meant, perhaps, for white lead or tin. The third lake, of iron, was black, and its surface very rugged, as if full of scoriae.

“The three *genii* were Vishnu, Brahma, Siva, or rather their *Sactis*, or female energies, which are the three *Paices* of the western mythologists. This relation of Thespesius *alludes visibly* to the ternary number of these islands;”—(That is, we suppose, England, Ireland, and another which we do not discover)—“and the three lakes have an *obvious reference* to the three peaks.”

Some truly ingenious speculations follow these dazzling conclusions, which men of more cautious habits and cooler temperament may censure as bordering on the romantic. We must submit to be classed among those tame enquirers, who, though not at war with etymological deductions, are at all times disposed to receive them with jealous suspicion. Lingual coincidences, where other facts, relations, and probabilities conduct to similar inferences, afford a safe and powerful aid to our researches into the originals, and early intercourse of the peopled parts of the globe; but when relied on as single grounds of hypothesis and conjecture, they are apt, by degrees, to captivate the judgment, and to bring an ingenious mind under the dominion of capricious fancies.

“It is declared in the Puranas, that the White Island is incapable of decay, and is never involved in the destruction and ruin which happen at each renovation of the world, except the last; when every thing will be absorbed into the Supreme Being, who will remain alone. The White Island and mountain is then the same, in which lived Evenor and his wife Leucippe, or the white goddess, according to Plato.”—“The White Island is also called the Dwipa of Saca, or Sacam, which is the same with Seaxum, or Saxum, as it was pronounced by our ancestors; or, more properly, the White Island was part of Sacam, as it is positively declared in the Matsya and Varaha-puranas. From these two Puranas it is *not beyond doubt* that the British Isles are to be understood by Sacam: perhaps some adjacent parts of the continent are, also, to be included under this denomination.”

How provoking it is that this learned gentleman has not favoured us with an exact uninterpolated translation of the passages in these two Puranas, that worked conviction on his mind, that we, likewise, might have had a chance of having our misapprehensions removed. Let us hear the author again.

—Thus St. George, the successor of Vishnu, though greatly inferior to him, being only a *Rishi*, is the patron of the British

empire in general, or Sacam; yet he is more particularly the guardian angel of England, or Swetani. The names of the four tribes" (of Hindus) "are still preserved in Britain and the nearest parts of the continent, in the titles of their Cula-devatas, or tutelary gods of families, tribes, and nations. Thus the name of the sacerdotal tribe of the *Magas*, or *Magans* in the plural, is still obvious in that of the god Magon, inscribed on several stones in the north of England."—"The third tribe of merchants, called *Manasa*, is rescued from oblivion in the name of the god Mounus in an inscription in England. The name of the fourth or lowest class, called *Magada*, is still obvious in the name of the goddess *Magada*, whom the modern Germans acknowledge that their ancestors once worshipped. This tribe of Brahmans is still very numerous in India, particularly in South Bahar, which is acknowledged to be called in Sanscrit, *Magad'ha*, from them."—"Thus the *Magas* and *Magism* form an uninterrupted chain from Britain to Siam."

It is but justice to the author to observe that we can give but a very small portion of the items, or links, by which he persuades himself that he has completed his chain of evidence to establish what would be very gratifying to our national vanity, as well as to our curiosity, that Britain is White Island, the holy land of the Hindus.

"If the Hindus had been in possession of the Vedas in the time of Crishna, there would have been no occasion to send to the White Island for Brahmans skilled in the true worship of the sun: and we find that the sacred Vedas were committed to writing, and published at that very time in India, by the famous Vyasa; at the very time, I say, that the *Magas* made their appearance in India. As it is acknowledged that these sacred books came originally from the west, and as they were committed to writing about the time that the *Magas* arrived in India, it might be supposed that they brought this sacred treasure with them, and delivered it orally to *Vyasa*, who committed it immediately to writing; for which deed he is highly censured by some. But what solves the difficulty at once is, that the famous *Vyasa* is declared to have abided for so long a period in the White Island, that he obtained the well-known surname of *Dwaipayana*, or, he who resides in the island. For thus is the White Island emphatically denominated."

In another page we are told that "the Vedas are declared in the Puranas to have been found by Nareda in the White Island, where they reside in human shapes." This may, among a figurative people, be a mode of expressing oral or unwritten laws. As well as the Vedas, many of the gods and heroes of the Hindus appear to have resided in, or have derived their origin from, our island. Vishnu, Krishna, Rama, and all the principal avatars or incarnations of the deity first named went hence to India.

Indeed, the whole island itself was transported to India by this mighty Vishnu. But we will give this fact, which may at first appear singular to mere English readers, in our author's own words.

“ But what is still more wonderful is, that the greatest part of the Brahmans to this day never use any but real British chalk, as they pretend, to mark their foreheads with, and this is carried by merchants all over India. This chalk they call — and — and —,” (in compassion to our compositors and corrector we omit the heathenish names, as not being very material,) “ and it comes from Dwaraca, where it was deposited by Vishnu. It is acknowledged in India that the Vedas and this divine chalk came both from the White Island in the west; and that many tribes emigrated thence in the time of Crishna into India, where they remain to this day in great numbers. It is declared in the — that Vishnu brought the White Island itself into Guzarat, in which is Dwardca, in the time of Crishna, where it is called to this day Sweta-dwipa \*, though on the main land. Various reasons are assigned for this: some say that it was on account of Crishna, who lived with his relations at Dwaraca, and who came from the original Sweta-dwipa. Others say that Vishnu was afraid that the White Island should turn black during the Caliyuga †. But the general opinion” (from being the most reasonable we presume) “ is, that Vishnu brought the whole island into Guzarat for Crishna, to be the place of his abode, and also for the benefit of his faithful servants, that they might have real and genuine chalk to mark their foreheads with, and which would have been liable to adulteration by dealers and carriers.”

Some of our readers may possibly deem even these reasons insufficient to excuse so grievous a felony on the part of the Hindu Preservar, as Vishnu is called; and that it would have been easier and better to have carried the roguish hawkers and pedlars before a justice of the peace. Seeing, indeed, that Great Britain is such portable property, they may feel some alarm as to the securities of their estates; and their just amazement at this transit of England to India may not abate when they find, as they will presently, that they, and all Englishmen, are *bona fide* Hindus. But the conclusion of the foregoing paragraph, which we shall proceed to give, is consolatory, and shows that there is little or no real ground of alarm to us, or of hope for Bonaparté, even should another deportation of our “ tight little island” be decreed in the Hindu divan. Now comes the comfort alluded to, and we should deem it unwarrantable in us to withhold it from such of our readers especially as possess title deeds.

\* In the Sanscrit language *dwipa* means an island.

† Meaning the present, or black, or iron age.

"It is not to be supposed, that in consequence of this transportation, the White Island no longer exists in the west. This is by no means the case; for the White Island which he brought into India was *another self*, and an emanation of the original one."

Hence it is very clear that all is safe, for the present at any rate.

Toward the conclusion of the second chapter of this essay are some very instructive observations as to the extensive prevalence of the Sanskrit language. Some of these we will endeavour to find room for.

"That the eastern parts of America were peopled from Europe, appears to me beyond any manner of doubt, from the astonishing affinity between the languages in use in that part of America, with the Sanscrit and other languages in Europe derived from it. For the Sanscrit pervades all the languages, both ancient and modern of Europe, in a surprising degree. India is by no means to be considered as the primitive and original country of the Sanscrit, though it flourishes there now exclusively. The Brahmans acknowledge that they are not natives of India. They entered it, they say, through the pass of Hardwar; and their first settlement was at Canoje. Towards the east it extends to Ava and Siam, in which countries the Pali, Bali, or Sacred language, if not pure Sanscrit, is at least a dialect next to it, and its eldest daughter. Towards the west it prevades all the ancient and modern languages of Iran, Turan, Arabia, Ethiopia, Egypt, the northern parts of Africa, and all Europe as far as Iceland inclusively; forming, as it were, a belt from the easternmost parts of Asia to the extremities of the west, and of Europe, and tending from the south-east toward the north-west. To the north of India, in Tibet, the traces of the Sanscrit language prevail, but I believe in a less degree than in Ava and Siam. From this belt some weak ramifications are to be found in Sumatra and Java. The Malay language contains many words of Sanscrit origin; and in the Chinese and Japanese, Sanscrit words are to be found occasionally. The language of the aborigines of India, extending from the bay of Bengal to Bombay, and inhabiting the mountainous tracts in the interior parts, has no affinity whatever with the Sanscrit or any of its dialects. Its grammar, poor and barren, as may be supposed, is absolutely different from that even of the lowest dialects of the Sanscrit. To my great surprise, I could not find even a single word in it either derived from the Sanscrit or any of its dialects, except the names of a few articles of trade, introduced into it, but evidently not belonging to it; whilst there are a great many words obviously derived from the Sanscrit in the dialects of Brazil, Mexico, of the Caribbees, and other tribes living on the eastern shores of America. In the dialects of the inland and southern parts of Africa, I could not even trace a single word of Sanscrit, nor in those of the western shores of America. Some of the dialects of Tartary and Siberia

exhibit occasionally a few words of Sanscrit origin; but these are not numerous, whilst none whatever are to be found in the others.\*

We pass by various etymological derivations without remark; and copy the instructive conclusion of the second chapter.

“In the districts of Peru, and Chili, and the northern coasts of America, California, &c. I have not been able to find a single word that had the least affinity to Sanscrit, or any other language of the old continent †. In the languages of North America there are fewer words from the old continent, than in those of South America or the Caribbees. The reason is, that, according to tradition, the tribes which now inhabit North America came originally from the western parts of that country, and settled there after having exterminated or driven away the greatest part of the inhabitants; and the Caribbees assert that they came originally from Florida.

“Beyond this belt, languages have little or no affinity with the Sanscrit, except among such nations as are well known to have emigrated out of it. Thus the Chinese, who lived originally on the banks of the Oxus, according to the Puranas, have preserved a great many Sanscrit vocables in their language, which are engrafted on another unknown to us.

“In the short vocabulary of the Hottentot language in Mr. Barrow’s description of the Cape, consisting only of eighteen words, I was surprised to find three of them pure Sanscrit. The first is *Surrie*, the sun, in Sanscrit, *Surya*; *cum*, water, is in Sanscrit *cam*; and *cu* is the earth in both languages.”

This essay is, as we have before noticed, subdivided into chapters. What precedes is taken from, or refers to, the first and second †. Chapter III. is entitled “Sweta Devi, or the White Goddess.” Her abode is appropriately in the White Island; and she is, we are told, one of the three *Parcæ*, which, according to the Puranics, are a Triunity, called in the singular number *Tri-Kala-devi-Kumari*, or the divine maid in a three-fold state. Some ingenious remarks on points of theogony and mythology follow, which we can neither extract nor analyze. The result, we are told, is that “these three goddesses are obviously the *Parcæ* of the western mythologists, which, according to Plutarch, (*de Fato*) were *three and one*.” We must confess that the coin-

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\* Surely the name California itself forms an exception. *Caliporna*, or *purna*, being pure Sanscrit.

† We prefer this more general reference to articles and chapters, to directing our readers to the page of the volume; for as there are at least three regular editions of the Asiatic Researches, besides frequent reprints of separate volumes, and comparatively few of our readers can possess the limited Calcutta edition, our mode of reference, which, in respect to short articles and essays, is sufficiently close, suits every edition.

cidences, both etymological and historical, if we may apply the latter term to such fictions (fictions, however, often, if not generally, grounded in some degree of fact,) are sufficiently striking and curious.

The following passages, taken from the second section of the third chapter, may both amuse and instruct. Some parts are at least novel.

“There is every reason to believe that the religion of the Druids was fundamentally the same with that of the Greeks and Romans, Scythians or Goths, Egyptians and Hindus, with no greater deviations than those which are found in the Christian religion among its numerous sects. A Hindu, after visiting Rome and Geneva, could never be made to believe that the religion of these two places is fundamentally and originally the same, and that they have the same scriptures.

“The Hindus insist that theirs is the universal religion of the world, and that the others are only deviations from the mother church. In India are found the four grand classes, the three first of which are entitled to the benefit of regeneration. All the rest of mankind belong to the fifth class, branching out into an infinite variety of tribes. The idea that the Hindus admit of no proselytes arises from our not understanding the principles of that religion. We” (the English, we imagine,) “belong to it, though in a humble station: it requires no admission of course, and we are entitled to all the benefits and advantages which this mother church offers to us. We may pray, perform the *puja*, have the *homa* offered for us, for our relations and friends, paying for the same, as the other Hindus; we may have a Brahman for our *purohite*, or chaplain and almoner. But the members of this church cannot, in general, rise from an inferior class to another, except they die first; and then, if they deserve it, they may be born again in India, in any of the four tribes. India is called *Punya-bhumi*, or the land of righteousness; not because it prevails there, but because it may be obtained there. It is also called the land of the law, or precepts to be followed, in order to obtain either eternal bliss, or heaven. The other countries are called *Bhoga-bhumi*, or land of enjoyment, because people go there to enjoy the due reward of their meritorious lives.”

Some speculations on idolatry follow, which will repay the attentive perusal of the curious in these matters.

Chapter IV. is “Of the Churning of the White Sea.” This operation lasted it seems “exactly” (but we are not told on what authority this precise duration is assigned,) “29 years and 5 months, or 10748 days, 12 hours, and 18 minutes. This is obviously the revolution of Saturn.” The operation in question is immediately connected with the second, or tortoise transformation of Vishnu, and has long been conjectured to conceal in its wild legends a close reference to the deluge, and some astrono-



mical facts. The White Sea, Major Wilford finds to be the scene of this famed and important exploit. This sea is land-locked, and hence was supposed to resemble a caldron. "This caldron-like, or land-locked sea, is *evidently* the Irish Sea." It is "the abode of Varuna, or god of the ocean. His abode to this day is well known, and is in the very centre of that sea. The Manx and Irish mythologists, according to Colonel Valancy, call Varuna, Manana the Son of the Sea; and his abode, according to them, is in the Isle of Man." This Isle of Man furnished a convenient spindle or axis whereon to twirl a monstrous serpent, which being pulled to and fro, by gods and demons, effected the operation of churning the ocean. In the mythological legends of the Hindus this event is very frequently alluded to. It furnishes a very interesting episode in the Gita, related in a style much applauded by Mr. Hastings, in his letter prefixed to the translation of that work. Among their pictures we frequently find this, of the Kurmyvatara, or Tortoise manifestation, as this descent of Vishnu is termed. Baldass, Kircher, Maurice, and other mythologians have given engravings of it. The legend itself is highly poetical, and has engaged the attention of innumerable Hindu versifiers. Its object was to obtain certain articles essential to the comfort and happiness of mankind. We will not caunterate them in this place, as the story must be well known to those at all read in such matters, and of but little interest, perhaps, to those who are not. One of the articles, however, deserves notice for the value of the discovery imparted to us concerning it. It appears to have been a poisonous medicament which was swallowed by the god Siva, and turns out to be no other than a river in Essex called the Blackwater.

We must now take leave, we hope only for a time, of this learned explorer of the sacred and classical records of the Hindus. That they abound in the most extravagant absurdities, will, we doubt not, be generally admitted. But this is not imputable to Major Wilford. We have sometimes quarrelled with his deductions, but we have rejoiced in the more frequent occasions of expressing our approbation. The ardour of the ingenious author is not, we hope, to be cooled, though if it were not presumptuous, we could wish it were a little subdued and corrected by our well-intended strictures.

*Art. III.—A Catalogue of Indian medicinal Plants and Drugs, with their Names in the Hindustani and Sanscrit Languages. By John Fleming, M. D.*

This catalogue is, we are told in an advertisement prefixed,

intended chiefly for the use of gentlemen of the medical profession on their first arrival in India, to whom it must be desirable to know what articles of the materia medica that country affords, and by what names they may find them.

The Hindus have many medical tracts. Their botanical books also dwell largely on medicaments; for almost every herb is supposed to possess some virtue, or at least some power, for many of them are of course maleficent. From all this mass of physical nonsense it would be no easy task to extract much good. Aided, however, by an intelligent individual of the respectable sect called Vaidya, we have no doubt but that a man of science might enrich, in no contemptible degree, the materia medica of Europe. Some Indian plants have, indeed, long been introduced into regular practice there, and will, no doubt, in time find their way, with increased advantage, into the dispensaries of Europe. Hindu physicians commonly affect secrecy and mystery. This, of course, has its effect with the vulgar. Few, however, sooner discover when such affectation begins to lose its effect; and with an English gentleman, the shrewd Hindu soon ceases to be reserved or mysterious.

The catalogue of medicinal plants and drugs is divided into vegetable, mineral, and animal. It is under the former division that we are disposed to look for information in Hindustan. Our attainments in art and science have left little for us to learn in the results of the clumsy apparatus of India, directed by the dreams of alchemy, the parent of chemistry, rather than by the light of its happier offspring. The knowledge and exhibition of minerals to be met with in India is not, however, to be wholly despised; it may yield something profitable; in the instance of arsenic, we believe, we owe something to Indian research. This powerful agent has been immemorably used in India in cases of cancer, leprosy, and the bite of dangerous snakes, with reputed success.

On the whole, this article is very creditable to the professional and literary skill of its author; and we hope to see his useful talents conferring value on future volumes of the *Researches*. He will excuse our hinting, that although in a catalogue professed to be chiefly intended for medical students, abstruse technical terms may be excused and expected, yet as catalogues like this before us, when agreeably drawn up, are profitably perused by the general reader, they possess an additional value when, without abating their scientific character and perspicuity, they are brought within the reach of popular curiosity.

*Art. IV.—Sketch of the Sikhs. By Brigadier-General Malcolm.*

The author of this sketch has already fallen twice under our

critical notice. In Vol. I. his Political History of India, and in Vol. IV. some interesting translations from the Persian Letters of Nadir Shah were introduced in a favourable light to our readers. On the present occasion we see no cause to withhold a continuance of our commendation from this gentleman's attainments and assiduity.

The Sikhs are rather a modern race. Their founder Nanak was born in 1469, A.D. in the province of Lahore. His parents were of the military tribe of Hindu, but Nanak shewed early indications of a turn for contemplation and devotion. Of this the Sikh books contain many instances, mixed, as is usual, with many extravagancies and puerilities. To enlarge his sphere of knowledge by actual observation, and to enable him the better to avoid the offensive superstitious and idolatrous propensities of the contiguous countries, Nanak entered on his philanthropic travels, and visited most of the resorts of Hindu pilgrims. Extending his journeyings, he proceeded to Mecca and Medina, "where his actions, his miracles, and his long disputations with the most celebrated saints and doctors are circumstantially recorded" by his biographers. He is stated, on this occasion, to have defended his own principles without offending those of others, always professing himself the enemy of discord, and as having no object but to reconcile the two faiths of the Muhammedans and Hindus in one great religious code: and this he is represented as having endeavoured to do, by recalling them to that great and original tenet, in which they both believed—the unity of God; and by reclaiming them from the numerous errors into which they both had fallen."

"It would be difficult to give the character (i. e. a just character) of Nanak on the authority of any account we possess. His writings, especially the first chapter of the *Adi Grant*'s, will, if ever translated, be, perhaps, a criterion by which he may be fairly judged; but the great eminence he obtained, and the great success with which he combated the opposition which he met with, afford ample reason to conclude, that he was a man of more than common genius; and this favourable impression of his character will be confirmed by a consideration of the object of his life, and of the means he took to accomplish it. Born in a province on the extreme verge of India, at the very point where the religion of Muhammed and the idolatrous worship of the Hindus appeared to touch, and at a moment when both these tribes cherished the most violent rancour and animosity towards each other, his great aim was to blend those jarring elements in peaceful union; and he endeavoured to effect this through the means only of mild persuasion. His wish was to recall both Muhammedans and Hindus to an exclusive attention to that sublimity of all principles, which inculcates devotion to God, and peace towards man. He had to combat the furious bigotry of the

one, and the deep-rooted superstition of the other; but he attempted to overcome all obstacles, by the force of reason and humanity; and we cannot have a more convincing proof of the general character of that doctrine which he taught, and the inoffensive light in which it was viewed, than the knowledge that its success did not rouse the bigotry of the intolerant and tyrannical Muhammedan government under which he lived."

The book called *Adi Grant'h*, in the preceding extract, is the most sacred among the Sikhs. It is their *Bible*, their *al Koran*; and means pre-eminently, The Book. It is in verse, and portions of it are read on solemn occasions. It was compiled by Arjunmal, who flourished about the middle of the seventeenth century, from the writings of four holy individuals, including Nanak himself. The compiler enlarged and improved it by his own additions and commentaries; and it has since received farther increase from no fewer than thirteen contributors, the last of whom was a lady; and hence, indeed, reduced ungallantly by the Sikh writers to twelve and a half. General Malcolm is in possession of a copy of it, obtained with some difficulty from a Sikh chief, who sent it at night with a real or affected reluctance, after a promise that the sacred volume should be treated with great respect. A copy is also in the possession of Mr. Colebrooke, as well as the book entitled *Dasima Padshah Ka Grant'h*; the work ranking second in the pious estimation of the Sikhs. The latter title means the book of the tenth king, and is so called from being the supposed work of the tenth Sikh sovereign, named Guru Govind.

The unity and omnipresence of the Deity appear to have been the leading principles of the religion that Nanak was desirous of founding, or of re-establishing. These, in truth, were already, and are the leading tenets also of both the Muhammedan and Hindu religions, sadly disgraced and disfigured, indeed, by the intolerant bigotry of the one, and the exoteric superstitions of the other. Both teach, or profess to teach, as do almost all the religions of the earth, "devotion to God, and peace towards man." The furious bigotry, and deep-rooted superstition, which Nanak had to combat, are the offspring of the base passions of man, inflamed to madness by the ambition of aspiring individuals, and nursed into mental weakness by the selfishness of priests.

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\* Guru means instructor, pastor, and implies the spirituality mixed with his civil supremacy. "Muhammedan historians generally term the founder of the Sikhs, Nanac Shah, to denote his being a *Pakir*, (or a pious person,) the name of Shah being frequently given to men of celebrity of that sect. The Sikhs call him Baba Nanac, or Guru Nanac, father Nanac, or Nanac the teacher; and their writers term him Nanac-Nirikar, meaning Nanac the omnipresent."

Schismatics in the east seem to enjoy their career unmolested, until they threaten by their progress to disturb the stability or tranquillity of the civil government. Speculative opinions are disregarded, until they reach, or are supposed to have reached, that length. The argument of the sword, that makes so capital a figure in these theological controversies, would much less frequently be felt necessary, politically speaking, to be resorted to, if a salutary vigilance, in the earlier stages of the schism were tried as a means of averting the expediency of a step, abhorrent, perhaps, from the natural and primary feelings of the individuals charged with so dreadful a responsibility.

Without becoming apologists either for the laxity or severity of any government, we may be allowed to remark that we are liable to be innocently led, on the one hand, to an undue appreciation of the tolerance in eastern governments, originating probably in reprehensible supineness; as well as to an excess of condemnation on the other, at the seeming persecution with which such dangerous practical speculatists are occasionally visited:—allowing, as we ought, for the exaggeration of the suffering party, on whose recital of the injuries sustained we are usually forced to ground our judgment of the facts.

For many years the inoffensive speculations of the Sikhs were disregarded by the rulers of the countries over which they were spreading. Powerful in number, their confidence in the justness of their cause forbade them to omit any means of extending it—resistance produced reaction. In 1606, the jealousy of the Muhammedan government was excited; and Arjunmal, the offensive ruler of the Sikhs, was seized, and his life was terminated in prison in a manner which has been variously related.

“In whatever way his life was terminated, there can be no doubt, from its consequences, that it was considered by his followers as an atrocious murder, committed by the Muhammedan government; and the Sikhs, who had been till then an inoffensive, peaceable sect, took arms under Har Govind, the son of Arjunmal, and wreaked their vengeance upon all whom they thought concerned in the death of their revered priest.”

A war now commenced, marked by that animosity which springs from a deep and implacable sense of injury on one part, and the resolute resentment of insulted power on the other. It was continued with desperate hostility. “It seems to have been the anxious wish of Har Govind to inspire his followers with the most irreconcilable hatred to their oppressors. He soon succeeded in converting a race of peaceable enthusiasts into an intrepid band of soldiers.” Like other leaders of sects, he made innovations on points of less moment; and permitted his followers

to eat the flesh of all animals except of the cow. Nanak, in the infancy of dissent, had found it necessary to be more conciliating, and in compliment, apparently to the prejudices of the Muhammedans, had forbidden to his followers the use of pork, a common food among the lower tribe of Hindus.

The holy wars, usually the most sanguinary and inextinguishable, which now ensued between the Sikhs and their government, continued with various success, from the commencement to the middle of the seventeenth century, when their fury languished for a while; not for lack of excitement to wield the sword, but of victims whereon to let it fall. The Sikhs, pressed without by the Muhammedan power, were weakened by internal conflicts concerning the succession in the office of the spiritual leader, and the sect was nearly crushed. Nothing but persecution, the cement of schism, when it falls short of the more horrid extreme of extermination, seemed now sufficient to uphold it. The Moghul empire attained the zenith of its power in Hindustan under Aurung Zebe. His was no character to be trifled with, either in politics or religion; and the Sikh leader, Tegh Behadur, father of Guru Govind, falling under his displeasure, and into his power, was put to death without the allegation, as is said, of any specific crime against him. This was in 1675.

“The history of the Sikhs, after the death of Tegh Behadur, assumes a new aspect. It is no longer the record of a sect who, revering the conciliatory and mild tenets of their founder, desired more to protect themselves than to injure others; but that of a nation, who, adding to a deep sense of the injuries they had sustained from a bigoted and overbearing government, all the ardour of men commencing a career of military glory, listened with rapture to a son glowing with vengeance against the murderers of his father; who taught a doctrine suited to the troubled state of his mind, and called on his followers, by every feeling of manhood, to lay aside their peaceable habits; to graft the resolute courage of the soldier on the enthusiastic faith of the devotee; to swear eternal war against the cruel Muhammedans; and to devote themselves to steel, as the only means of obtaining every blessing that this world, or that to come, could afford to mortals.”

The following passage bears upon a question that some little time back agitated the minds of many individuals of our literary and religious societies; but which seems now in a comparative repose, from which it is not our wish to disturb it.

“It is here only necessary to state the leading feature of those changes by which he subverted, in so short a time, the hoary institutions of Brahma\*; and made the Muhammedan conquerors of

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\* “The object of Nanak was to abolish the distinctions of cast amongst the Hindus, and to bring them to the adoration of that Supreme Being, before whom,

India see, with terror and astonishment, the religious prejudices of the Hindus, which they had calculated upon as one of the pillars of their safety, because they limited the great majority of the population to peaceable occupations, fall before the touch of a bold and enthusiastic innovator, who opened at once to men of the lowest tribe the prospect of earthly glory: for all who subscribed to his tenets were upon a level, and the Brahman who entered his sect had no higher claims to eminence than the Sudra who swept his house. It was the object of Govind to make all Sikhs equal; and that advancement should depend solely on individual exertion. And, well aware how necessary it was to inspire men of a low race and of grovelling minds with pride in themselves, he changed the name of his followers from *Sikh*, † to *Sinh*, or *Lion*; thus giving all his followers that honourable title, which had before been exclusively assumed by the Rajput, the first military tribe of Hindus. Every Sikh felt himself at once elevated, by this proud appellation, to a footing with the first class."

Under their warlike leader, powerful, it appears, by his sword and his pen, the Sikhs became reunited, and regained the ground they had lost by their dissensions. Aurung Zebe, much occupied by his wars in the Dekkan, could not pay that attention to his northern provinces which seemed necessary to secure their obedience, and the confusion which took place throughout India, consequent upon his death, early in the eighteenth century, operated greatly in favour of the Sikhs.

The good fortune of their last heroic leader, however, at length forsook him. He suffered defeats, and could not brook their supposed disgrace. He was compelled to flee from the scenes of his exploits. This, and the cruel losses of his children, excited so keen a sense of his misfortunes, as to bereave him of reason; he wandered awhile in the most deplorable condition, and died by assassination in the Dekkan, in 1708. Govind was the last acknowledged ruler of the Sikhs. A prophecy had

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he contended, all men are equal. Guru Govind, who adopted all the principles of his celebrated predecessor, as far as religious usages are concerned, is reported to have said on this subject, that the four tribes of Hindus—the Brahman, Kshatriya, Varsya, and Sudra) would, like the four ingredients of the compounded quid in such general use—the Pan, Chuna, Supari, and Khat—become all of one colour when well chewed."—There is point in this application; more than meets the eye.

† *Sikh*, or *Siksha*, we are told by General Malcolm, is a Sanskrit word, meaning generally a disciple, and applicable to any person following a particular teacher. Mr. Wilson, however, on the authority of information obtained in the Sikh college at Patna, says it is a word borrowed from one of the commandments of their founder, signifying *learn thou*—the imperative mood of a Hindu verb. He was admitted into the fraternity of the Sikhs, and leave to copy their books. See his interesting "Observations on the Sikhs and their Col-  
As. Res. vol. 3. art. 12.

limited the number of their spiritual guides to ten, and superstition probably aided its fulfilment. He is still gratefully revered as the founder of the independence and worldly greatness of his nation; for, though Nanak is justly deemed the author of their religion, the Sikhs are conscious that they have become, from the adoption of the laws and institutions of Govind, the scourge of their enemies; and have conquered and held for half a century the finest portion of the once great empire of the house of Taimur.

Such were the confusions incident to the death of Aurung Zebe, that the Sikhs, taking due advantage of them, and of the resentment excited by the severities exercised toward the family of their late leader, threatened the subversion of the Moghul power. It became necessary, therefore, in 1710, to withdraw the imperial forces from the Dekkan, and leave those provinces exposed to the dangers of insurrection, lest the whole of Hindustan should fall a prey to those merciless invaders.

Conflicts now ensued shocking and disgraceful to humanity. The extermination of the whole race of Sikhs was determined on by the Muhammedan government. No quarter was given. "A royal mandate was issued, ordering all who professed the religion of Nanak to be put to death wherever found; and to give effect to this mandate, a reward was offered for the head of every Sikh." They were, in consequence, hunted like wild beasts. For a period of nearly thirty years, the name of the Sikhs is scarcely heard of as an existing race. The invasion of India by Nadir Shah encouraged the scattered Sikhs again to lift up their heads. Joined by many fugitives from the horrid scenes of devastation, their numbers increased. Many "hastened to join a standard under which robbery was made sacred; and to plunder was to be pious." The following is given as one of the injunctions of Guru Govind; it developes the genius of Sikhism, and seems to have been faithfully acted up to when opportunity permitted.

"It is right to slay a Muhammedan wherever you meet him. If you meet a Hindu, beat and plunder him, and divide his property among you."

We cannot wonder that a ferocious race professing and acting on such a tenet, should raise the rigorous hand of government against it; and when the troubles brought on Hindustan by Nadir Shah had a little subsided, we accordingly find the Sikhs, after various successes and reverses, again threatened with annihilation. Amritsar, their sacred city, was taken from them by the Afghans, rased to the ground, and the holy reservoir choked



with its ruins. The former invaders of India, Jenghiz Khan, Taimur, and Nadir Shah, had set a horrid example of erecting pyramids of heads. Such erections were now made with the heads of slaughtered Sikhs; and their conqueror, Ahmed Shah, is said to have caused the walls of such mosques as the Sikhs had polluted to be washed with their blood, in removal and expiation of the contamination and insult offered to the religion of Muhammed! This brings the history of the Sikhs to the year 1763.

It seems more from the distracted state of the neighbouring countries, than from the real power of the Sikhs, that they have been enabled to hold at all together. From the period just mentioned to the present, the troubles caused by Mahratta invasion from the south, and by the Afghans on the north, have been the chief sources of their real and comparative strength. The nature of their government, if so loose a rule may be so termed, seems to forbid their being, otherwise than by comparison with weak neighbours, a formidable foe. Enthusiasm is assuredly a mighty engine, and its creation and direction often evince a considerable exertion of genius. But it is the genius of an individual, or of a few individuals, who appear but seldom in any part of the world; and in the east, from concurrent physical and moral causes, very rarely. The Sikhs have of late years been divided and subdivided into endless feuds and schisms, political and religious. Their chiefs are very numerous,—each, with a view to security against a dreaded neighbour, or to acquisition from a weak one, fortifies his town, and increases his troops to the extent of his means. To guard against surprise, most of the villages in the Penjab\*, and indeed in other parts of India exposed to the sudden incursions of Mahratta or other troops, are walled round.

Of the military strength of the Sikhs, to many the most interesting point of their history, it is difficult to make any estimate approaching to exactness. They boast that they can raise a hundred thousand cavalry; and if it were possible to assemble every Sikh horseman, this statement General Malcolm thinks may not be exaggerated. But their military power is not to be estimated by such a scale. No one chief is able to bring more than

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\* This name means five waters, and is rather vaguely given to the province of Lahore, through which run five considerable rivers. This fine province is the central and chief possession of the Sikhs. In the time of Aurang Zebe, a century back, its revenue was estimated at two and a half millions sterling. It is not easy to define the limit of their territory, or the extent of their resources. From latitude 28° 40' to 32° N. may be reckoned their boundaries north and south; and in the other direction their possessions extend between four and five hundred miles.

eight thousand horse into the field; and only one can exceed half that number. They have no infantry in their own country, except for the defence of their forts and villages, though they generally serve as foot soldiers in foreign armies. They are bold and rough in their address, but characterized as brave, active, and cheerful, more open and sincere than the Mahratta, and less rude and savage than the Afghan. Deceitfulness and cruelty is not, according to our author, justly imputable to the Sikhs in a greater degree than to the other Indian tribes. "If the Sikh often appear wanting in humanity, it is not so much to be attributed to his national character, as to the habits of a life, which, from the condition of the society in which he is born, is generally passed in scenes of violence and rapine." But where these habits and this condition of society is common to a whole nation, what is it, we may ask, but a national character?

The professed religion of the Sikhs is deism; but in practice a bias is retained toward the monstrous superstitions of the Hindus. The law-givers, as well as historians of India, are generally also poets; and the eastern, like the western mythology, offers so much inviting machinery, that orthodox poets of either country find it expedient to use it. Morality is almost at its lowest ebb among them. Nanak, however, among other good tenets left them this,—“He only is a true Hindu whose heart is just; and he only is a good Muhammedan whose life is pure.” Admission into the fraternity of the Sikhs is attended with no difficulty, and with but few and unimportant ceremonies. As a warlike people, they are aware of the advantages of number, and every candidate is admitted of whatever tribe or persuasion.

Of their habits and prejudices many amusing instances are given, which we have no room to insert. Talking very loud is common, and is attributable to the boisterous tenor of their lives, or to a mutual distrust which forbids an approach close enough for convenient colloquial intercourse. A blue garment and a lock of hair are the chief distinctions of a Sikh: the latter especially, for which their jealous regard is so great, that, like the Chinese, it is as bad as death to be deprived of this occipital appendage. Shaving the beard seems also a sad disgrace. General Malcolm relates an anecdote of a Sikh chief who was appointed to attend him to Calcutta. He rallied the warrior on trusting himself with strangers so far from home. “What harm can befall me?” said the chief. I passed my hand across my chin, imitating the act of shaving. In an instant the man’s face was distorted with rage, and his sword half drawn; and it was with great difficulty that his wounded honour could be pacified, and that he could be prevented from wreaking his vengeance on two

Sikh chiefs who were present, whom he suspected of having smiled at the supposed insult offered him. They deny themselves the use of tobacco, but think they are permitted to use spirits, and indulge very freely. "They all drink to excess, and it is rare to see a Sikh soldier after sunset quite sober. Their drink is an ardent spirit made in the Penjab; but they have no objection to either the wine or spirits of Europe." One of the chiefs attending Lord Lake at a review was observed to droop and become uneasy toward evening. "Futeh Singh wants his dram," said another to General Malcolm, "but is ashamed to drink before you." I requested he would follow his custom, which he did by drinking a large cup of spirits. Opium and intoxicating drugs are also freely indulged in by the Sikhs, in common with most of the other military tribes of India. They are all horsemen, and delight in riding; but their horses are degenerated. Swords, spears, and matchlocks, are their usual arms. Some retain the bow and arrow, a species of weapon for which their forefathers were celebrated. They profess to despise luxury of diet and dress, and pride themselves in their coarse fare, and plain apparel. Our readers would not expect to find the trial by jury in use among the Sikhs. Such a mode of trial, as well as arbitration are, however, known and practised among them; and indeed in most parts of India. They have existed from time immemorial; and usually the jury consists of five persons, hence called *Panchayet*.

We have given more attention and room to our notice of this article on the Sikhs than its importance may appear to many of our readers to demand. But a very few years back, let it be recollected, they were to us the most interesting (shall we say portentous?) power, next to the Mahrattas, in India. As we have become more and more acquainted with them, we discover their weakness in the laxity of the ties that bind the chieftains to their government, and in the jealousies and dissensions that threaten to dissolve it. A powerful excitement may, however, stimulate them to a union of interest and exertion; and had Buonaparté been able to persevere in his gigantic project of invading India by land, the promised plunder of the British provinces would have attached the Sikhs to his standard among his earliest auxiliaries. We must wait for another opportunity for laying before our readers the remaining articles of the ten of which the present volume is composed.

### ERRATA.

The reader is desired to correct *meas* into *nostras* in page 106 of the preceding number of this Review, which in the hurry of altering the quotation from the singular into the plural, escaped the observation of the corrector of the press.

We find too upon looking into the first of the Sermons now composing the third volume of Dr. Horsley's Sermons, that we have been guilty of an inadvertency in making the bishop say that the word rendered 'the Lord' in our translation of the 2d and 3d verses of Malachi, should be translated 'Jehovah.' The mistake might arise from supposing the bishop to mean that as the import of the passage 'the Lord shall come to his temple' could only be applicable to the Divinity to whom the temple was consecrated, i. e. the LORD JEHOVAH himself, it should have been so translated. In this, however, we find ourselves mistaken. The Hebrew words are **יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ**, and Dr. Horsley has well explained the Hebrew 'Adon' to be a word of large and various signification, denoting dominion of any sort and degree, though by force of the context it is here made to enlarge its signification to the sense of JEHOVAH. Philaethes of Dublin will see that we do not disregard the suggestions of a sound and erudite mind, though we do not consider the mistake of as much importance as he seems to regard it.

Page 242, line 13, for Phinehas read Aaron.



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